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THE  
**FOREIGN**  
**QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

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ART. I.—*Die Römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat*, von Leopold Ranke. [The Ecclesiastical and General History of the Popes of Rome during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.] 3 vols. Berlin. 1834—1840.

THE work before us in all respects evidences the great labour and unwearied toil bestowed upon it by its learned author. We can scarce help expressing both our regret and our pleasure that such pure sources of authentic information have been developed to one amply able to use them beneficially for all. We say regret, for who does not lament the limitation that does not enjoy the liberty of perusing MSS. amid numerous nations, on which but a few eyes could alight, calculated to use them with the faith of the annalist, the wisdom of the philosopher, and the piety of the believer. Berlin, Vienna, Venice, Rome, all have ministered to the immense mass of erudition before us. The Vatican, indeed, was not thoroughly searched, from some religious jealousy to a Protestant historian; but the Borghese, Doria, Barberini, and numerous other private records, possibly more valuable than all the public documents, were opened with great liberality to the northern stranger. A work, filling up an hiatus that had existed too long, has been the result of this laborious investigation. In various passages we are led to think the writer inclines to the Romanist, in others to the Protestant persuasion; yet he makes candid avowal in his preface of his Protestant views, with a spirit which we must love to see manifested in a writer of history: his eyes are neither closed to the imperfections of his own party, nor unobservant of the bright qualities that have adorned many pious Romanists. Justice is dealt out with evenhandedness on friend and foe. The fault, the leading fault of Ranke, is a tendency to view Protestantism distinct from Catholicism. In effect they are the same. Protestantism and Romanism vary extremely, but the former does not essentially differ from Catholicism, which Romanism unquestionably does. The Confession of Augsburg negatives no tenet of Catholicism. The still simpler confession of

the persecuted Waldenses\* retains every element of Catholicism. We shall have occasion to revert more than once to this leading defect in our author. Ranke commences with showing that the Roman emperor united church and state in his own person; but that Christianity emphatically distinguished that which is God's from that which is Cæsar's. We apprehend that Paganism and Romanism possessed similar features as absorbents, but that with the latter there was no existence of the state in any mixed question; in such cases the church, like the rod of Moses, extinguished the inferior principle. The emperor, therefore, appeared mild in comparison with the ecclesiastic. But Protestantism, we apprehend, asserting the agency of both, the union of both, draws closer on the Bible, which clearly distinguishes between the church and the state. Pepin felt the inconvenience of a weak state title to his conquered possessions, he sought to amend it by a religious sanction. The keys of conquered cities were laid by him on the altar of Saint Peter's, and hence arose the only power of the keys. The Bible passages adduced in support of that power, as they are applied to all the apostles, cannot be limited to one. Charlemagne ratified the donations of Pepin; they were then thankfully received; little did the unconscious successors of Gregory II. imagine that the time would ever arrive when the states of the church would be claimed by a king on the throne of Charlemagne, on the ground of this very donation, and no retreat conceded to the vassal pope from following the policy of his suzerain. Charlemagne received in consequence the crown of the Western empire. But Charlemagne and his successor Lothaire considered the pope as substantially belonging to the French empire, as Ranke justly shows by the nomination, on the part of the latter sovereign, of his own judges at Rome, and annulling confiscations which the pope had imposed. But this notion was certainly not one on which the popes of succeeding centuries designed to govern—it was not held by him whose palfrey an emperor led, nor by him who kicked off the emperor's crown in 1191. It was not the notion of 1450. But from the very assumption of high authority we may date its decline. Still assumption, supported by even an exterior of piety, would have protracted the papal power for centuries; but when the ecclesiastic possessed more than the ordinary failings of man, pretending to tenfold the virtues of his race combined, men's eyes, even in the mistiness of the fifteenth century, became opened to

\* The modern reader of this beautiful composition must think with fearful shuddering on the declaration of the leader of the expedition against them: "We have spared neither age, nor sex, nor rank; we have smitten every one with the edge of the sword."

discern between good and evil.\* Some powerful check was needed to the ordinary powers, or else the worship of India would have scarce been inferior to that of Christendom; infallibility being assigned not simply to men, but monsters.

"If plagues or earthquakes break not heaven's design,  
Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?"

A compliment justly paid by Pope to the son of that disgrace of the fifteenth century, Alexander VI., who ascended the papal throne in 1492, and with whom we begin our view of our author's work, as he lived in the sixteenth also. Alexander had evidently no belief in another world, and therefore determined to make the most of this. He was wise in his generation. Machiavelli says of him, "Non fece mai altro che ingannare uomini, nè mai pensò ad altro, e sempre trovò soggetto da poterlo fare; e non fu mai uomo che avesse maggiore efficacia in asseverare, e che con maggiori giuramenti affermasse una cosa, e che l'osservesse meno; nondimanco sempre gli succedono gli inganni ad votum, perche conosceva bene *questa parte del mondo*," (Mach. Il Principe. Firenze, 1831.) A naive confession. Certainly both Pope Alexander and Cæsar Borgia possessed in an eminent degree this great statesman's quality of being feared as rulers. Machiavelli, on the subject of whether the love or fear of the sovereign ought to be the dominant spirit to instil in the people, gives it in favour of the latter. "Concludo adunque tornando all'esser temuto ed amato che amando gli' uomini a posta loro, e temendo a posta del principe, deve un principe savio fondarsi in su quello che è suo, non in su quello che è d'altri; *deve solamente ingegnarsi di fuggir l'odio come e detto.*"

Overlooking this latter prudent caution of the crafty Florentine, Cæsar Borgia, Machiavelli's hero, fell. It was peculiarly unfortunate in the case of Alexander, that he who first attempted nepotism in the papacy in a large way should have had such a son to make trial of the possibility of the principle. Alexander and Cæsar succeeded against the Sforzas, the Malatestas, and the

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\* The Romanists spoke out freely on this subject, and the coarsest language of the Reformers hardly equals the celebrated passage in the "Inferno," connected with the gift of Constantine:—

"Di voi pastor s'accorse 'l Vangelista  
Quando colei, che siede sovra l' acque,  
Puttaneggiar co' regi a lui fu vista:  
Quella, che con le sette teste nacque,  
E dalle diece corna ebbe argomento,  
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque.  
Fatto v' avete Deo d' oro e d' argento:  
E che altro è da voi all' idolatre  
Se non ch' egli uno, e voi n' orate cento?  
Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre  
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote  
Che da te prese il primo ricco patre."—*Dant. Inf. cant. 19.*

Manfredi, and then, with a *sang froid* peculiar to themselves, both threw off the party that had aided them to this pitch of greatness, and, unincumbered with the ordinary feeling of mortality, butchered their friends. Yet there came even an earthly visitation.

"Alexander," says Ranke, "thus saw his warmest wishes fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house about to found a great hereditary power in Italy. But already he had begun to feel of what excesses hot and unbridled passions are capable. Cæsar would share his power neither with kinsman nor favourite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the Tiber. His brother-in-law was attacked, and stabbed on the steps of the palace by his orders. The wounded man was nursed by his wife and sisters; the sister cooked his food, in order to secure him from poison, and the pope set a guard before his house, to protect his son-in-law from his son; precautions which Cæsar derided. He said, 'What is not done by noon may be done by evening.'" When the prince was recovering from his wounds, Cæsar burst into his chamber, drove out the wife and sister, called an executioner, and ordered the unfortunate prince to be strangled. He used his father as a means to power, otherwise he was utterly regardless of him. He killed Peroti, Alexander's favourite, while clinging to his patron, and sheltered by the pontifical mantle, the pope's face was sprinkled with his blood. There was a moment at which Rome and the papal states were in Cæsar's power. He was a man of the greatest personal beauty; so strong, that at a bull fight he cleft the head of the bull with one stroke; liberal, and not without traits of magnanimity, but voluptuous and sanguinary. Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar wanted money and had enemies; every night murdered bodies were found in the streets. Men lived in seclusion and silence; there was none that did not fear that his turn would come. Those whom force could not reach were taken off by poison. There was one point on earth where such a state of things was possible, namely, at which the plenitude of secular power was united to the supreme spiritual jurisdiction. This point was occupied by Cæsar. There is a perfection even in depravity. Many of the sons and nephews of popes attempted similar things, but none ever approached Cæsar's bad eminence. He was a *Virtuoso in Crime*."

No important facts become eliminated in the progress of a monster who was narrowing his attention to the committal of every possible crime in the confined limits of an Italian principality, where evil became more visible still from its contracted scene of operation. His death, if we can trust the MS. account which Ranke has inserted in his valuable Appendix, which is full of documents of extraordinary interest, was caused by his head cook. An intended victim, one of the richest of the cardinals, gained over this man; and the pope swallowed a *bonne bouche* which he designed for his victim, and had instructed his own cook to prepare. He was succeeded by Julius II., and in Borgia's case happily that general law held which was observable in all the successors to the papal chair, that with the life of

the pope the power of his descendants terminated. Russell remarks in his *History of Modern Europe*, that "Borgia, without knowing it, laboured for the patrimony of St. Peter;" and in effect he did so, for Julius contrived to rid himself of Cæsar Borgia, and yet to secure his possessions. Bold as was the bull-cleaving Borgia, Julius was equally determined to have no second at the game he played for—temporal power. The Venetians affirmed that it was his design to be lord and master in the game of the world, and the Florentine Machiavelli wrote of him, "No baron was so insignificant as not to despise the papal power formerly. Now a king of France stands in awe of it." Julius added to the see Parma, Piacenza, Reggio. Venice herself trembled at his attempts. The papacy rose in worldly power, but it was fast sinking in spiritual ascendancy. "My kingdom is not of this world," the great law of him from whom that power was claimed, became a statute of excision. Alexander VI., for the indulgence of his own vices and temporal power, had declared officially that indulgences delivered souls out of purgatory. Urban II. originally hit on the invention of indulgences as an easy recompense for the Crusaders. Leo, the successor to Julius, instituted a general sale of them. Hume appears to have imagined that no deleterious effect was produced by indulgences on the moral habits; because, to use his own words, "A man could both purchase them at a low rate, and hell fire, the magistrate, and remorse of conscience, still remained as powerful checks on evil." But this sagacious writer, in the use of these words, forgets the language of indulgences, the pleasing belief in the plenary power of the pope, not disbelieved, on the evidence of Dr. Doyle, in the nineteenth century, to say nothing of the twelfth. Now an indulgence perfectly neutralized these checks, restoring, according to the form in Seckendorf, the person to that innocence and purity which he possessed in baptism, and that when he died, the gates of punishment should be shut, and the gates of the paradise of delight should be opened; and if he died instantly, this grace should be in full force when he was at the point of death.—Seck. Comment. lib. i. p. 14.\*

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\* Maimburgh, the Jesuit, describes the sale of indulgences as follows: "Exemplo Julii Pontificis (Leo) ad indulgentias refugium habuit. Has ubique terrarum publicare curavit factas omnibus, quæ pecuniam impensam ad structuram St. Petri solverent, potestate vendendi ovīs, et casco tempore Quadragesimæ et eligendi sibi confessionarium. Bonâ fide agnoscendum est quod Pontifices qui postea successerunt in dispensatione spiritali hujus thesauri multum cautiore fuerunt. Tezelius ordinis sui religiosos in partem laborum associaverat. Hi susceptum munus ut sæpe fieri solet ultra limites urgendo, ita exaggerabant indulgentiarum pretium ut occasionem darent populo credendi certum esse unumquemque de salute et de liberandis ex purgatorio uniuersis quam primum soluta pecunia, literas, quibus concessio indulgentiarum significabatur, redemisset. Augebat scandalum quod sublegati in popinis versarentur et partem nummorum turpiter prodigerent."—Maimb. de Luther."

To such an extent had this traffic proceeded, that when the English privateers took a galleon, it was found to contain 500 bales of indulgences, and sixteen reams to every bale. Dampier, the captain, careened his ship with them. Leo wonderfully extended this traffic; and though it may not detract from the beauty of St. Peter's in the eye of the Romanist, any structure raised by such arts loses somewhat of its grace to the moral spectator. How singular appears the whole working of this period, all having an evident tendency to force men upon higher spiritual views, almost in spite of their spiritual guides. Leo\* was at least a pope that surrounded himself with the learned, but he was also a man of pleasure rather than holiness. Hunting, hawking, fishing, with the gay improvisatori, and literary society, filled up his hours. The schools of philosophy held various theorems as to the soul,—some pantheistic notions, others its mortality; the advocates of the immateriality and immortality were few. Erasmus was shocked; who can describe the effect of his generation on Luther! We may gather somewhat of the feeling of the age from Francesco Vettori. Ranke found this remarkable work in the Corsini Library. “Chi considera bene la legge evangelica, vedrà i pontefici ancora che tenghino il nome di vicario di Christo haver indutto una nova religione che non ve n'è altro di Christo che il nome; il qual comanda la povertà e loro vogliono la ricchezza, comanda la humiltà e loro vogliono la superbia, comanda la obedientia e loro vogliono comandar a ciascuno.” The age of Leo was one of the most sensual conceivable, and all artistic periods will be ever found to be so. It is quite a mistake to imagine that a love of plastic perfection is not sensual. Its very source is of that character, and artists will be always found to partake largely, unless gifted with the super-sensuous spirit, of the feelings of Rubens, Titian, Vandyke, and Raffaele. The next pope was of course not of the house of Medici, Adrian VI. a native of the Netherlands. The friend of Erasmus, plain, simple-mannered, benevolent, and devout. He was a church reformer in the strongest sense. His efforts were paralyzed by his time. They placed above his tomb his own exclamation, “Let a man be never so good, how much depends on the times in which he is born.” He was succeeded by Giulio de Medici. He was unable to control the cardinals on the death of Leo X., but procured his own nomination as successor to Adrian. He wisely avoided recalling the memory of his kinsman Leo X., which was become unpopular, and took the name of Clement VII. To say

\* Gradenigo, orator di Roma describes Leo X. “Di statura grandissima, testa molto grossa, havea bellissima man: bellissimo parlador; prometea assa ma non atendea. Il papa si serviva molto, con dinandar danari al imprestido, vendeva poi li officii, impegnava zoie, raze del papato e fino li apostoli per aver danaro.”



he was not highly accomplished were impossible, bred up as he was in the house of Medici. Prudent in counsel he had shown himself in the reign of Leo, but he did not prove equal to being his own self-counsellor. He proceeded to a war with Spain, the very power which had seated his own family in Florence, a most impolitic measure, and he bitterly rued it. Bourbon, at the head of the imperialists, marched upon Rome, and though he perished at the instant the scaling ladders were placed against the walls, Rome fell with the spoil of ages to his troops. The devastation\* of that time could never be repaired. Even Clement's own city expelled the Medici. The most fatal consequences were the result of this capture, since the superstitious reverence, the almost divine notion of heavenly interference for the holy city was destroyed, and the power of the emperor established in triple vigor. There was, too, another consequence, the unhappy result from the humiliated position of the pope, Charles demanded a general council. As it had always been a question whether infallibility rested in the pope or in the general council, or jointly in the two, the holy fathers were uncommonly reluctant to call these councils. The councils also, despite that shuffling argument often resorted to by the Romanists, that such were not properly convened, had a most unfortunate habit, the result of their human nature, as regarded infallibility, of contradicting each other. Clement himself had been considerably inconvenienced by this attribute, since Henry VIII. had called on his infallibility to negative, in the case of his wife Katherine of Arragon, the previous infallibility of Julius II., who in 1503 had pronounced the marriage which Henry sought to annul valid, and had unluckily issued a bull to that effect. All the power of the holy see appeared on the wane; the illegitimacy of the pope, a fatal bar in his own church, was bruited abroad in his adversity, which would never have been urged probably in his prosperity, and Clement VIIth died sunken in spirit by the prospect of existing and impending evils. At this period the aspect of the religious world was certainly favorable to the Lutheran principles, even among some of the staunchest advocates of the Romish see. Contarini, Pole, Sadolet, even Caraffa held very analogous sentiments to Luther on some points. Naples, the house of Colonna generally, Modena, all exhibited traces of a similar tendency. The inquisition reckoned 3000 schoolmasters as adherents of the new doctrine. When Paul III. succeeded to the vacant chair, he requested Contarini

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\* Still we may be allowed to clear, on the authority of the report of an embassy in the time of Adrian VI., the German Landsknechts from an act of barbarism charged on them at the sacking of Rome. The Laocoon had previously lost the right arm, for these ambassadors saw it in that condition. Their description of the statue is well worthy an attentive perusal.—App. 17.

and others to draw up a scheme of church reform, and executed many useful alterations. It was strongly urged upon him that the great dogma in which Luther's whole system was involved might be made the bond of union between the Romish and Protestant churches. He unquestionably favoured the notion, and instructed Contarini to use his best efforts to effect it. Contarini, aided by Morone and Tommaso da Modena, acted on this occasion with consummate prudence, discussing the fundamental articles of faith first, wisely leaving the supremacy of the pope for a later period of the argument. They actually came to an agreement with the Lutheran divines on the four important articles: The Nature of Man, Original Sin, Redemption, and even Justification. Luther and the pope remained to be consulted. Luther did not believe that the Romanists cordially supported his cardinal doctrine—justification. He dissuaded the Elector from attending the diet in person. The pope did not come to so decided a view as Luther. Strong opposition arose upon the points of doctrine at Rome; but Francis I., who saw in this union a wonderful increase of power to the emperor, used all his efforts to prevent the arrangement of the religious differences. Fresh discontent and disputation arose at Rome: the mild formula of Contarini was objected to by the zealots; no tolerance was shown to the Lutheran sentiments; and Contarini, who had deserved the name of the Roman Melancthon, foiled in his noblest ends by the narrow spirit of Romanism, returned and left unfinished a work that accomplished would have saved rivers of blood. On this subject we have the following remark by our author equally sound and philosophical: "It is a necessary condition of every great and important tendency of human opinion, that it should be strong enough to establish its authority and achieve its triumph. It must predominate or perish." This was felt, though the age then might have been unequal to the expression. Reforms were as earnestly felt to be necessary to the vitality of existing institutions among the Romanists as among the Protestants. Reforms were accordingly taken in hand, but they partook of all the error that hung around the darkened nature of the ancient ecclesiastical institutions. They were modes of discipline rather than of doctrine. They unhappily were constructed to support the papacy rather than Christianity. The monkish spirit of solitude, vows, separate cells, broke forth. The Theatins arose, and lastly came Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuits. We shall not enter largely into the subject of the founder of the Jesuits, but at the outset think it right to remark, that possibly no founder ever formed an order that more varied from himself than the Jesuits did from Loyola. He was all emotion—an entire emotionist—if we may be allowed the term; but the Jesuits were keen calculators of the effects of

a crafty policy. Loyola has had many modern disciples apart from his order, the visionary class in all ages being large, though vastly inferior to him in grandeur of sentiment. There is, there always has, and there always probably will be, a class of persons who are insensible to revelation, except they obtain something like private and peculiar revealings, suited to the individual constitution of their visionary minds. Numerous fanciful delusions, eagerly seized on by the credulous, are constantly believed, and experiences of the most light and wavering character are readily put forth. Half the world possibly hovers at times on the brink of reason. Loyola often exceeded it. He had been a soldier; he became wounded, to which accident we probably owe the order of the Jesuits. His madness, the result of this illness, took a leaning from the romantic in knighthood to the romantic in Romanism. The vow which he forced upon his followers, to do whatever the pope commanded, to go into whatever country he sent them, to the Jews, the Turks, Heathens and Heretics, on the instant, without pay or recompense, partakes largely of the spirit of ancient chivalry. It also shows the necessity then existent in the ecclesiastical dominions for some powerful stimulant to the practice of higher views and principles than those in operation. This was felt by themselves, and even the founder of the Jesuits was formed out of the Reformation spirit. Pity it was that such a spirit should become, with many elements of greatness, exclusively papistic, a circumstance that strengthened the order at its rise, and yet materially accelerated its fall. We have seen the unwillingness of Paul to summon the Council at Trent from many other causes, but the fearful lay power lodged in the emperor of calling one himself, a measure with which he was menaced, probably induced him to hasten the convocation. It would take volumes to describe the proceedings of that important council; suffice it to say, that in Sarpi and Pallavicini will be found the best combination of the circumstances attendant on it. The point of justification, despite of Pole, who supported the moderate party, and conjured the council not to reject a doctrine because espoused by Luther, was opposed by Caraffa, and the bigoted Romanist party, to whom the Jesuits, instructed by Ignatius, lent their aid, and the council threw out the doctrine, severing for ever all communion with Protestants. Of course this tone of policy was immediately carried out. Caraffa and Burgos, both Dominicans, set about the revival of the Inquisition, which, though probably not the device of their founder Dominic, Ranke thinks differently, received its main support through that order. The Jesuits account it among their "*præmia laudis*" that Ignatius supported this proposition of a revival by an express memorial, and Paul issued in 1542 a bull for this object. The

following rules, which Ranke gives from the MS. life of Caraffa, show its extreme rigour :

" 1°. In affairs of faith there must not be a moment's delay ; but on the slightest suspicion, proceedings must be taken with the utmost diligence.

" 2°. No regard must be paid to any potentate or prelate, whatever be his power or dignity.

" 3°. On the contrary, the greatest severity must be shown towards those who seek to shelter themselves under the protection of a ruler ; only when confession is made are leniency and fatherly compassion to be shown.

" 4°. To Heretics, and especially Calvinists, no toleration must be granted."

The execution of these orders drove forth from Italy numerous distinguished scholars, and closed instantly academies and universities. Victims were butchered in the ruthless fashion of the zealots in Rome. Autos da fe took place before the church of Santa Maria alla Minerva, and the victims were sent out to sea from Venice in boats with planks across, on which they were placed, to drown them wholesale. With this tremendous system in action, the power of the Jesuits, who extended themselves even in Loyola's life over nearly the entire globe, came into conjoined operation. We extract the brief but exquisite description of their principal governing principles.

"In this society obedience usurped the place of every relation or affection, of every impulse or motive that could stimulate men to activity : obedience for its own sake, without any regard whatever to its object or consequences. No man was permitted to aspire after any rank or station above that which he held : if it happened that the secular coadjutor could not read and write, he was not to learn without permission. With the most absolute abrogation of all right of private judgment, he who entered this society must suppose himself to be ruled by his superiors, in blind submissiveness, like some inanimate thing—like the staff that is turned to any purpose at the will of him who holds it. He was to behold in his superiors the representatives of Divine Providence."—Vol. i. p. 224.

Protestantism was then met by this unhealthy action of the moral subject, by this prostration of intellect system. No circumstance could mark out with mightier power the necessity for it than the means that were requisite to suppress it. This Roman monstrosity, like Cacus, though it vomited forth flame incessantly, became utterly subdued under the herculean steadiness of the principle opposed to it, and only indicated by its fumes the foul habitation in which it dwelt to the fated destroyer. The year 1552 severed all conciliation between the three great forms of Christianity, says Ranke, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Ro-

manism. But deeply is it to be regretted by every moderate minded man that this division arose on points not fundamental to salvation—points which each of the three at present, we are fully convinced, at heart rejects as a source of division—points which Catherine de Medici considered reconcilable, as our readers will see in a paper in the present number—but points on which one of the three, trammelled with councils and Popes, cannot with consistency yield, and on which the others had a clear right of private judgment. This is denied to Romanism, which system always combined the essential with the non-essential, and treated discipline in the same fashion as doctrine. Her attitude has become immoveable—the Niobe of nations, she will stiffen into deeper hardness, until even her fondest admirers will at last perceive there is no life in her, and await that awful revival of grace that will be as life from the dead. Could Paul III. have calculated the conformity of the nativity of Protestantism with his own, to such hands were national destinies then entrusted, he would have probably acted far otherwise, for he was greatly guided by astrology in most proceedings. A treaty with France was delayed by him for no other reason than a want of correspondence between his own nativity and that of the French king. We should be curious to know whether he had tried the experiment with the nativity of Luther. Paul III. turned his attention entirely in the latter years of his life to nepotism. He was at least no hypocrite in owning openly an illegitimate son and daughter. To their welfare he devoted great attention, but his son was assassinated at Piacenza on the very day on which Paul had been heard to express himself perfectly satisfied with the prosperity that surrounded him. He died, it is said, broken hearted at the detection of the treachery that on all sides surrounded him from his family and supposed friends. He was noble in the distribution of the offices of the see, and was perfectly free from many of the papal vices; but dark suspicion of co-operation in many deeds of most questionable character hangs over his memory, and he was certainly unfortunate in the course of events during his reign. Still did he die with the popular affections entirely his, but these will not heal the closer blows at our happiness dealt by kindred and false friends. His successor was Julius III., who ascended the throne the 7th February, 1550. This pope made one move in politics, which proving unlucky and producing the reverse results to what he had anticipated, he quietly sat himself down, and having drawn the plan, built the Villa di Papa Giulio, by the Porta del Popolo. Here he enjoyed himself and suffered the world to take care of itself, doing probably less harm than such of his predecessors as

had busied themselves in schemes for its welfare without understanding the question. Passing the brief papacy of Marcellus II. we come to the pontificate of Paul IV. who was invested with this dignity 23rd May, 1555. Giovanni Pietro Caraffa had been the most severe opponent of the nepotism of Paul III. and the most bitter against the Protestants of any in the College of Cardinals, yet few exhibited more nepotism over a large extent of his time in the papacy, or had greater occasion to bless himself for the stout heretics that dwelt in Rome. Caraffa hated Charles V. for numerous ill offices which he conceived the emperor had done him over a considerable portion of his early career. An open rupture ensued with Charles and Philip II., for hatred of Spain was almost innate in the family of Caraffa, and but for the reverence of Alva for papal power, Rome had again shared the fate that Bourbon bestowed upon her. On this occasion the only trustworthy defenders of the Pope were the Germans. Alva however revered Caraffa; they were men of similar tendencies; and after besieging his Holiness in Rome, quietly kissed his foot and expressed his devotion to his service. Can any distinction be drawn more illustrative of the line of demarcation between the civil and religious obedience of the intelligent Romanist than the conduct of Alva? The sovereigns of the Romish belief were as reluctant to admit the position of the pope's temporal power as the Protestant to the full. Well might Caraffa say of Philip II., when some one called that king his friend, "yes, my friend who besieged me, who sought my very soul." He was unable to realize his high notion of the dignity of the church in his political attitude, but was ceaseless in his exertions to amend her discipline. The pomp of the church none had more at heart. The decorations of the Sistine chapel were his work. No pope, not even Leo X., ever manifested more love of magnificent worship. Severe in character, the Inquisition was of course congenial to his spirit, and autos da fé were to him occasions of active duty. However self deceived, he died commending his soul to the prayers of all the Cardinals around him, and equally earnest in his adjurations to them to maintain the Holy See and the Inquisition. He was succeeded by Pius IV., whose pontificate is chiefly remarkable for the Council of Trent being then brought to a close. By the final proceedings then adopted, Romanism severed herself for ever from the Protestant and Greek church. "The power," says Ranke, "aimed at by the first movers of a general council was not attained, the limitation of the power of the pope. The Pontiff, as the interpreter of the decrees of Trent, secured the prescription of the rule of faith and life. Primitive Catholicism included

an element of Protestantism in its bosom, this was for ever expelled. The Catholic Church saw and admitted the diminished extent of her dominion; she ceased to take any notice of Greece and the East, and thrust Protestantism from her with countless anathemas. But the more the power of the Church of Rome was circumscribed, the more it was concentrated and collected against assaults." But if the line of circumvallation be thus mighty, and the circle of defence thus narrow, we may safely conclude that the points on which assault can be made, appliances from without being so numerous compared with what can be mustered within, must require such unwearied defenders that even this *æs triplex* must give way before such battering. This pope, notwithstanding he had achieved a work of such extreme importance as the adjustment of this council, in a manner fully satisfying the Romanists, was not however in high estimation with them. He had done much, the tendencies of the age led all parties to form extravagant ideas of what could be effected, and the general idea was, that he both ought to have effected and could have realized far more. The rigid party had soon an opportunity of seeing what they could effect by the election of Pius V. We extract the following description of him from our author:—

"Even when pope he lived in all the austerity of his monastic life, fasted with the utmost rigor and punctuality, and would wear no finer garments than before; frequently said mass, and heard it every day: yet so careful was he lest his spiritual exercises should distract him from public purposes, that he arose at an extreme early hour in the morning, and took no siesta. If we were inclined to doubt the depth of his religious earnestness, we may accept as a proof of it his declaration that he found the papacy unfavourable to his advance in piety; that it did not contribute to enable him to work out the salvation of his soul, or to attain the glories of paradise; he thought that without prayer this burthen would be too heavy for him to bear. The happiness of a fervent devotion, which often moved him to tears, and from which he arose with the persuasion that he was heard—this happiness, the only one of which he had ever been susceptible, was granted him to the end of his life. The people were excited to enthusiasm when they saw him walking in processions barefoot and bareheaded, with the genuine expression of unaffected piety in his countenance, and with his long snow-white beard falling on his breast. They thought that there had never been so pious a pope; they told each other that his very look converted heretics."

Yet this man never mitigated punishment, and always advocated severity. Even Philip II. could not tolerate him. The primate of all Spain, the Archbishop of Toledo, Carranga, who was allowed to have done more than any other prelate for the restoration of papacy in England, could not escape the Inquisition which Pius favoured in all its plenitude. "I have had," says



Carranga, "no other object than the suppression of heresy, and in this God has shown favour to me. I have myself arrested many who have erred from the faith. I have caused the bodies of some leaders of heresy to be dug up and burned. Catholics and Protestants have called me the chief defender of the faith." This appeal availed not against the Inquisition. His writings had, in the opinion of that tribunal, a Protestant leaning. He was brought from Spain to Rome, and there suffered death.

Auto da fé followed auto da fé; but foreigners were the chief sufferers after 1570. This pope was a man of blood. His religion, if such it can be called, partook largely of the rigidity of the Inquisition, a tribunal which had petrified his heart. Not only did he aid the French Catholics with troops, but he gave Santafiore the diabolical injunction "to take no Huguenots prisoners, but instantly to kill all that fell into his hands." The cruelties of Alva in the Netherlands, who took care to follow Machiavelli's rule "*esser temuto*," received his solemn sanction, and the consecrated hat and sword were sent to him in the midst of his butchery, as a token, it would appear, that it was possible to find a human being and a priest capable of mating, nay exceeding, in the cold-blooded meditation of the closet all the atrocities which that general had enacted in the field. Yet he died in acts of solemn worship, combining them most fearfully with the organization of the League, for which he laid aside a casket filled with scudi two days before he died with the words "*sario boni per la lega*." He died May 1st, 1572. His successor was the reformer of the Kalendar, Gregory XIII., who ascribed this work to miraculous intervention. His reign is marked by violent struggles with the nobility whose castles and estates he escheated, and for the lawless ravages of the banditti, whom the pope was not only compelled to pardon, but, grievous retribution! to absolve from their iniquities. How keenly must a pope have felt this lash when thus urged by his own hand on himself. Our author, though right in the appreciation of the humbled condition of the papacy, is certainly injudicious in closing the history of this reign in the following manner:—"The aged pope, feeble and weary of life, cast his eyes to heaven and cried, 'Thou wilt arise, O Lord, and wilt have mercy upon Zion.'" We think the strict annalist, which Ranke is, should not mingle the poetical with the historical. Strict rigidity to simple truth is the duty of the historian. He may philosophize on causes,—he may, on the history of an imaginative period, write in the same spirit; but the memoir of the individual does not admit the same licence, and the positive details of the death of Gregory ought to have been supplied rather than an imaginative flourish. The College of

Cardinals next elected Felice Peretti, who took the name of Sixtus V. There is a life of this prelate extant very familiar to English readers, by Leti, greatly calculated to mislead the general reader. We read it, well we remember it, at that happy period when a touch of the marvellous rather induced us in youthful credulity to continue than to abandon our researches, and, to say the truth, believed it to be most veracious. But, alas! all the details nearly are false, and the alleged imposition said to have been practised on the cardinals by Sixtus, with respect to his infirmities, appears to be as baseless a fabrication as the life, by the same author, of Donna Olympia Maldachina, sister-in-law to Innocent X., who has apparently been equally maligned by this writer in numerous instances. We have a great distrust for interesting mythological biography. On this subject Ranke has the following apposite remarks:—

“It is striking how history, when resting on the memory of men, always touches the bounds of mythology. The delineations of character become more sharp and vigorous; they approach in some respects to an ideal which the imagination can lay hold of; events are painted in a more marked and distinct manner; accessory circumstances and causes are forgotten or neglected. By such a process alone do the demands of the fancy appear capable of being satisfied. At a later period comes the scholar, who wonders how such false notions could ever have been embraced, does his best to uproot errors, and at last finds out that this task is not so easy. The reason may be convinced, but the imagination is not to be subdued.”—Vol. iii. p. 122, App.

The first great effort of Sixtus was to suppress the banditti, and though all his measures do not merit commendation in this matter, yet his determination to subdue them was, we admit, carried out vigorously and admirably realized its end. He instituted manufactures of various kinds, planted the mulberry extensively to encourage the silk trade, added eight new congregations to those existing in the College of Cardinals, some of which it is a great pity (the Inquisition for example) that he did not abolish. He fixed the number of cardinals at seventy. He raised three millions of gold scudi in as many years. The *Acqua Felice* was by him carried into Rome. But, alas! in his zeal for fine modern buildings he destroyed, we fear, numerous antient edifices, particularly the *Septizonium* of Severus. The tomb of *Cæcilia Metella* would have followed the same fate, but for the remonstrances of Cardinal Colonna. The Slavonian blood from which he descended was anti-Roman. Of the very statues with which the citizens of Rome had adorned the capitol Jupiter Tonans, between Apollo and Minerva, he suffered simply the Minerva to remain, with a huge cross in the place of her spear, to convey an

image of the genius of Christendom. He capped the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus with statues of St. Paul and St. Peter, and they remain in their aerial elevation to this day. The obelisk in front of St. Peter's was raised by him on its present site. The cupola of St. Peter's was also his work. He offered to furnish money, provided he lived to see it realized as a whole; and he did so, with the exception of the leaden covering, in two and twenty months. His taste was questionable, his zeal for what he deemed improvements beyond question. But his life was filled with the strangest schemes conceivable, all which led doubtless to the issue, that with his mighty powers and the circumstances of the period favouring strongly the spread of Romanism, he did not very perceptibly promote her sway. His schemes for subduing Turkey, Egypt, cutting a canal through Suez, Napoleon's also, and the conquest of the sepulchre, all attracted his momentary favouritism; but none assumed any thing like that fixity of arrangement that is necessary to carry out magnificent ideas. All his reign had the character on it which the people affixed to his death, which, as it occurred during a violent storm, was reported to be caused by the close of a compact with Satan. And in that storm it was believed the spirit of the pope vanished with his familiar. His sudden rise, wavering character, suspicious orthodoxy, all gave occasion for these reports which clearly showed he did not, according to popular notions, die in the odour of sanctity. His heart appears to have been with the heretics, Elizabeth and Henry, and we suspect his secret convictions, though his position prevented their developement. Guise he could not but support, and his character contained in it grand and noble elements, which this pope well appreciated. Henry III., between Guise, Sixtus, Catherine de Medicis and the Romanists and Navarre, and the Protestants, was like the poor cat in the adage, "Letting, I dare not; wait upon I would." When he ceased to fool himself of his fair purpose, and adopted, like Macbeth, a foul one, by the murder of Guise, his position was rather worse than better.

A spirit was excited against him which terminated in his murder by Clement,—marking the dreadful fanatic tendency of the age. Sixtus ascribed the death of Henry to the hand of God. "It is only to the hand of God," says the Spanish ambassador to Philip, "that this fortunate event is to be ascribed." Maximilian of Bavaria (but when was there a king of Bavaria that was not Jesuit-ridden down to the present Solomon?), expresses his joy in a letter to his mother, "that the king of France was killed."

The murderer, Clement, a Dominican monk, was viewed at Paris as a saint and martyr. His image was placed upon the

altars. The pope further compared the deed to the Incarnation of the Word, and the Resurrection of the Saviour. All these iniquities, (and Henry IV. died from a similar fanaticism), may be mainly traced to the principle laid down by the Jesuits, of the absolute supremacy of the Church over the State. Bellarmine, Mariana (who published a book expressly vindicating the murder of Henry III.), Campian, Eudæmon Johannes, Parsons, &c., all promoted this view. Let us take into juxtaposition with these actions just enumerated, the following extracts from the works of the three first cited authorities. Let us suppose Clement or Ravailac in doubt on the moral fitness of the murder of the respective kings that fell beneath their hands. Bellarmine, the best controversialist of the age on the Romish side, in this state of doubt, would tell him, "that should the pope enjoin the practice of vice, and prevent the observance of virtue, the Church is bound to believe that vice is virtue, and virtue vice, under pain of mortal sin."

"Fides Catholica docet omnem virtutem esse bonam, omne vitium esse malum; si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare. Tenetur enim in rebus dubiis Ecclesia acquiescere iudicio summi Pontificis, et facere quod ille præcepit, non facere quod ille prohibet, ac ne forte contra conscientiam agat, tenetur credere bonum esse quod ille præcipit, malum quod ille prohibet."—*Disputationes R. Bellarmini Politiani, S. R. E. De Controversiis Christianæ Fidei adversus hujus temporis Hæreticos. Quat. tom. Paris, 1608.*

"Jacobus Clemens nomine, in Heduis natus, pago ignobili Serbona, in sui ordinis Dominicano collegio Theologiæ operam dabat; cum cognito a Theologis quos erat sciscitatus tyrannum jure interimere posse, tum acceptis literis ab iis quos ab Henrico voto in urbe, aut palam stare odoratus erat suppresso consilio certus Regis perimendi in castra abiit."—*Mariana Libri ad Philippum 3. Hispaniæ Regem Catholicum. Anno 1605, lib. i. cap. 6, p. 51. An tyrannum opprimere fas sit?*

The Jesuit victim is well described:—"Clement 24 annis, simplici juvenis ingenio, neque robusto corpore sed major vis vires et animum confirmabat." A weak tool fitted by his simplicity and youth for Jesuit cunning to work to any point. *Cognito a Theologis.* Getting his instructions from his theological tutors to murder his king!

Campian's letter to the privy-council of Queen Elizabeth:—

"Be it known, that all Jesuits in the wide world's extent have long since entered into an engagement to cut off by any means heretic kings; and as to our society, I wish you to understand that all we who belong to the Society of Jesus, scattered far and wide through earth's expanse, have joined in a solemn league to overturn all your measures, which we shall easily effect while one of us shall be found in existence."

Eudæmon Johannes, in contradiction to Sir E. Coke, would also tell him, that deposing kings "non est Jesuitarum propria sed totius ecclesiæ, et quidem ab antiquissimis temporibus consensione recepta doctrina nostra est." He also enumerates twenty-seven authors of the same opinion. Would the zealots of any age need further stimulants?

Chateaubriand has asked and answered the following question, "Que peut on reprocher aux Jesuites? Un peu d'ambition si naturelle au génie."—*Génie du Christianisme*, vol. iii. p. 201. Paris, 1818.

If a mind like Chateaubriand's be thus enslaved under these degrading influences,—if this be the sober decision of the author of *Atala* in the nineteenth century, reviewing the dark deeds of ages past, can we wonder at the Jacques Clement and Ravailiac of the sixteenth and seventeenth? Must we not come to the conclusion that there hangs around Romanism a bewildering mist, that shuts out the odious parts of the system from observation, or rather does the blindness grow in the man? But the opposite principle, of loyalty to the sovereign, to the exclusion of papal tyranny, prevailed largely both in France and Spain. In the latter we have seen that Philip II. was by no means inclined to obey the see in such matters, but sought not simply freedom from coercion but to coerce the pope. In France, despite the papal influence, a large party remained faithful to Henry of Navarre. But still the principle existed in sufficient force to compel Henry to turn Romanist, and it was not until the reign of Clement VIII. that he received absolution. Even this did not save him from Ravailiac. The intervening popes, three in number, only occupy a space of two years. Few pontiffs have shown a better spirit in some matters, for we really believe our author's eulogium on Clement correct:—"He wished that nothing should be perceptible in him but what was becoming and in harmony with the idea of a good, wise, and pious man." In all matters connected with the difficult case of Henry IV., he conducted himself with great dexterity; and the most amusing circumstance of the period in public sentiment is, the alteration of the opinion of the Sorbonne. They had declared the people absolved from the oath of allegiance to Henry III., and called on them to depose him; but in the case of Henry IV., then a heretic unreconciled to the Church, they acknowledged all dominion was from God, that every man who set himself in opposition to the king rebelled against God, and subjected himself to damnation. "The Sorbonne," says Ranke, "rejected the doctrine, that it was lawful to refuse obedience to the sovereign, because not recognized by the pope, as an invention of evil-minded and ill-advised men." Jean

Chastel, who attended the schools of the Jesuits, attempted to assassinate Henry, and confessed that he had imbibed his notions from that body. The people could scarce be withheld from violence against the Jesuits, and they were ordered to quit the kingdom within fourteen days.

Such were the mutations of the Sorbonne, but even the Jesuits themselves were at this period subject also to great divisions in their own order, for by a singular coincidence, though every Jesuit bound himself by a fifth vow to devote himself to Spain, yet at this very period discontented members of the body attacked it even in that country. At this time the general, Aquaviva, was a Neapolitan. Spain had reckoned on monopolizing this office, but the later elections had been against her. The Inquisition had subjected many offences to the simple cognizance of the Jesuits, to report on them to that tribunal. One of the Jesuits charged his order with concealing and pardoning offences, provided they were committed by its officers. The Jesuits, though inspectors for the Inquisition, were also to subject themselves to the same self-inspection. The Inquisition immediately noticed this point, and arrested a provincial with some of his most active associates. Impressions went abroad in consequence, that the order was guilty of heresy. However they affected to support him, Philip II. never cordially supported them. He was accustomed to say they were the only body he could not understand, and that he was not able to trace the tendency of their actions. In this spirit one can easily conceive that the malcontents of the body found a ready hearing. Sufficient influence was also used with Clement by the king and the Spanish Jesuits to induce him to order a general congregation. "These congregations were," as Ranke pithily remarks, "as inconvenient to the General of the Jesuits as general councils to a pope." They were more especially so to Aquaviva when there was dissension in his order. He however submitted, and took his measures accordingly.

In the elections he contrived to exclude even the celebrated Mariana, and in the assembly of the congregation the general was acquitted of all infringement of the statutes of his order. Being personally safe, Aquaviva proceeded to meet the other points. Philip then demanded the renunciation of several points in the order that interfered with the Inquisition and the government. Aquaviva conceded them. Philip next required that the powers of the superiors should be limited, and that the general congregation should assemble at stated intervals. The congregation rejected this, but the pope, fully convinced of the necessity, ordained that the superior and rectors should be changed every third year, and the general congregation meet on the sixth. This was of

course submitted to from the conceded omnipotence of the pope, as head of the Church. But the troubles of the order did not end here; one of their most fatal disputes followed. The Jesuits had originally been Thomists. Their founder espoused that system. But the Dominicans, to whose order St. Thomas belonged, were regarded as the best expositors, from that circumstance, of his opinions. The Jesuits were determined to be paramount. Unluckily for them, the Dominicans held the seats of theology in Spain, and when Aquaviva published the "Rule of Studies," it was immediately condemned in that quarter. The Rule of Studies simply stated that the Jesuits demanded greater freedom of opinion, that St. Thomas was very well in his time, but that many modern works had combated particular errors with greater effect, and was intended obviously to put aside the angelical doctor, as a respectable divine in his time, but that his period was past. The Jesuits now occupied a most important position; the eyes of Europe were upon them, for the angelic doctor, among other points, was a rigid predestinarian. The marvel is, that so clear-sighted a body (at such a time) should have mooted the question. The possible case was, that the Thomists would have been too much for them, had they acted otherwise. The Lutheran, the Calvinist, and the Romanist at this period divided the world between them. To us, the difference between Calvin and Luther appears much less than it did then, for in reality these Reformers do not differ so widely, although Luther greatly modified his early sentiments under the mild teaching of Melancthon. This religious question has now resolved into a controversy with Calvin and Luther on one side, Melancthon and Arminius on the other. The British Church, though accused of Calvinistic Articles, has really tenfold more tendency in its articles to Arminius and Melancthon, than to Calvin or Luther. The rejection of the numerous proposed alterations of Bucer, the doctrine of final perseverance, thrown out at once by the king and bishops, at the Hampton Conference, are clearly indicative of the supposed tendency then, and the expressions of the articles are sufficiently strong to persons who are disposed to take a fair view of the import of language; but, alas! these are few among controversialists. However, at this time Lutheranism took a far more moderate position than we are at present disposed to concede to it. The Jesuits thereupon were necessarily compelled, having attacked the fatalist system, to defend their position. Molina accordingly published a book, which, like most jesuitical productions, evinced great acuteness but small talent, and most heterodox notions. He had, of course, to maintain the doctrine of the Council of Trent, and he not only did so, but went a stage be-

yond it. He held, as Ranke states, "that the free-will can without the aid of grace bring forth morally good works; that it has the power to resist temptation, and to raise itself to acts of hope, faith, and repentance. When man has attained this point, God, then, for the sake of the merits of Christ, grants him grace, through which he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification; but the reception of this grace, or its increase, in no way affects the activity or freedom of the will. On this, he maintains, all depends; it rests with ourselves to render the help of God effectual or ineffectual." This was, of course, totally opposed to the Thomists, who embraced the notions of Augustin. Molina further asserted the predestination of that writer to be stern and cruel (in which he was quite right), and admitted no other predestination than what is contained in prescience, and that this prescience exercised no force upon man's action. A large portion of Molina was right, a much larger wrong. The Dominicans called this downright heresy, and the grand inquisitor pronounced Molina's book heretical, and condemned it to the flames. But Aquaviva was not easily beaten. On the death of the inquisitor he appealed to the pope. His position was singular. His order was expelled from France for the advocacy of the doctrine of the lawfulness of murdering heretic sovereigns, and "Free Will" had expelled it from Spain. On the first point the pope was with them; and they had contrived to get the suspiciously orthodox Henry IV. on their side, by tacitly surrendering the league and admonishing the people to obedience to the sovereign. We easily see into these inconsistencies *now*, but the Jesuits so mystified them, that they probably did not appear in this light *then*. Henry accordingly re-established the order in France. The pope still wavered in directly espousing their cause, when the Jesuits immediately changed their tactics, and began to talk about a general council. He instantly exclaimed, "They dare every thing—every thing." And they did so, for they quietly told him, that though the pope was infallible, yet it was no article of their faith to acknowledge one man or another for the true pope. A subtlety well conceived, and perfectly in their refining spirit. Clement, however, came to no decision in their case; the Dominicans and the king of Spain on one side, the French and Jesuits on the other, kept him in the state of Mahomet's coffin. It must be owned also, that though both Dominicans and Jesuits, and the Council of Trent were all theologically wrong, yet that the Jesuits were nearer to the errors of that council than the Dominicans, and it is owing to this difficulty also, that after sixty-five meetings, Clement possibly arrived at Sir Roger de Coverley's conclusion, that "much might be said on both sides."



In this state matters remained during the papacy of Clement. He was succeeded by Leo XI., who surviving his exaltation only fifteen days, the election then fell on Cardinal Borghese, who assumed the style of Paul V. His papacy was mainly occupied by a violent contest between him and the Venetians. Clement VIII. having possessed himself of Ferrara by means of very questionable equity, Venice became jealous for her personal liberty. By her peculiar constitution she was nearly independent of her powerful neighbour. For reference to Rome was expressly forbidden in her decreta, and she even ventured to tax the clergy. The republic further demanded that the benefices there should be filled by Venetians. Bellarmine and Baronius, mighty names, held the immunity of the priesthood and of the papal power from any temporal jurisdiction, but they were more than met by the powerful arguments of the Venetian Sarpi,\* whose works contain a complete statement of the law on Church and State, defining their just limits. The Venetians completely espoused the notions of their talented countryman, and the pope excommunicated the republic in consequence, but the Venetian clergy refused to comply with the order; not a single copy of the pope's bull was affixed to the churches. The Jesuits even were in doubt, but the great principle of their institute induced them to obey the pope. This quarrel, though arranged amicably, ended with the severe loss to the pope of his most devoted adherents in Venice, the Jesuits, who thus at last became expelled even from an Italian territory. The fatal limit to Roman power was fixed by Paoli Sarpi. "Justly is Paoli Sarpi's memory held in reverence in all Catholic states," says Ranke, "he was the able and victorious champion of those principles, determining the bounds of ecclesiastical authority, which are their guides and safeguards to this day." Great efforts were however made in Poland, Sweden, and Germany by the Romanists at this period. Henry IV. also, though he proclaimed the Edict of Nantes, which preserved all Protestant rights, gave an immense tendency to the Romanist opinions. The ascetic orders were never more rife, and certainly must have gained by the powerful contrast with the dissipated court and king. But the fatal issue to Rome from the reign of Paul was, that though the Romanists succeeded in regaining many German states to the see, yet the monarchical tendencies

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\* An attempt was made on the life of Fra Paoli Sarpi, in the spirit of the age, by five assassins who gave him fifteen wounds, one with a stiletto in the head. He survived the attack, and the Venetian senate rewarded the skilful services of the surgeon who preserved his life with knighthood. He then wrote his *History of the Council of Trent*, the sheets of which were sent by Sir Henry Wotton to King James, so that the first edition appeared at London in 1619.

were stronger than the ecclesiastical, which affected seriously the temporal power of the pope. Paul V. died from a fit of apoplexy while celebrating the victory of the Weissburgh, which put an end to the hopes of Frederic the Elector Palatine, the great supporter of the Protestant interest in Germany. But ere we close the history of his reign we may mention one fact in itself completely illustrative of the times. This pope appointed a commission to examine into the opinion of the Pole Copernicus, concerning the motion of the earth. The issue of that inquiry terminated in permission being granted to assert the motion for scientific reasoning, but inhibited persons from treating it as a truth. They allowed it as an hypothesis, but forbade it as a matter of doctrine, conceiving it contrary to scripture. His successor was Gregory XV. To him are owing the propaganda, and the introduction of Ignatius and Xavier as saints into Rome's ample calendar. Romanism increased wonderfully under this pope, and missions were promoted with most laudable zeal throughout most parts of the world. To Xavier the world is certainly a debtor. The Jesuits obtained at this period that singular footing in China which has been the admiration of modern travellers, but they held this, like all their possessions, but for a brief space. Gregory must however have died with great satisfaction, from the reflection of the high missionary spirit that had marked his reign, and the tranquillity that reigned over Christendom. The calm of this reign was succeeded by the turbulent period of Urban VIII. The genius of Richelieu rose dominant over all. Urban was successful, or rather carried out the line of success that Gregory had laid in Germany, and elated with it, began to form more extensive schemes of secular power. But Romanism was weakened at this period by the gigantic efforts of Richelieu against Spain and Austria. The pope was also treated by the cardinal with as little decency as any other power when he interfered with his views. The Huguenot was also protected if Richelieu's policy lay that way. Urban entered also into the battle against the House of Austria. The Emperor Ferdinand, however, was no mean foe even when opposed to such men as Richelieu and Urban. The celebrated Gustavus Adolphus appeared upon the scene as the champion of Protestantism. Small opposition was offered by Urban to this chief; he had his own views of humbling Austria, the great secret of his policy, and had abandoned no claim of the papacy in letting, like Richelieu, any instrument work out his policy. Urban became however inextricably entangled with domestic wars, which exhausted his treasury, and led probably to his unhappy end, on July 29, 1644. In his time Italian troubles compelled the pope to look at home. Ferrara, Urbino, which

had been seized by the popes, opened the eyes of the Italian states, and rendered the sovereign pontiff odious in the eyes of even Italians. The pontificate of Innocent X. was one of quietude; and Alexander VII. was but the shadow of a pope: possibly the most stirring event of his reign was the singular circumstance of Queen Christina of Sweden, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, embracing the Roman Catholic faith, and assuming in honour of this pope the name of Alessandra. His successor, Clement IX., was deservedly elected to the vacant see. His reign is remarkable for its bringing to a close the celebrated controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. We can do little more than give a brief account of the subject-matter of this dispute, and must refer our readers to the third volume of Ranke for a masterly sketch of the polemical disputation. The Jesuits had departed largely even from their own constitution, since they had deposed their general without any moral imputation against him, and yet by their very constitution they owed him unconditional obedience. This weakened their system.

A distrust similar to that in Spain had arisen of them even at Rome. The nuntio of Gregory XV., the Bishop d'Aversa, was expressly cautioned not to repose implicit trust in them. With prudent wariness he was told to be careful in various quarters "*e parimenti a' padri Gesuiti ricorrera con avveduta confidenza.*" We have seen their political sentiments in a former part of this article; we shall now show a small portion of their religious system. They defined sin to be a wilful infringement of the commands of God. In what did this wilfulness consist? In perfect knowledge of the nature of the sin committed, and in the full consent of the will to its commission. This mode of viewing sin enabled them to get out of vast difficulties. A person, according to them, might will the commission of evil, but this was not sin. The word of Jesus pronounced the contrary proposition. The less heed of God a man took on this principle in sinning, the nearer was he to virtue and forgiveness. Duelling was prohibited by the Church; but if a man were in danger of incurring any grievous loss by adherence to this principle, then he might fight. Perjury was defined in the same manner as it is at present at Maynooth, where it is said there are seven causes excusing the obligation of an oath, and five altogether removing it. The Jesuits defined exterior swearing without the consent of the mind to the act as jesting. Any person of course may perceive that this system contained principles that totally removed moral restraint. Their great principle of the end sanctifying the means flowed out of the same element, since it is evident they looked on all acts simply in relation to their issues, and tested their guilt

simply by the issue. All morality and religion would speedily have disappeared under this system, and Jesuitism would have usurped the seat of Jesus. Jansenius accordingly came forward as one of the champions to prevent this fatal issue. The advocate of a vigorous examination of the heart and head, making the love of God the great governing principle, defining grace as liberation of the soul from the bonds of lust. His friend St. Cyran also gave a practical illustration of the system in his life. Both Jansenius and St. Cyran condemned the church of their day as corrupt. The Port-Royal system flowed out of Jansenism. With all the learning of the Jesuits we do not remember any one useful invention springing from that body. They certainly in no degree turned their thoughts to scientific invention, their soul was bent on empire. The Jansenists on the contrary translated the Scriptures, composed works in a popular style, and denied in toto the Jesuit principles on morality, speculative belief, and practice. The opponents of Jansenism compressed the system into five propositions, and required the judgment of Innocent X. upon them. Innocent disliked the question; but unfortunately, when strongly urged, published a bull condemning the five propositions as heretical and accursed. But here the Pope was curiously met by opponents not easily eluded. The Jansenists immediately denied that these five propositions were Jansenism, and declared their interpretation of their system different to that alleged against them. Innocent had died during the disputation. Chigi, who had succeeded him, had taken the chief share in condemning the propositions. As Pope he reiterated the censure, and pronounced that they were Jansenism. But to this the Jansenists replied, that such a declaration as Chigi had issued, that "the five propositions were certainly taken from the Book of Jansenius, and had been condemned in the sense of their author," exceeded the limits of the Papal power, that infallibility did not extend to a judgment of facts. Clement IX. who succeeded Chigi, Alexander VII., was in a most delicate position. Two judgments of the infallibles who had preceded him were on solemn record, but the Jansenist wit involved a very deep question. He therefore came to the conclusion that the five propositions were condemnable, but did not confirm the decision of Alexander VII. that they were the tenets of Jansenius. The Jansenists certainly beat the Pope, and infallibility on matters of fact vanished from that period. Infallibility of course is much easier affirmed in matters on which there can be no mortal cognizance, and unsusceptible from their very nature of ratiocination.

The reigns of Clement X. and Innocent XI., Alexander VIII.

and Innocent XII., are chiefly remarkable for the disputes with Lewis XIV., who asserted stoutly both his own independence of the Pope and that of the clergy of the Gallican church, and further that a council was superior to the Pope, and lastly, that the decision of the Pope is subject to amendment if it has not received the assent of the Church. Innocent XII. however maintained the position of Rome even against Lewis XIV., but he was greatly aided by the circumstances of the period which were opposed to the king of France. Clement XI. was involved during his entire reign with the disputes consequent on the extinction of the Spanish line of the house of Austria. He underwent the mortification of being compelled to congratulate Charles III. after having previously recognized his rival, Philip. He was the last Pope within the immediate compass of Ranke's work, though a slight sketch is given of events down to the present period. He and his successor, together with Benedict XIV. were driven into concession after concession to the times. Benedict by a solemn concordat renounced the patronage of the smaller Spanish benefices still possessed in that country by the Curia. All ultramontane principles were fast sinking. The Jesuits fought stoutly, but their literary reputation, hitherto unrivalled, began to fail them. The attacks of their foes were numerous and powerful, and the defence they opposed in this department was feeble. Reforming ministers, all anti-Jesuitical, sat at the councils of France, Spain, Naples, and Portugal. The attack first commenced with an attempt to limit their powers, and Benedict XIV. seemed of opinion that the order needed a strict reform, but he died before it was effected. His successor, Clement XIII., was their friend, but events were against him and them. An attempt on the king's life, ascribed to their influence, expelled them from Portugal. Louis XV. would fain have saved them in that country, but even he proposed to the general to appoint a vicar in France. Ricci, their general, was a determined but impolitic leader. He rejected with Clement on his side all modification. "*Sint ut sunt aut non sint*," was his word, and their dissolution ensued. Spain followed the example of France; Naples and Parma next. In 1749 the ambassadors of Naples, Spain and France appeared before Clement, and demanded his abolition of the order. He died on the evening before a consistory, which was to have determined the question. Ganganelli was his successor, and he abolished the society of Jesus, their functions, house, and institutions. This measure certainly brought Rome a step nearer to the Protestants, and the abolition of the Jesuits may be considered the result of Protestant principles working their powerful but quiet course. Joseph II. was determined not to lose the advantage of his posi-

tion, and to become absolute in all respects. He suppressed 1300 monasteries, allowed no money to pass from Austria to Rome, and declared himself administrator of the secular affairs of the Church. The successor of Ganganelli, Pius VI., was obliged to yield to the emperor the nomination of even the episcopal sees of Italy. The French revolution followed, when, as is well known, the aged Pope was attacked by the French in the Vatican and carried into France, where he died in August 1799. The disastrous reign of Pius VII. followed. The alienation of church lands in France was conceded by him, and he trusted by the concordat of 1801 to have reconciled the revolutionary and Romanist spirit. A similar concordat, which in effect ceded all papal power, was demanded for Italy. Napoleon would not permit the unfortunate Pius VII. any rest, and demanded of the Pope to break off all relations with England and Russia. He urged that the Pope could not sever his policy from France without ceding his states, the gift of Charlemagne. Pius refused, and he experienced the same imprisonment as his predecessor. He was removed from Rome. The union of the states of the Church with the French empire was proclaimed by a *senatus consultum*, and the whole power of the Pope merged in effect in Napoleon.

The Pope resisted for a time, but by the concordat of Fontainebleau, 25 February 1813, agreed to reside in France. Napoleon achieved what no former sovereign had ever contemplated. But events set in that annihilated the giant of the Revolution. The simple notion of legitimacy, which restored the Bourbons to their thrones, operated also in favour of the Pope, and anti-Romanist powers seated him in his civil authority once more. Untaught by the experience of former times, Pius recalled the Jesuits; Spain also, but the Cortes again expelled them. In England the Romanist party gained an apparent victory by the carrying of the Catholic Relief Bill, but with the removal of civil disabilities no religious recognition of the Pope ensued. On the contrary, by that measure the loyalty of the Romanist party to the Crown became rather more established, which is of course anti-Papal. Whether it were wise to pass that measure which gave the Romanists additional power in the state is another question. The measure was certainly unconstitutional, but it did nothing for the ultramontane principles, though it strengthened the Romanists as a party. Rome now allies herself in England with the movement faction per force, but this is a feeble stay, dependent on the uncertain tenure of the present Government, and unsupported by the people, who are utterly opposed to Revolution and Romanism. Our task with Ranke is now performed, and ere we close, we think it right to do an act of

tardy justice to his translator, Mrs. Austin. Her perfect knowledge of her author, complete intuition into his sentiments, and thorough mastery of the subject matter, will render this lady's work most valuable to all who cannot read the original. We select the concluding passage of Ranke, as a specimen of elegant succinctness of language.

"Were we to look only at the efforts of the hierarchical party and of its opponents, we should be led to fear that a deadly war was ready to break out between them afresh, to convulse the world and to revive the old animosities in all their bitterness. But if, on the other hand, we turn our eyes to the universal activity of men, which characterizes the age, we dismiss those fears as groundless. Few, indeed, are now disposed to re-establish the dominion of a priesthood in the true and full sense of the word; and were any found to make the attempt, it is precisely in the Romance countries, the ancient seat and stronghold of Catholicism, that it would experience the most violent opposition. Nor among the Protestants can there be a return to the bigotry, the exclusiveness, the narrowminded antipathy of the old system. We see the profounder spirits on either side gradually recurring, with more knowledge, with larger and deeper insight, with more freedom from the fetters of cramping church formularies, to the eternal principles of genuine and spiritual religion. It is impossible that this tendency can be barren of results."—vol. iii. p. 245.

And in this we believe, with the reservation that Protestantism is not at present a narrow and exclusive system. Protestantism now is what Catholicity always was; a system embracing in it all the fundamentals of salvation, unmixed with foreign matter. Formularies every faith must possess, for in formularies Christ has fixed his law. But with the Bible as the standard, and the Church as the expositor of the Bible and the teacher of nothing else, grounding her own authority on it, and only holding such traditions as pure centuries of the Faith have transmitted, there can be no question on Catholicity. To this the tendencies of time are bringing all. Jesuits may again spring up, inquisitions revive, monachism for a time flourish, but the world is opposed to them all, and a spirit above the world is quietly removing these warts on the universe by its caustic and purifying influence. England alone (a point to which Ranke seems singularly insensible in his work) possesses more influence over the political, moral and religious tendencies of the world, than the Roman See in the highest element of her power ever enjoyed; and we trust she will ever use the proud position of Queen of the seas, and mistress of a mass of subjects unparalleled in the annals of the world, to the promotion of that spread of intellect, that diffusion of morality and religion, which a nation holding her sceptre must display, and in this she will not simply secure the permanent stability, but the actual increase of her own gigantic power.

ART. II.—1. *Svenska Folk-Visor från Forntiden, Samlade och utgifne af* ER GUST. GEIJER och ARV. AUG. AFZELIUS. Stockholm, 1 Del. 1814. 2 Del. 1816. 3 Del. 1816. 4 Del. (Musik), 1816.

2. *Svenska Fornsånger, en Samling af Kämpavisor, Folk-Visor, Lekar, och Dansar, samt Barn- och Vall-Sånger. Utgifne af* ADOLF IWAR ARWIDSSON. Stockholm, 1 Del. 1834. 2 Del. 1837. *Båda med Musik-bilagor.*

IN performance of our knightly word, which true chevalier never violated, we proceed to lay before the lovers of legendary lore the remaining portion of our Swedish Ballads. We refer our readers to No. XLIX. for the method pursued in the arrangement of them, and we proceed to "Songs of True Love," which form the next head under which we have classed the Ballad Poetry. We trust that the time is not yet past in any of our readers, when the bosoms of all thrilled beneath the witchery of Scott, and high as his merits stand as a romancer, we shall always regret that neglect that led him to throw aside the harp of his country, ere it had given forth much of its sweetest and purest tone. Around even his last effort, the Lord of the Isles, there hung a charm that will not possibly wake its potent spell for many a century again. Who forgets the little revival of his ancient craft in Waverley, Guy Mannering, Quintin Durward, which showed the latent flame, and that it only needed the breath that enkindles to high emprise to again awaken the slumbering power in the heart of the last of all the minstrels. We deeply mourn that pseudo-science under which fair minstrelsy has fallen, and feel satisfied that we lose in strain rapidly, as we part from the love of the chivalrous and the imaginative, and sink into the mean and uninteresting commonplaces of every-day existence, quitting the mirrored glory of the past and looking only to the present as a source of mammon-hunting engagement. Out on all the matter-of-fact people. We turn with pleasure to what is almost forgotten, amid marriages of convenience and dower,

#### SONGS OF TRUE LOVE.

Amid these we find in Arvidson—

1. *The Maiden resolveth to flee with her Lover.* A. ii. 225. We think the last five verses so sweet and pretty that we cannot help extracting them :

#### VII.

Whoso a stone in water throws,  
It sinketh down straightway ;—  
And whoso his fast friend doth lose,  
His heart's no longer gay !

#### VIII.

Whoso a stone in water throws,  
To the bottom it will go ;—  
And whoso his fast friend doth lose,  
His heart is full of woe.

#### IX.

Whoso a feather on water throws,  
Float ever there it will ;—  
And who his fast friend doth not lose,  
He thinketh on him still !

#### X.

Then hence, fly hence, thou little bird !  
From lily-home ;  
And whisper to my dearest love  
I sure will come !



## XI.

Yes! hence, fly hence, thou bonny bird!  
 In dale so still;  
 And whisper to my dearest love  
 That come I will!\*

2. *The Dance in the Grove, or the Appointment.* A. ii. 236. This chanson, also, is so delicate a little gem, that we willingly add it to our plundered treasure:—

(DANSEN I ROSENLUND.)

THE DANCE IN THE GROVE OF ROSES.

## I.

'Twas all upon an evening, when the rime it falleth slow,  
 That a swain, on good grey palfrey, across the meads would go.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!

## II.

His saddle it was of silver, his bridle it was of gold,  
 Himself rides there, so full of grace and virtues all untold.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!

## III.

So straight to the Grove of Roses the Knight he speeds along,  
 Where a merrie dance he findeth, fair dames and maids among.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!

## IV.

His horse right soon he bindeth where the lily blooms so fair,  
 And much his heart rejoiceth that he now was comen there.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!

## V.

'Again we'll meet, again we'll greet, when middest summer's here,  
 When the laughing days draw out so long, and the nights are mild and clear.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!

## VI.

'Again we'll meet, again we'll greet, on middest summer's day,  
 When the lark it carols lightly, and the cuckoo cooes away.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!

## VII.

'Again we'll meet, again we'll greet, on the freshly-flowering lee,  
 Where the rose so bright, and the lily white, our sweet soft couch shall be.—  
 Ye'll bide me true!†

B. Fidelity. 3. *The Maiden rescued from being sold into slavery, or Love better than Kin.* G. i. 73, 134. These very dramatic ballads are both exceedingly beautiful, and are a unique specimen of the metre they exhibit, and of the times to which they refer. We select the first copy:—

\* "Hvilken som kastar en sten i vatten,  
 Han sjunker till grund,  
 Och hvilken som mister en fulltrogen vän,  
 Hans hjerta görs tung," &c. &c.

† "Häll om een athon tå rijm faller på,  
 Vrijdher then swenne sijn gångare grå,  
 I bijdhen migh väll!" &c. &c.

(DEN BORTSALDA.)

THE MAIDEN THAT WAS SOLD.

I.

' My father and my mother they need have suffer'd sore ;—  
And then, for a little bit of bread, they sold me from their door,  
Away into the heathen land so dreadful !'

II.

And the war-man each oar grasps tight, and quickly will depart,  
While her hands the pretty virgin wrings till the blood thereout doth start :—  
God help that May who afar shall stray to the heathen land so dreadful !'

III.

' Ah ! war-man dear, ye'll bide now here, one moment more ye'll stay !  
For I see my father coming from yon grove that blooms so gay :—

I know he loves me so,—

With his oxen he will ransom me and will not let me go ;  
So scape I then to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful !'

IV.

' My oxen—indeed now I have but only twain ;  
The one I straight shall use, the other may remain ;  
Thou scapest not to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful !'

V.

And the war-man each oar grasps tight, and quickly will depart,  
While her hands the pretty virgin wrings till the blood thereout doth start :—  
' God help that May who afar shall stray to the heathen land so dreadful !'

VI.

' Ah ! war-man dear, ye'll bide now here, one moment more ye'll stay !  
For I see my mother coming from yon grove that blooms so gay :

I know she loves me so,—

With her gold chests she will ransom me, and will not let me go !  
So scape I then to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful !'

VII.

' My gold chests—indeed now I have but only twain ;  
The one I straight shall use, and the other may remain ;  
Thou canst not scape to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful !'

VIII.

And the war-man each oar grasps tight, and quickly will depart,  
While her hands the pretty virgin wrings till the blood thereout doth start :—  
' God help that May who afar shall stray to the heathen land so dreadful !'

IX.

' Ah ! war-man dear, ye'll bide now here, one moment more ye'll stay !  
For I see my sister coming from yon grove that blooms so gay :

I know she loves me so,—

With her gold-crowns she will ransom me, and will not let me go !  
So scape I then to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful !'

X.

' My gold-crowns—indeed now I have but only twain ;  
The one I straight shall use, and the other may remain ;  
Thou scapest not to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful !'

XI.

And the war-man each oar grasps tight, and quickly will depart,  
While her hands the pretty virgin wrings till the blood thereout doth start :—  
' God help that May who afar shall stray to the heathen land so dreadful !'

## XII.

'Ah! war-man dear, ye'll bide now here, one moment more ye'll stay!  
 For I see my brother coming from yon grove that blooms so gay:  
 With his foal-steeds he will ransom me, and will not let me go!  
 So scape I then to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful!'

## XIII.

'My foal-steeds—indeed now I have but only twain;  
 The one I straight shall use, and the other may remain;  
 Thou scapest not to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful!'

## XIV.

And the war-man his oars grasps tight, and quickly will depart;  
 While her hands the pretty virgin wrings till the blood thereout doth start:—  
 'Ah! woe's that May who afar must stray to the heathen land so dreadful!'

## XV.

'Ah! war-man dear, ye'll bide now here, one moment more ye'll stay!  
 For I see my sweetheart coming from yon grove that blooms so gay:  
 With his gold rings he will ransom me, and will not let me go!  
 So scape I then to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful!'

## XVI.

'My gold rings—indeed now I have but ten and twain;  
 With six I straight will ransom thee, thyself the rest shalt gain,—  
 So scapest thou to wander far to the heathen land so dreadful!'

4. *The Seven Golden Mountains, or the Knight's fidelity to his Mistress.* G. iii. 71. This ballad, which consists of twenty-eight verses, closes with a very agreeable surprise.

5. *A Knight (having carried off the King's Daughter) is pursued by a host, and betrayed by his Mother, but slayeth his enemies. and compelleth the King gladly to acknowledge him as his Son-in-law.* A. i. 137, 141, 145.

6. *A Knight, gladly entertained by the King's Daughter, is pursued by his enemies, but slayeth them all, and gaineth her for his Spouse.* A. i. 148, 151. These five Ballads have something in common with several of *W. Scott's Border Legends*.

7. *A foreign King, denied by a Lady, giveth her a trance-drink, and causeth her to be buried, but afterwards taketh her up and carrieth her to his court, whence she is rescued by her Husband, who discovers her by the mark on her hand.* A. i. 177, 180. The plot of these songs, which contain some very curious details, will remind every reader of "*The gay Goss-hawk*" in the *Border Minstrelsy*, and of the stratagem employed by Hastings the Sea-King to obtain possession of Luna in Italy. There is also a charming old Bohemian ballad † of a very similar character.

8. *The Leman visiteth her sick Lover, and is tenderly enriched by him.* A. ii. 42, 44. This pretty ballad is one of the same character, though not so tragic as the Scotch "*Prince Robert*." ‡

\* The reader will remember, in this and all other variations and peculiarities of metre or of rhyme, that the original has been followed with scrupulous fidelity. This is our apology (and it is a good one) for several curious or inconsistent rhymes, &c.

† Beginning "*Na Tureckém pomazj*," and translated in the *For. Quart. Rev.*, No. III. p. 157.

‡ *W. Scott's Border Minstrelsy*.

9. *A young Knight, wandering on adventures, falls in love with the King of England's Daughter ; but refusing a Bride the King had chosen for him, he is condemned to death. War breaks out and the King is slain, whereupon the Knight, after many wondrous chances, gains the Princess and the Throne.* G. ii. 116. This is a delicious lay. The prison-scene, in which the death-doomed Bryning is visited by the fair Princess, will bear comparison with the celebrated description in *Byron's "Corsair,"* or any thing similar with which we are acquainted. But the whole poem is so long (hundred and five 6-line stanzas) that we dare not venture on any further notice, especially as we are afraid that neither "*The Saxon Chronicle*," nor the Venerable the Society of Antiquaries, will sanction this new claimant to "*faire Engelonde's crowne*."

10. *A Swain carrieth off his Mistress, who is in danger of becoming another's Bride.* A. i. 159, 162. Both these ballads are rich in beauties. We extract two stanzas from the first :—

IX.

"My head-jewels take from off my head,  
And a frontlet bind on my brow of snow ;  
For is't the youth that loves me well,  
Me then he surely cannot know !"  
If she would but be mine !

X.

Then in trod Falken Albrektsson,  
Gold-rings his hands attire ;—  
"Now God bless those two eyes of thine,  
So gladly I know their fire !"  
If she would but be mine !

11. *The one Knight prepareth the Marriage-banquet, while the other carries off the gladly-following Bride.* A. ii. 431. This is a fine old half-heathen song. We have only room for two verses :—

IX.

"Harald, sit my man ; and thy wassail drink ;  
We so as best advise ;  
And never again on proud Gertrude think ;  
So danger far from thee flies !"  
For the Vonge-mountaineers thy Bride they take with honour !

X.

Young Thor he sits on Vonge-hill,  
With a rosy flower at play ;  
And Harald he on Ramshall sits,  
And in empty horns blows all day !  
For the Vonge-mountaineers their Bride they take with honour !

12. *A Maid, no longer able to conceal the consequences of her amour, escapeth to the Prince her Lover, who shareth his crown and bed with her.* G. iii. 90 ; A. i. 355. Not without interest. The "*harp of gold*," in the first copy, is very prettily introduced.

13. *Nature betraying the young Knight's love to his Mistress, he rusheth to console her, but is cruelly deceived by a false Maiden.* G. i. 63, ii. 15. A. ii. 131, 135. Three of these four ballads are well worth translating. The first, especially, is very evenly related. Nothing can surpass the quiet malice of the second of these two verses. We omit the refrains :—

## XXI.

"Oh that I but had now a silver-studded knife!  
Myself I would right quickly shorten my young life!"

## XXII.

"And surely shall ye get, from me a silver-hafted knife,  
Nathless in nought I blamed will be for the loss of thy young life!"

14. *The false Knight becomes the true Spouse, or the sad May's Story.* A. i. 361. The dialogue, from verses vi. to x., is very characteristic.

15. *The Bride falleth in labour as she fareth home, but telling how it was she had been ravished by a Knight, and the tokens he had given her, is discovered to be the Leman of her Spouse.* G. ii. 50, 56, 59, 215, 217; A. ii. 246. These interesting illustrations of many an incident in Viking-adventures and a warrior-age, are strikingly paralleled in "*Cospatrick*."\*

16. *A Knight, suspected of having conversed too freely with a noble Maid, is sent away in exile and awaits death. His love is then forced to marry a rich suitor, but substituting her bower-maid the first night, is believed to have been a virgin. Hereupon the young Knight is held innocent, and is permitted scathless to return. She then persuades him to take a spouse, but in some few weeks her husband dieth, and her lover's wife perisheth in child-bed. The two lovers hereafter hold their nuptials, giving the bower-maid gold and a husband.* A. i. 240. This old legend, which abounds in beauties, is so very long (not less than 175 stanzas of 5 lines each), that we must be content with the above outline of its plot. The Swedish title is "*Thorkil Tronesson*." It appears to have been common to all Scandinavia. Professor Geijer gives (vol. ii. p. 86), the widely-spread Swedish translation of a Danish copy found in *Syo*, 638, and in *Nyerup*, part iv. 185, besides which, *Arwidsson* refers to two other MS. copies in Danish and in Swedish.

17. *The Concubine's Triumph, or the King rescues his Mistress from the death adjudged her by the Queen, and giveth her crown and dignity in her stead.* G. ii. 157, 161, 164. The last of these three ballads, which are also paralleled in Denmark,† is certainly the most valuable of the three. All are curious illustrations of a former age.

B. Disguises. 18. *Love's Disguise, or the Swine-herd Prince getteth him his Princess fair.* A. ii. 159, 164.

## XLIII.

"Had I come with grand coaches and horses so fine,  
For a hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, hu!  
Little Kerstin I never had gotten as mine,  
For a fal-der-al-der-al-der-al-der-la!"

## XLIV.

"Had I come with fine horses and coaches so grand,  
For a hu, hu, hu, hu, hu, hu!  
Little Kerstin had never me followed from land,  
For a fal-der-al-der-al-der-al-der-la!" ‡

\* Border Minstrelsy.

† *Nyerup*, iv. 225.

‡ "Hade jag kommit med vagnar och häst,  
För en hu, hu, hu, hu!"

Aldrig hade jag då liten Karin fått fäst,  
För en liten talalalalalej!" &c.

19. *A Prince, disguised as a Shepherd, gaineth the hand of the King's own Spouse.* G. ii. 186. This old song approaches very nearly to the comic caricature.

20. *A King's Son, disguised as a Seaman-youth, playeth dice with a noble Maiden, and winneth her so to his Bride.* G. ii. 37, 42, 46; A. ii. 156. The songs on this subject are so extremely popular throughout Scandinavia,\* that we cannot refuse giving one of them, and have selected the first.

(DEN LILLA DATSMAN.)

THE LITTLE SEAMAN.

I.

In her lofty bower a virgin sat  
On skins, embroidering gold,  
When there came a little seaman by,  
And would the maid behold.—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

II.

"And hear now, little seaman,  
Hear what I say to thee:  
An' hast thou any mind this hour  
To play gold dice with me?"—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

III.

"But how and can I play now  
The golden dice with thee?  
For no red shining gold I have  
That I can stake 'gainst thee."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

IV.

"And surely thou canst stake thy jacket,  
Canst stake thy jacket grae;  
While there against myself will stake  
My own fair gold rings twae."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

V.

So then the first gold die, I wot,  
On table-board did run;  
And the little seaman lost his stake,  
And the pretty maiden won.—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

VI.

"And hear now, little seaman,  
Hear what I say to thee:  
An' hast thou any mind this hour  
To play gold dice with me?"—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

VII.

"But how and can I play now  
The golden dice with thee?  
For no red shining gold I have  
That I can stake 'gainst thee."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

\* There are Danish copies in *Nyerup*, iv. 122; and *Syv*, Pt. iv, No. 36.

*The Old Popular Ballads*

## VIII.

" Thou surely this old hat canst stake,  
 Canst stake thy hat so grey;  
 And I will stake my bright gold crown,  
 Come take it if ye may."—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## IX.

And so the second die of gold  
 On table-board did run;  
 And the little seaman lost his stake,  
 While the pretty maiden won.—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## X.

" And hear now, little seaman,  
 Hear what I say to thee:  
 An' hast thou any mind this hour  
 To play gold dice with me?"—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## XI.

" But how and can I play now  
 The golden dice with thee?  
 For no red shining gold I have  
 That I can stake 'gainst thee."—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## XII.

" Then stake each of thy stockings,  
 And each silver-buckled shoe;  
 And I will stake mine honour,  
 And eke my troth thereto."—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## XIII.

And so the third gold die, I wot,  
 On table-board did run;  
 And the pretty maiden lost her stake,  
 While the little seaman won.—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## XIV.

" Come, hear now, little seaman!  
 Haste far away from me;  
 And a ship that stems the briny flood  
 I that will give to thee."—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## XV.

" A ship that stems the briny flood  
 I'll get, if 't can be done;  
 But that young virgin have I will,  
 Whom with gold dice I won."—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

## XVI.

" Come, hear now, little seaman!  
 Haste far away from me;  
 And a shirt so fine, with seams of silk,  
 I that will give to thee."—  
 But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away!

XVII.

" A shirt so fine, with seams of silk,  
I'll get, if 't can be done ;  
But that young virgin have I will,  
Whom with gold dice I won."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away !

XVIII.

" Nay, hear now, little seaman !  
Haste far away from me ;  
And the half of this my kingdom,  
I that will give to thee."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away !

XIX.

" The half of this thy kingdom  
I'll get, if 't can be done ;  
But that young virgin have I will  
Whom with gold dice I won."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away !

XX.

And the virgin in her chamber goes,  
And parts her flowing hair ;  
" Ah me ! poor maid, I soon, alas !  
The marriage-crown must bear."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away !

XXI.

The seaman treads the floor along,  
And with his sword he play'd,—  
" As good a match as e'er thou'rt worth  
Thou gettest, little maid."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away !

XXII.

" For I, God wot ! no seaman am,  
Although ye thinken so :  
The best king's son I am, instead,  
That in Engelonde can go."—  
But with golden dice they play'd, they play'd away !\*

21. *A disguised Prince persuadeth his Mistress to elope with him on ship-board, where he revealeth his rank, and giveth to her the Crown.* G. ii. 173 ; A. i. 183. These two pieces have considerable interest.

22. *The sudden Son-in-law, or the King who spared the Pilgrim (disguised Prince) who had shared his Daughter's bed.* A. i. 320, 322. There are many pretty verses here, but the first original was probably more finished.

23. *The wonderful Man-midwife, or the Knight's disguise gaineth him his Ladye-love.* A. ii. 174, 176. The plot is good, and the songs not bad.

24. *A Maiden, disguised as a Groom, serves at Court till she shareth the*

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\* " Jungfrun satt i högn loft  
Och virka' gull' på skinn ;  
Så kom en liten båtsman,  
Och tittade derin.  
Men de lekte, de lekte, gulltärning," &c.



*King's crown and bed.* G. ii. 20 ; A. ii. 179. These ballads, of which the last is the best, are somewhat in the character of "*The Lady turned Serving-man*."\*

25. *A noble Lady, justly afraid of her honour, refuseth to obey a heathen King's commands to visit his Court, and thereby rescue her captive Husband. But, notwithstanding, disguised as a Minstrel-Monk, she journieth perilously thither, and earning from the admiring King a boon ! a boon ! she beggeth so her Husband from captivity.* G. ii. 244. This is one of the most delicious ballads in the whole circle of our ballad and romance experience. Its length alone (thirty-one stanzas of eight lines each) forbids our inserting it entire. Two verses we must find room for, in honour of the collections we are reviewing :—

## XXVII.

Now when this earl was travell'd home—  
 'Twas on the second day—  
 His friends and feres they each one come,  
 And plaints begin to say :  
 All how his spouse, no less than she  
 (So, angry, thus they cry),  
 Had journey'd to a far countree,  
 None knew or where or why.

## XXVIII.

That noble ladye, grieving sad,  
 Rose straight now from the board,  
 And went where she her chamber had,  
 Nor spoke one single word ;  
 But quick she found the cloak all wide,  
 Then took her lute so good,  
 And hung her harp upon her side,  
 As 'fore the king she'd stood !

Our readers may anticipate the result of the surprise thus admirably introduced. The rescued husband adores, and the "friends and feres" all kneel in homage to the virtuous and slandered heroine.

C. Love and Melancholy. 26. *The young Swain's sorrow, or the dying Sweetheart.* A. ii. 208. This little ballad is full of the most delicate pathos. Would that we had space for it !

27. *A Knight battleth for his life with the seven Brothers of his Lady-love : the eldest six he slays, but spareth the seventh, who basely murdereth him, and is thereafter sluin by his Sister.* G. ii. 178, 226 ; A. i. 155.

28. *A Knight battleth for his life with the seven Brothers of his Lady-love, and slayeth them all ; after which he joyfully espouseth his Beloved.* G. ii. 180 : A. i. 295. We have placed these two groups together, as, although the one ends tragically and the other not so, they are in reality only variations of the same subject. The latter is paralleled in Danish,† but both in Scottish, ballads.‡ We think the opening verses of the two last deserve a place here :—

\* Percy's Reliques, iii. 76.

† Nyerup, iv. 251 ; Syv, 689.

‡ "The Dowie Dens of Yarrow" and "Elington," both in Scott's Minstrelsy.

YOUNG HILLERSTRÖM.

UNGER SVEN.

I.  
Mount now so gently horse and saddle,  
Nor let thy gold spurs kling;  
And gently o'er the bower-bridge ride,  
Thy gold saddle maun not ring—  
In summer time.

I.  
So many paths the village reach,  
Not all are smooth or light;  
Ah! happy he who, in this world,  
Doth hap to find the right!  
That love it endeth well.

29. *The Maid that would visit her Lover is devoured by a Wolf.* G. iii. 68; A. ii. 273. Full of an infantile simplicity, which reminds an English reader of the ancient popular nursery-tale, "*Little Red Riding-Hood.*"

30. *The Waters drown, but cannot part, or the kingly Children's Fate.* G. i. 103, 106; ii. 210; A. ii. 198. We doubt whether ever any Greek ballad, primitive or published, about their own *Hero and Leander*, could surpass this old Scandinavian song-group in the melancholy effect of its detail-painting. The first copy on our list ends thus:—

XXII.  
"And hail, my father! hail, my mother!  
May no sad grief them move!  
Down in the deep sea will I sink,  
While thus I clasp my love!"

31. *Yule in the Wave, or the Lover lost at sea on a visit to his Mistress.* A. ii. 3. Well deserves translation.

32. *The first Love in the Deep, or the Young Man's Tale.* A. ii. 15.

33. *The Lover's Lament for his drowned Love.* A. ii. 238. The following are the two last verses of the first copy, of which the second appears to be a confused variation:—

XIX.  
"When other swains they drink their wine,  
While the blasted leaf doth fall,  
So sorrow I that dear one mine,—  
But many a maid, 'mong all her bloom, slow-cank'ring griefs hence call!"

XX.  
"When other swains so gladly meet,  
While the blasted leaf doth fall,  
So sorrow I that rose-leaf sweet,—  
But many a maid, 'mong all her bloom, slow-cank'ring griefs hence call!"

34. *The Melancholy Meeting, or Sorrow upon Sorrow.* A. ii. 289, 440. This Scandinavian\* "*Pyramus and Thisbe*" ballad is much more nobly sketched than any classic rival. Indeed the northern legend beats "*Pyramus*" hollow! An old printed copy calls it "*En sköön och mycket ynckelig Visa*"—a faire and ryghte dolefull Ballade; and indeed it can hardly be read without tears. The introduction of one of the mysterious dwarf-race, as the immediate cause of the tragic close, gives the whole an inexpressibly powerful and sombre tone. Had it been shorter, we should undoubtedly have given it entire, but it will not bear extracts.

\* A Danish variety is found in *Letterrömiska Samlingen*, Upsala, Utrvalda Historier, t. i.

35. *The Cruel Brother and the Sister's Excuses.* G. iii. 107.

36. *Woman's Excuses, or the Sister proves that Eyes cannot see.* A. i. 358. The former is a tragic, and the latter a comic, variation of the same story. The latter is well known in Scotland, though in a broader form.\*

37. *The Bloody Bed, or the Knight stabbed by the side of his innocent Lady.* A. ii. 56. This piece contains some fine lines.

38. *The Maiden-Mother, or the piteous History of the King's Daughter, proved by her Mother to be married and then by her Father slain.* A. i. 335, 339, 343, 348. A very affecting subject beautifully treated.

39. *The Drunken Madness, or the Knight slayeth himself for that he hath slain his Leman.* A. ii. 77. A wild subject strongly painted.

40. *A Knight rescueth his Maiden from being another's Bride, and carrieth her to his Hall, but is pursued and slain, whereupon the Widow refuses his Rival's hand, and takes the Veil.* A. i. 193, 199, 410. These songs are very long, and will not bear abridgment.

D. Death for love. 41. *The Power of Love, or the Knight who dieth at the Sound of his Mistress' Death-Knell.*† A. ii. 18, 437. Poetical, pretty, and well told.

42. *The Lover (journieth far to die) (killeth himself) for that his Spouse is dead.* G. i. 70; A. ii. 50. Both are very characteristic of olden times in the north.

43. *Love faithful in Death and unto Death, or the persecuted Lovers find Union in the Grave, after long Imprisonment and Separation.* G. i. 95. An exceedingly beautiful ballad, but too long for insertion. We extract Duke Fröjdenborg's‡ deliverance previous to his cruel death, and the roasting of his heart as a dish for his unfortunate beloved.

xxiv.

And the king he thus spoke to his foot-pages two,—

For all that in this world is dear!

"Ye'll take now Duke Fröjdenborg from out his tower the blue."—

Ah me! how heavy now doth life appear.

xxv.

So took they then Duke Fröjdenborg from out his tower the blue,—

For all that, &c.

And his locks they were all grey and his beard it was so too.—

Ah me! &c.

xxvi.

"Fifteen long years are pass'd and gone, since God's free air I drew!—

For all that, &c.

"And yet it seems as though this time were but some short days few!"—

Ah me! &c.‡

\* "Our good man came home," &c. *Johnson's Musical Museum*, v. 66; *Scottish Songs*, 1794, i. 231.

† Similar incident in "Barbara Allen's Cruelty."

‡ This tragic story is familiar to the Italian reader. Tancred, Ghismonda and Guiscardo form the personages in the Decam. Giorn 4.

§ "Och Konungen han talte till sinå sönner två :

För allt hvad som kärt är i verden.—

I tagen hertig Fröjdenborg ur tornet det blå.

Mig tyckes det är tungt till att lefva," &c.

44. *The Knight, faithful in absence, returns to his Mistress, and (they die of a broken Heart) (he carries her off) on the Day of her Wedding to another.* G. i. 116, 120; A. ii. 24, 29, 32; G. i. 123; A. ii. 165, 168, 171, 236, 281, ii. 34. A variety of songs, more or less similar to the above (several of which display great beauty), are found in Denmark and Scotland.\*

45. *A Knight escaping with his Leman, she falleth in Travail by the way, and dieth with her Infants. Herewith he burieth them and killeth him on the spot.* G. ii. 189; A. i. 352. To these pieces there is a Danish parallel.†

46. *Nuptials in the Wave, or the Lady drowned on a Visit to her Lover, who thereupon slays himself, and is buried in the same Grave.* A. ii. 8, 12. As in so many other Scotch and Scandinavian ballads.

XXVIII.

Two trees spring from their burial-place,  
And still each other they embrace!

And o'er the waters with thy good oars row me.

47. *The Leman visiteth her sick Lover, and though enriched by his last Will, dieth to share his Grave.* G. i. 112; A. ii. 37, 40, 47. Very beautiful ballads, which remind us of the closing stanzas in "*Prince Robert*."‡

48. *The Wife, falsely suspected, dieth when her Lover is put to death.* A. ii. 62. An admirable ballad, of which there is a Danish variation.§

VIII. SONGS OF FALSE LOVE.

1. *The Knight's Farewell to his false Betrothed.* A. ii. 211. Verse viii. is pretty:—

"To some green blooming tree I once did liken thee,  
With clustering roses crown'd;  
But now to fig-tree bare I would but liken thee  
Whose leaves fall all around!"

2. *The unexpected Marriage-Guest, or the deceived Lover visits his false Mistress on her Marriage Day, and slays himself in her Halls.* G. ii. 3, 312. The expiring lover exclaims, at the close of the first copy:

XIV.

"So come now, maidens all!  
And see how hard it moves—  
When oaths the false tongue speaks,  
While th' heart another loves:

XV.

"But who can roses bring  
From out the high rock's breast?—  
And who can find sweet love  
Where no sweet love doth rest?"

\* Nyerup, No. 124, 139, 153, 156, 157; Jamieson's Pop. Ball. i. 22; Gilchrist's Collection, i. 160; Scott's Border Minstrelsy.

† Nyerup, iii. 361.

‡ Scott's Border Minstrelsy.

§ Nyerup, ii. 253.

3. *A Lady, false to her absent Lord, is driven from his Home on his return, and dies miserably in the House of her grieving Parents.* G. ii. 154, 223 ; A. i. 374. One verse we must quote :—

IX.

And out then came her brother good,  
Gladly he for her prayeth ;—  
“ My sister, ye’ll let remain this year  
Tho’ as serving-maid humble she stayeth !” —  
So secretly bore she her sorrow.

4. *The Cow-herd overheard, or the Paramour punished.* A. ii. 168. An admirable little ballad.

5. *The wronged Husband slayeth his Wife and her Paramour.* A. ii. 448. Full of rough and striking language. Thus the third stanza, on his first hearing the charge against his demure partuer :—

Herr Vänge so wrathful became and so wood,\*  
That the green grass turn’d white on the earth where he stood !

6. *A Lady hateth and at last murdereth her Husband, but is detested therefore by her Paramour.* A. ii. 59. In this song the words and the action of the adulteress are very finely contrasted.

7. *A Leman shamefully murdereth her Lover.* G. i. 67. There are two very similar songs in the Border Minstrelsy.†

8. *The Knight, barbarously murdering his Spouse, is broken on the Wheel.* G. i. 76. This long ballad contains the following very remarkable descriptions of a genuine Scandinavian witch-woman. We omit the refrains :—

V.

“ Yes ! o’er the heath I saw her haste amain,  
With all the little witches in her train.

VI.

“ The grisly bear she rode upon, I trow,  
While as her saddle clung the wolf below.

VII.

“ And then, as whip, she grasp’d the serpent long ;  
Myself was there, myself beheld the throng.”‡

9. *The Bandit punished, or the Lady kills the false Wooer that would have made her his eighth Victim.* G. iii. 94, 97 ; A. i. 298, 301. This is a charming tradition, somewhat in the *Blue Beard* style.

10. *The Wife-seller punished, and his Spouse well rescued.* A. ii.

\* Thus in *Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard* —

Woe worth, woe worth, ye my merry men all,  
Ye never were borne for my good,  
Why did ye not offer to stay my hand  
When ye see me wax so wood ?

† “ *Lord William*” and “ *Earl Richard*.”—*Percy’s Reliques*, 1794, p. 69.

‡ “ Jo jag såg henne uppå heden i går,  
Kunde man sig rättelig betänka !—  
Ibland alla andra Trollpackor små.  
Herren Bild trüder viller öfver stigen,” &c.

109. This picture of Carse barbarism is probably not of Swedish origin.\*

11. *The Deceiver deceived, or the false Lover drowned.* A. ii. 166. A very good joke, and, although rather a hard one, very well deserved.

12. *Woman's Revenge, or the Leman burneth up the Guests and Halls of the Knight who had been false to her.* A. i. 305. Well deserves translation.

13. *The faithless Lover punished by his Mistress' suicide, dies by his own hand.* G. i. 49. This very fine old song is too long for abridgment.

14. *A Maiden, despite her Sister's warning, giveth away her honour. Afterwards, in Nature's need, she sendeth after her Lover, but findeth him false and far away.* G. ii. 148. The pictures in this good song are very instructive.

15. *The Knight betrayeth his May, but is afterwards punished by wandering halt and blind till he beggeth Bread at her Door.* G. iii. 61; A. ii. 227. Excellent! We remember a very similar tale in Mr. Bulwer's Student.

16. *A cruel Knight treacherously carries off the Maid that refused him, compelling her keep up with his Horse; whereupon she maketh her will and so dieth.* G. iii. 64; A. i. 206. The picture of woman's pride and of man's malice in this ballad (which is also known in Danish†) is perfect.

17. *A young Prince treacherously imitating her Husband gaineth Admittance to a Lady.* A. i. 332. This is a very singular song.

18. *Too late, or the Lover anticipated.* A. ii. 231. It is an ill wind which blows nobody any good. Let us profit therefore from this unfortunate knight's experience, and listen to the following stanzas:—

x.

" Counsel I will each youthful swain  
Who will a-wooing go,—  
That his horse he saddles and spurs his foot,  
Nor rides too late or slow.

xi.

" Counsel I will each youthful swain  
Who will a-wooing go,—  
That he never gives his good gifts out  
Till the maid's mind he well know!"—

IX. MISCELLANEOUS SONGS OF LOVE, WOMEN, &c.

A. Chastity kept or lost. 1. *The Triumph of Chastity, or the Maiden's Story.* A. ii. 234. Almost a copy of the songs in group No. 10 below.

2. *Woman's Wit, or the merry Deceit whereby a Virgin escapeth from*

\* The coin mentioned is not Swedish. There is a parallel in German called *Mürlertücke*, in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, i. 218.

† *Nyerup*, iii. 225 and 386.

*the Suitor who had seized her.* A. i. 284. An excellent and right witty ballad, which ought by all means to be translated. There is a Danish copy.\*

3. *The Virgin that died cruelly rather than live with Shame.* G. i. 11, 14. This is so admirably sweet and simple an old song, and so extremely popular among all classes to this day, that we must find room for a version. The air to which it is sung is also very charming :—

(LITEN KARIN.)

LITTLE KARIN.†

I.

And still serv'd little Karin  
: : I' th' young king's palace ha',  
Like any star bright shone she  
: : 'Mong all the maidens sma'.

II.

Like any star bright shone she  
: : 'Mong all the maidens sma',—  
When thus, the damsel tempting,  
: : The young king's words soft fa':—

III.

“ And say now, Karin dearest !  
: : Say wilt thou but be mine ;  
Grey palfrey and gold-deck'd saddle,  
: : Shall both, yes both, be thine.—

IV.

“ Grey palfrey and gold-deck'd saddle  
: : Would ne'er suit one so low ;  
To th' queen, thy young spouse, give them—  
: : Let me with honour go !”

V.

“ But say now, Karin dearest !  
: : Say wilt thou but be mine ;  
My gold-crown reddest gleaming,  
: : E'en that too shall be thine !”

VI.

“ Thy gold-crown reddest gleaming,  
: : Would ne'er suit one so low ;  
To th' queen, thy young spouse, give them—  
: : Let me with honour go !”

VII.

“ But listen, Karin dearest !  
: : Say wilt thou but be mine ;  
To the half of this my kingdom—  
: : Whate'er thou wilt is thine !”—

\* *Nyerup*, iv. 175 ; *Syv*, 632.

† “Karin” is the old and popular Swedish form of *Catherine*, in the same manner as “Pelix” for Peter, &c. and which must not be confounded with the shortened or vulgar names ; for instance, the vulgar name of “Pehr,” or “Peter,” is “Pelle.” In some instances, however, they coincide. This ballad occurs in Spanish, and is cited as a Finnish Romanza by Torres Canter and others ; and we should have contrasted the two forms, had time permitted us to insert a forthcoming article on Spanish Ballads.

VIII.

"The half of this thy kingdom  
: : Would ne'er suit one so low ;  
To th' queen, thy young spouse, give it—  
: : Let me with honour go!"—

IX.

"Then hear now, little Karin !  
: : An mine thou wilt not be,—  
Thrust down in a spike-set barrel  
: : Thy fair young limbs I'll see!"—

X.

"And thrust in a spike-set barrel  
: : E'en should my young limbs be,—  
From heav'n above, my innocence,  
: : God's little angels see!"

XI.

Then down i' the spike-set barrel  
: : They little Karin bound ;  
And all the young king's pages  
: : They roll her round and round.

XII.

And so, from heaven down-flying,  
: : Two milk-white doves descend ;  
They took the little Karin—  
: : And three straight backward wend !

XIII.

And so, from hell two ravens\*  
: : On coal-black wings ascend ;  
Right quick the young king seiz'd they,  
: : And three straight backward wend !†

4. *Virtue's Resource, or the Maiden that died not to become the King's Concubine, and thereby became his Bride.* A. i. 380. A very pretty and pleasant contrast to the gloom and cruelty of its predecessor. There is something similar in the plot (on the virgin's side) to that of the heroine in "*The gay Goss-hawk*."<sup>‡</sup>

5. *Virtue's Triumph, or the Suitor repulsed by night returneth to woo by day.* A. i. 328. This excellent story reminds us all of Burn's "O lassie art thou sleeping yet."

6. *The Bride rideth out to the Marriage-feast a Maid, but goeth into the Marriage-bed a Maid no longer, and home returneth neither Bride nor Maid!* A. ii. 144. A very curious old Ballad.

7. *A Lady exposeth her Child, who is rescued and afterwards married to her, whercupon she explaineth to him that the King is his Father, hereat the Sun compelleth him to acknowledge his own birth, and his Mother's rights.* G. ii. 182.

\* The Spanish Romanza on Maria de Padilla, Mistress to Peter the Cruel, contains the same incident.

† "Och liten Karin tjente  
På unga Kungens gård ; : | :  
Hon lyste som en stjerna  
Bland alla Tärnor små. : | :

‡ *Scott's Minstrelsy.* See also *Songs of True Love.* Fidelity. No. 7. (above).



8. *A Lady exposeth her Child, who is rescued and afterwards married to her, whereupon she explaineth to him that his Father is far away, his Mother close at hand. The Youth declares this to the King, who burneth them both to death.* A. i. 370. These old legends \* cannot be read without interest.

9. *The playful Flames, or the Maiden falsely accused will not burn.* A. i. 318. Contains some good lines.

10. *The Brother tries his Sister's Virtue.* G. i. 43, 46; ii. 207. These ballads contain some charming stanzas.

11. *The Brother's Revenge for that his Sister would not sin, or the Maid who was falsely accused, and cruelly burnt to death.* A. i. 310, 313, 315. The perfidious criminal answereth his doubting father, (we omit the refrains):—

IX.

"And how, on the ground, shall the grass e'er grow,  
When the father will not his own son trow?"

Afterward, the unfortunate victim, seeing her funeral pile blazing high before her, exclaims:—

XV.

"My cushions they burn red, and my bolsters they burn blue;  
God help me, little Kerstin, who must soon sleep there aboo!"

12. *The Sister tempted, or the Brother refused in spite of his "Wishes."* A. ii. 205. The ideas of the "Wishes," in this delicate little ballad, resemble the fragment in the "Border Minstrelsy," † which is, however, surpassed in beauty by its Scandinavian rival.

13. *Incest punished, or the Father's Justice.* A. i. 308. Short, as it ought to be, and melancholy.

B. Miscellaneous. 14. *The Brother of the Bride slayeth her Slanderer.* A. i. 278. Such was the summary justice doubtless often inflicted on the slanderer of old.

15. *The Maiden hard to please, or the Flying Suitor.* A. ii. 188. Whether allegorical or mysterious—hard to say.

16. *The Task fulfilled, or the Virgin at the Fountain.* A. ii. 242. Probably from a German original. ‡

17. *The Power of Music, or the (Shepherd) (Waiting) Girl singeth and playeth her on the Throne.* G. iii. 44, 49, 53, 55, 58; A. 384, 388, 392, 394, 397. Several of these ballads should be translated. They are full of innocent images and antique love. Number 6 opens thus:—

Inga lyle § stands at the heavy quern and grinds away;  
So well can she!  
Like a nightingale i' th' woodland, she sings so sweet a lay!  
Her songs so pleasant be!

\* Paralleled in Danish, *Syn*, 166, 450; *Nyerup*, iv. 3, 55.

† Beginning "O gin my love were yon red rose!"

‡ See "Gemachte Blumen," in "Des Knaben Wunderhorn," iii. 68.

§ "The term lyle (little), so often annexed, to express endearment, to the names of ladies in the Danish [and Swedish] ballads, is still in use in Cumberland, and the northern counties of England."—*Jamieson's Pop. Ballads*, ii. 209.

The first ballad thus describes the effect of her strains :—

xx.

So one she began, so began she twae,  
So well can she!

Then straight where the stream is running the ships commence to gae!  
Her songs so pleasant be!

xxi.

And so quod she four, and so five quod she then,  
So well can she!

Till the king he fell a-dancing, the king and all his men!  
Her songs so pleasant be!

18. *The Lover's Night-Visit, or it dawns too soon!* A. ii. 213, 215, 217. All three worthy of translation. Whether or not an imitation of the German "Tagelieder," they are full of original beauties. The first contains the following splendid stanzas :—

vi.

The watchman beginneth his song to chaunt so clear,  
"Wake up now, Sir Knight, for the dawn right soon is here;  
For the day I see so plainly from heav'n above slow glide,  
And the little birds\* are singing in the plains around so wide!"

vii.

The maiden she out from her casement watch'd the morn;  
"No day it is as yet, though the watchman blow his horn,  
'Tis but a blush which commonlie shines faint ere day doth spring;  
He lies—that watchman wight—and no good it shall him bring!"

viii.

"Ah! had I but the keys now to this out-shining day,  
I far into the stormy sea would throw them quick away!  
Night, only night, we still should have; it ne'er again should dawn!"  
Alas! they now must straightway part, who fain would be at one! †

19. *The Maiden's Triumph, or Love's artless Resource in the broidered Shirt.* A. ii. 202. A very delicious subject, of which there is a Danish copy. ‡

20. *The prudish Mother and the dicing Daughter, or the King winneth a Bride and wearth her.* A. ii. 252. Fresh and characteristic!

21. *The Substitute, or the Nephew becomes the Uncle, and each obtaineth his Lady-love.* A. i. 400. "A very good song and very well 'writ.'"

22. *The Love-Ambassador, an Ambassador for Love, or the King's Bride a merciful Maiden.* A. ii. 117. We have one such subject in our ballad collections and only one! Its rarity therefore enhances its effect.

23. *The Dialogue well ended, or the Lovers' Quarrel.* A. ii. 240. We

\* It was the lark, the herald of the morn,  
No nightingale.—*Romeo and Juliet.*

Even our own matchless dramatist is equalled on his own ground by the Northern Bard. The passionate exclamations of Juliet, in all their exquisite beauty, do not surpass the Swedish maiden's simple strain. There is a most remarkable affinity in the sentiments expressed.

† "Then vächtar begynte con vijas och qvada:  
I vakar op, min herre, thet dagats vppå stundh;  
Ty iagh seer dagen af himmelen nederskrifda,  
The foglar the slunga i villande marken vijda," &c. &c.

‡ Nyerup, ii. 66; *Syn*, Pt. iv. No. 40.

give the first verse, in order to communicate the very singular \* refrains :—

A youth, he thus to his dearest said,—

My heart's delight,

"Come now, and with me the sweet grove tread!"

Roses and thymes and lilies and parsleys,

And coloured mint and heart's delight!

24. *The Dying Bride, or the Young Wife's Counsel.* A. ii. 244. We extract the last four verses, for the half-playful, half-melancholy, truths they contain :—

VI.

"And when ye've laid me on my bier,  
Then take that maid who stands me near!  
When summer-time it cometh,

VII.

"And when ye've laid me in my grave,  
The maid that's next me shall ye have!  
When summer-time it cometh,

VIII.

"Then home ye'll go and still your greet,  
She's soon forgot we ne'er more meet!  
When summer-time it cometh,

IX.

"Then home ye'll go and shut your door,  
They're soon forgot you ne'er see more!"  
When summer-time it cometh.†

25. *The Girl's Marketing, or the curious Maiden (becomes) (escapes becoming) the Skipper's Bride.* G. i. 92; A. i. 288. Both these songs ought to be translated.

26. *The Daughters restored, or the two pretty Weavers.* G. iii. 40. A. ii. 195. Full of old manners, and highly affecting. There is a Danish variation.‡

27. *The rich Affianced gives her Spouse and Gold to her poor forsaken Sister.* G. i. 24; A. i. 291. These are exceedingly valuable parallels to well-known English and Scotch Ballads § on the same subject.

28. *The Song of the Dove, or the Maiden chosen for Heaven goeth home to die.* G. iii. 27, 175. Very old and very affecting. The latter, containing the excuses of those who will not die, is exceedingly fine.

29. *The Art of Wooing, or the Mother's Advice.* A. ii. 221. Full of roles showing a knowledge of the human heart, and of the chevalier-period when they were written. The last lines of this beautiful ballad are :—

"And though thy comrade thou well trust,  
Yet trust thyself the best."

30. *The Wedding and the Funeral, or the young Bride's Prayer.* G. iii. 30. Curious and melancholy.

\* See note to "Clerk Saunders," in the *Border Minstrelsy*.

† När I hafven lagd migh på baren nidd,  
I tagen then jungfrun som stonder näst migh :  
Så väll emoth sommarsens tidbe," &c.

‡ Nyerup, ii. 146. *Syv*, Pt. ii. No. 33.

§ "Lady Jane," *Jamieson's Pop. Ballads*, ii. 73; "Fair Annie," *ibid.* ii. 103.  
"Lord Thomas and Fair Annie," *Scott's Border Minstrelsy*.

31. *The playful Punishment, or the despised Suitor's witty Revenge.* A. i. 325. This excellent ballad is unfortunately imperfect.

32. *The proud Maiden on Crutches, or the Lover's Insult punished.* A. ii. 148, 150. Singular and good.

33. *The pretended Death, or the Knight trieth his \* Betrothed.* A. ii. 186. Ought to be translated. We have somewhere or other read a real or pretended Chinese tale, with a plot almost exactly similar.

34. *The Nun's Wish, or the Cloister too close.* A. ii. 223. Very pretty, and perhaps connected with German originals. The following is the fourth verse :—

They led her to the cloister in,  
Three dishes meet her there;  
The one was Hunger, the other Thirst,  
The third was Watching sair!

35. *Love and the Nun, or the Cloister robbed.* G. i. 179. This ballad which reminds us of "The Gay Goss-Hawk" in the Border Minstrelsy,† is so pretty that we must give it a place entire :—

(HERR CARL, ELLER KLOSTERROFVET.)

SIR CARL, OR THE CLOISTER ROBBED.

I.

Sir Carl he in to his foster-mother went,  
And much her rede he prayed :—  
"Say how from that cloister I may win  
My own, my dearest maid?"—  
But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

II.

"Lay thee down as sick, lay thee down as dead,  
On thy bier all straight be laid;  
So then thou canst from that cloister win  
Thy own, thy dearest maid!"—  
But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

III.

"And in the little pages came,  
All clad in garments blue;  
An please ye, fair virgin, i' th' chapel ‡ to go,  
Sir Carl on's bier to view?"—  
But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

IV.

"And in the little pages came,  
All clad in garments red;  
An please ye, fair virgin i' th' chapel to wend,  
And see how Sir Carl lies dead?"—  
But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

V.

"And in the little pages came,  
All clad in garments white:  
An please ye, fair virgin, i' th' chapel to tread,  
Where Sir Carl lies in state so bright?"—  
But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

\* The story in "Zadig" is somewhat similar.

† See also above, No. 34; "Miscellaneous Songs of Love and Women," No. 4; and "Songs of True Love, Fidelity," No. 7.

‡ The Swedish "*Vakstuga*," we have, in this instance, thought best translated as above.

*The Old Popular Ballads*

## VI.

"And the May she in to her foster-mother went,  
 And much 'gan her rede to speer :  
 Ah ! may I but in to the chapel go,  
 Sir Carl there to see on his bier ?"—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## VII.

"Nay ! sure I'll give thee now no rede,  
 Nor yet deny I thee :  
 But if to the chapel to-night thou goest,  
 Sir Carl deceiveth thee!"—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## VIII.

And the virgin trod within the door  
 Sun-like\* she shone so mild ;  
 But Sir Carl's false heart within his breast  
 It lay on the bier and smiled !—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## IX.

And the virgin up to his head she stepped,  
 But his fair locks she ne'er sees move :—  
 " Ah, me ! while here on earth thou liv'dst,  
 Thou dearly did'st me love !"—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## X.

And the virgin down to his feet she went,  
 And lifts the linen white :—  
 " Ah, me ! while here on earth thou liv'dst,  
 Thou wert my heart's delight !"—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## XI.

And the virgin then to the door she went,  
 And " good night " bad her sisters last ;  
 But Sir Carl, who upon his bier was laid,  
 He sprang up and held her fast !—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## XII.

" Now carry out my bier again,  
 Come pour the mead and wine ;  
 For to-morrow shall my wedding stand  
 With this sweetheart dear of mine !"—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

## XIII.

And the cloister-nuns, the cloister-nuns,  
 They read within their book :  
 " Some angel sure it was from heav'n,  
 Who hence our sister took !"—  
 But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.

---

\* The reader will remember that the *sun* is feminine in all the old Teutonic languages; in fact it is a frequent metaphor for the female beauty in the Scandinavian poets.

xiv.

And the cloister-nuns, the cloister-nuns,  
They sang each separately;—  
"O Christ! that such an angel came  
And took both me and thee!"—  
But Sir Carl alone he sleepeth.\*

X. MISCELLANEOUS ROMANTIC BALLADS.

A. Amazonian. 1. *A Virgin Shield-Maid rescueth by strength of steel her (Brother) (Lover) from his dungeon.* G. ii. 168, 171, iii. 100; A. i. 188, ii. 120. Very singular echoes from the age of Hervara and of Alfhild! The fourth copy strengthens the force of the lady's arm with an army of 8000 war-virgins!

2. *A Knight defends his Sister till he can do it no longer, when she grasps his Sword and defends herself, slaying all opposed to her; where-upon the King, in admiration of her prowess, maketh her his Spouse.* A. i. 191. Short and spirited.

3. *The Fend, or the Sister (too late) (in time) to save her Brother.* A. ii. 72, 128. Curious pictures of past times!

B. Miscellaneous. 4. *A King's Son questioneth a Shepherd, and is wisely answered.* G. ii. 138. This, which is perhaps a fragment of a longer Danish ballad, contains the following pretty verses, which remind us of the wonderful riddles continually occurring in the old Icelandic sagas, and in the literature of the middle ages in general.

v.

"Say! what than any wheel is yet more round;  
And where the fairest creatures may be found;  
And where hath the sun her shining seat,  
And whither ever point the dead man's feet?"

vi.

"Who is't that builds the broadest bridge that yet hath stood;  
And say! where rush the fishes fastest in the flood;  
And whither leads that road which still the broadest is;  
And what is hight that couch where man hath but miseries?"

vii.

"Say! what than any coal is blacker far;  
And what is quicker, faster, than lark-wings are;  
And what than even swans is yet more white,  
And what cries with a louder voice than the crane doth in his flight?"

viii.

"Oh, yes! than any wheel the sun's more round;  
And in heaven the fairest creatures, I wot, are found;  
In the golden west hath the sun her shining seat;  
And eastward ever point the dead man's feet!"

---

\* "Herr Carl han gick för sin fostermor in,  
Han frågade henne om råd:  
Hur skall jag sköna jungfrun  
Med mig ur klostret få?  
Men Herr Carl sofver allena," &c.

## IX.

" 'Tis the ice that builds the broadest bridge that yet hath stood;  
And under it the fishes run fastest in the flood;  
And eke to hell that road doth lead which still the broadest is;  
And hell fire is that couch, where man hath but miseries!

## X.

" 'Tis sin than any coal is blacker far;  
And the soul is quicker, faster, than lark wings are;  
And angels, e'en than swans, are yet more white;  
And the thunder cries with a louder voice than the crane doth in his flight!"

5. *A young Knight dies in defence of his King's Banner.* A. i. 135. A very beautiful ballad, full of chivalry and faith.

6. *The young Duke put to death without cause.* G. ii. 62. Perhaps of German origin. Good, and with the echo-chorus.

7. *A wicked Viking perisheth at Sea, according as his Mother had warned him.* G. ii. 31, 35; A. ii. 5. Deserves translation. The shrift of the Jonas-Chief is very characteristic of that period of blood and crime.

8. *A Viking's Adventures.* A. i. 110. A splendid and genuine picture of the life of the roving ocean-kings. The bard traces the chief-tain's course along the shores of Sweden and Norway, and up and down the Mediterranean, back again to Sweden, laden with seven camels and an enormous plunder in gold and valuables.

9. *A young Warrior slayeth the Murderer of his Father.* A. i. 132. A fine feud-ballad.

10. *The good Horn-Blast, or the Brother killeth Bandits who have just murdered his Brother.* A. ii. 81. A short sketch of a once common event, when roads were wild, and forests still wilder.

11. *A Knight rescueth his Sister from a Band who are carrying her away.* A. i. 186.

## XII.

And thank now God, as is meet and fit,—  
So fair a maid!  
That thy brother took thee, a maid as yet!  
Guard thee well, Sir Oler.

12. *The Fratricide's Lament and Dialogue with his Mother, before he wanders away from his Home for ever.* G. iii. 3; A. ii. 83, 86. Very remarkable variations of celebrated British ballads.†

13. *The Poisoner poisoned, or the Step-Mother destroyeth herself instead of her Step-Sons.* A. ii. 92. Should be translated as a short illustration of Sir W. Scott's Border Minstrelsy, Art. "Lord Randal."

\* "Hvad är det som är rundare än ett hjul?  
Och hvar finner du de fagrade djur?  
Och hvar hafver Solen sitt säte?  
Hvartut ligger dödsmannens fötter?" &c. &c.

† "Edward, Edward," Percy's Reliques, i. 57. "The two Brothers," Jamieson, i. 60. There is also a curious copy, called Werinen Poika (The bloody Son) in Finnish, translated into German by Schröter, in his "Finnische Runen," p. 124, and into Swedish by Arwidsson, Folkvisor, ii. 88.

14. *The Lament and Testament of the dying May, poisoned by her Nurse and Step-Mother.* G. iii. 13; A. ii. 90. Very affecting, and married to an inexpressibly melancholy melody. We have two songs nearly allied in subject.\*

15. *The Queen's Imprecation fulfilled, and the innocent Gaoler's cruel Death.* A. ii. 113. Singular and tragical enough!

# XI. CARICATURE-SONGS, OR PARODIES OF THE CHAMPION BALLAD.

Although every country has not had its Cervantes, most have produced some author who has endeavoured to annihilate the general taste still existing, for what had already lost its spirit and applicability for the changed circumstances of a new era.† Of this character are the following pieces, valuable for their humour, not less than for their rarity.

1. *A ryghte merrie Description of a Giant's Fyghtes.* A. i. 114. This is indeed an excellent ballad, full of wit and of a joyous spirit. But it is unfortunately too long (twenty-five stanzas of six lines) to translate here. We give one stanza as a specimen:—the hero is battling with a giant “forty ells broad and well a hundred long.”

## XI.

The next round that these champions had,

How each did fume and frown!

The great blue mountain under them

To clay they trampled down:—

“’Tis fierce, this sport,” the giant mutter’d;—

“’Tis scarce begun as yet,” said Ramunder the youngster.

2. *The Champion killeth his Thousands, and winneth his Maid.* G. i. 16; A. ii. 190. An admirable travestie of the old Champion-Saga. The melody is full of energy. The ballad is too long for abridgment (containing fifty verses). The following is the first stanza:

In Northland's high hills sat two champions so dear;

With a “Merrie good night” each saluted his fere.—

But who so well our Runes shall wield

With that honour?

3. *The humorous Courtship of two Rivals ends with a Duel, in which the Husband is slain, and the Victor and the Bride are gladly married.* G. ii. 141; A. i. 274. A strange subject strangely treated. We doubt whether the gravest reader would not laugh as willingly as any reader of Don Quixote.

4. *The Monster and the Fighting-Monk.* A. i. 417. This ballad, of which there is a Danish copy,‡ is full of the broadest caricature.

# XII. THE HISTORICAL LEGENDARY BALLAD.

A. Sacred. 1. *Susanna in Babylon.* A. ii. 542. Not remarkable.

2. *The fair and martyred Dorothea, or the Conversion of Theophilus.* G. ii. 239. A very good monk-legend in rhyme.

\* “The Cruel Brother, or the Bride's Testament”—Jamieson, l. 66; “Lord Randal”—Scott's Minstrelsy.

† The Monk contains one of the best in our language by Lewis on himself.

‡ Nyerup, l. 167; Syv, 663.



3. *The Heathen Princess in her Garden, or the Conversion to Christianity.* G. ii. 73. Very long and very pretty, but, at least in its *present* form, scarcely to be judged *ancient*, though certainly *old*.

4. *The Ballad of Saint George and the Dragon.* G. ii. 254. This fashionable saint (highly honoured in the north) has thus seen his fame extend even to *ultima Thule* itself!

5. *Saint Steffan's (Stephens's) Song.* G. iii. 208, 210. A curious national song of a Swedish saint and *horse-patron*—we hope Doncaster and the turf will take the hint! It is popular everywhere, but especially in the province of Helsingland, the scene of his labours.

6. *The Journey Eastward, or the spiritual Bridegroom's Song.* G. ii. 235. A confused John Bunyan rhapsody.

7. *The Vision, or Heaven and Hell described.* G. ii. 233. Simple, and not bad.

8. *The Magdalen, or Sin forsaken and Penitence proved.* G. ii. 229; A. i. 377. Curious and good; worthy of translation.

B. Profane. 9. *Puris and Helena.* A. ii. 329, 335. Very old and very good. It is singular that such a subject should have found a minstrel-versifier so far north, for it is not a translation, but an original composition.

10. *Saint Staffan's (Stephens's) Prophecy, or the Stone in the Green Vale.* G. iii. 218. This ancient spæ-song reminds us immediately of our *Merlin* and *Thomas the Rymer*, &c.

11. *King Sverker, or the Battle of Lena.* (1208.) A. ii. 346, 348, 350. Very vigorous and border-legend-like. It exists more complete in Danish.\* The following is the last verse, (omitting the refrains):

Each ladie stands in her lofty bower,  
And waits her lord within his hall;—  
Their horses gallop bleeding home,  
But empty are their saddles all!

12. *The Sons of King Valdemar.* A. ii. 363. A very brilliant rescue-song. Well deserves translation.

13. *Queen Damma's (Dagmar's of Denmark) Death.* (1213.) A. ii. 353. Very fine, but exists more complete in Danish.† The fame of the good Queen Margaret (whose beauty and goodness gained her the name of *Dagmar*—Morning Star, Maid of Day) extended even to the Feroe islands.‡

14. *Queen Bengjerd (of Denmark).* (1213.) A. ii. 359. A highly valuable and humorous ballad over the extortions and death of this queen, so hated in her country for malice and oppression, that "a cursed wife" obtained after her, says the Chronicle, the name of Bengjerd, (Berengard).§

15. *King Birger and his Brothers, or Brunke's Treachery.* (1318.) G. i. 189. A long, retouched ballad of the horrible murders which lost Birger his crown and life, and drove his dynasty from the throne!

\* Nyerup, ii. 107; Syv, Pt. ii. No. 20.

† Nyerup, ii. 87; Syv, Pt. ii. No. 20.

‡ See "Færoiske Svæder af Lyngbye," p. 656.

§ Hvitfeld's Dansk Chronica, i. 94, (ed. 1600).

16. *King Albrekt.* (1410.) A. ii. 367. A good rhyming-chronicle ballad.—See the Danish copy.\*

17. *A Ballad of the Campaign in the Island of Gottland.* (1449.) G. ii. 279. Not without value for the details of Swedish history.

18. *The Murder of Thord Bunde.* (1456.) G. ii. 288. A curious ballad, which supplies us with the date of the assassination of this great Swedish patriot.

19. *The Battle at Brunkeberg.* (1471.) G. ii. 263. A valuable illustration of Sten Sture's victory.

20. *The Battle at Stångebro.* (1518.) G. i. 245; A. ii. 373. A popular subject.

21. *The Battle of Bränkyrka.* (1518.) G. ii. 302. In this battle the Great Banner of Sweden was carried by Gustaf Ericson Vasa—(the illustrious Gustaf I.)

22. *King Gustaf I. and the Dalecarlians.* G. ii. 266, 271. A famous old Dalecarlian chaunt.

23. *Duke Magnus (Son of Gustaf I.) and the Mermaid.* G. iii. 178. A beautiful ballad, in which the mermaid punishes with insanity the young prince's refusal to betroth her. The Duke was actually mad, and passed the latter years of his life in retirement in Ostergothland. One day he threw himself, says tradition, from his castle-window into the water, but was taken up unhurt. It was, he explained, because two pretty arms had caught him lightly as he fell, for the beautiful mermaid had beckoned to him from below to come to her!

24. *King Christian IV. in Sweden.* (1612, &c.) A. ii. 376. An old ballad-journal, written during the war.

25. *The Battle of Helsingborg.* (1710.) A. ii. 387. A spirited pasquille.

26. *The March of King Charles XII.* A. ii. 391. Full of fresh and national energy. Tradition reports that "the great mad warrior king" used, before his engagements, to let his troops chaunt together the old psalm,

Our castle strong the Lord he is!

and afterwards sing the above march, which is said to have been composed by the great *Magnus Stenbock*.

27. *The King and Sir Peter, or Charles XII. at Narva.* G. i. 201.

28. *The Battle of Narva.* A. ii. 382. Not bad imitations of the old Champion-ballad.

29. *Malcolm Sinclair.* (1739.) G. i. 220. This long and excellent ballad belongs in fact to the class of Dialogues of the Dead, the personages introduced being the twelve Swedish Charleses, and our hero, who was murdered on his return from Breslau, in 1739.

30. *The Song of the Barn-fowl-woman,* (from 1650 to 1750); *Ditto, Continuation,* (from 1750 to 1780). G. ii. 290, 297. An historical allegorical list of the Regents of Sweden during this period.

The promised third volume of Herr Arwidsson, containing the

Sport and Dance Rhymes, Shepherd and Nursery Songs, &c. has not yet appeared. We look for its publication with great impatience. The subject is rich and highly interesting. Of one thing, however, we are sure, that it cannot fall into better hands.

Having thus travelled over this long panorama of Northern Ballad Literature, an exposition which has *certainly* been too long for many, and *perhaps* too short for some few, we have only to conclude by recommending the perusal of the originals by all whose knowledge of their language may enable them to enjoy that pleasure. If not, the many German translations, in whole or in part, will afford an excellent *succedaneum*.

“ And now once more farewell to minstrels bold,  
Whose manly lays the manliest actions told.  
And from the wizard's sleight and darksome cell,  
From the brave knight and beauteous damosel,  
From the high tilt and tourney of the past,  
Which, like Morn's visions, were too bright to last,  
We wend us homeward to our lowly cot,  
And in life's miseries all is fast forgot.  
The enchanted path fades quick upon our view,  
The love of olden time, tender and true,  
The helmeted warriors viewed by beauty's glance,  
Of fiercer temper than Astolpho's lance,  
Striving to win her soul, subduing sense,  
Which beat the champions through their firmest fence—  
For lady's looks pierce warriors' firmest mail,  
And stoutest hearts before the softest quail.  
'Tis vanish'd all—how darksome grows the hour,  
In which the gnomes of earth resume their power;  
Who keep us, like the griffins, bent on gold,  
Withdrawing us from all that's high and bold;  
And making us mere creatures of the mine,  
Condemn us o'er accursed gold to pine;  
Cramping the fancy's wandering pure and high,  
And dooming all the beautiful to die.”

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**ART. III.—*Slowunske Starozitnosti. Sepsal Pawel Josef Safarik. Oddil Degepisny. W Praze. (Slavonian Antiquities. Compiled by Paul Joseph Safarik. Historical Part. Prague.) 1837. Vol. I. Post 8vo.***

It has been remarked of rivers in general, that in the earlier part of their course they often rush with noisy violence, threatening to swell into a torrent that shall deluge the adjacent country; but as their channel becomes more wide and deep, they roll their waters so calmly, that towards the end of their career each wave may be separately numbered. We think that in this fact a mirror is held up to man, and this simile may illustrate the observation of the philosopher, that only that man is capable of comprehending or of writing history, whose own life has been a history in itself. The same is equally applicable to individual nations, and we have been especially struck with the truth of the foregoing remark whilst considering the history of the most numerous of the nations of Europe. It does indeed border on the marvellous, that of the seventy millions of the Slavonian race settled in the heart of Europe from the remotest antiquity so little should yet be known. Nay, even their existence has been questioned by some, and positively denied by others; and this during the very period when they mixed with every other European nation. This ignorance concerning their history in the earlier ages originated in part from their country never having been conquered by the Roman world enslavers, and in part from the fault common to historians, who preferred to dwell on themes of war, and left unnoticed the peaceful virtues of the Slavonian family—for such they will ever remain in the eye of heaven and earth—who devoted themselves to agriculture, the arts, and the other pursuits connected with real civilization. During the middle ages, although they played a prominent part in the affairs of Europe, little, beside their name, seems to have been known of them beyond their own limits; in more modern times, the case was still the same, and it is only lately, when, owing to the misfortunes of Poland, and the ambition of Russia, some anxiety and jealous suspicions have been awakened in other states, that a desire for anything like accurate historical information respecting the Slavonian race has been manifested in Western Europe. The absence of correct notions on this subject in modern times is mainly attributable to those German authors who, as M. Safarik observes, know how to write volumes of details respecting some obscure Indian tribe, whilst in their ignorance of the language and history of their Slavonian neighbours they have circulated concerning them a prodigious mass of misdirected information. Since the

general peace, however, they have done much to compensate for their former fault, and the learned researches of their Niebuhr and J. Grimm,—together with those of Naruszewicz, Ossolinski, and Lelewel amongst the Poles,—of Karamzin, a Russian,—and of Dobrowsky, Palacky, and, above all, of M. Safarik, Bohemians,—have left no portion of the ancient history of the Sclavonians unexplored. The great importance of this subject, still further enhanced by the influence which the destiny of this people now exerts on the affairs of the world, has not been overlooked by the French government, which, in the spring of last year, appointed the celebrated Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, Professor of Sclavonian Literature and History at the *College de France*: a man eminently qualified for the task, and who, during the short period of his professorship of Latin literature at the university of Lausanne, so won upon the esteem of his hearers and of the government that he received many honourable distinctions above the rest of his colleagues. A periodical also lately set up in Paris, entitled *La Revue Slave*, and exclusively devoted to this subject, still further attests the growing interest in this branch of literary research. The Germans, emulating their French neighbours, are making collections of the Sclavonian legends, songs, and relics of antiquity, scattered amongst them, which for centuries have been trodden down and buried in obscurity. Neither have we remained idle spectators of the awakening activity in this department of letters, having on two former occasions drawn the attention of our readers to the subject of Polish literature, and we now gladly embrace the opportunity of encouraging our fellow labourers by testifying our sympathy with them, although, separated from them by an abyss of waves, we have it not in our power to take a more active part in their exertions. As contributors to a Journal consecrated to foreign matter, it is part of our duty to watch the proceedings of our continental neighbours, and should we perceive the signs of some gathering storm that menaces to break over the Briton, to give him timely warning of the danger.

With this feeling we now turn to M. Safarik, who has proved our agreeable companion and guide through the long course of fifteen remote centuries, furnishing, from his perfect knowledge of all ancient and modern languages, full answers to all our questions. Gifted by an owl-like vision, which enables him to penetrate through the obscurity that would baffle any other, with an enduring patience that carries him without weariness through the minutest details, and with a rich imagination ever kept in check by sound judgment, M. Safarik, as the alchymist of old, converts into precious metal whatever matter is brought into the crucible of his powerful mind. The work in question, and to which he has

devoted his existence, though bearing only the modest title of "*Slavonian Antiquities*," deserves to be classed amongst the best historical compositions of modern times. It is intended to be complete in two large volumes, of which, as far as we are aware, the first only has yet been published, and contains the political history of the Slavonian race. In the second he proposes to treat of its religion, literature, arts, government, legislation, customs, &c. M. Safarik has divided his subject into two periods; the first beginning with the historic era, or Herodotus (456, B. C.), and extending to the fall of the empire of the Huns and of that of the Romans in the west (469-476, A. D.) The second period embraces the next six centuries, and reaches to the middle of the tenth century, at which time Christianity was introduced amongst the greater portion of the Slavonians.

The preliminary inquiry, whether the Slavonians are to be considered members of the Indo-European family of nations, and which has never until now been satisfactorily resolved, M. Safarik answers in the affirmative, and brings proofs in support of his assertion calculated to remove all further doubt. His opinion is based on the close alliance of the Slavonic idiom with the Greek, Latin, Celtic, Thracian, German, and Medo-Persian, all of which are again more or less like the Sanscrit. The resemblance between the Slavonic and the Greek is so strong that the learned professor Dankowski, of the university of Presburg, pronounced the latter to be a Slavonic dialect, which seems still further to corroborate the statement of our author. The physical and moral constitution also of the Slavonians, so analogous to that of the other primitive European races, furnishes another weighty evidence on this subject.

The second, but not less important question, whether the Slavonians are one of the primitive races of Europe, in other words, whether they were settled there before the commencement of the historic era, is again decided affirmatively by equally unanswerable arguments. According to M. Safarik they were known to the Greeks under the foreign appellation of *Enetoi*; to the Romans under that of *Venetæ*, *Veneti*, *Vineti*, *Venadi*, and to the Germans, under that of *Winden* or *Wenden*. The nations of the northern family also knew them as the *Wene* or *Wanna*, and in the *Edda* frequent mention is made of them as the *Vanar*, and of their land as *Vanaheim* (the abode of the *Vanar*). The ancient Greek tradition of the northern amber country possessed by the *Veneti*, of the river *Eridanus*,\* may be traced as far back as

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\* Her. Schweigh. iii. 115.

the sixth century before the Christian era; and Herodotus must have been acquainted with its exact situation, but purposely concealed it, as it was said, because he was himself concerned in the amber trade. There is not any doubt that the Eridanus\* was no other than the Dwina; and the amber, transported first by that river, then by the Vistula, and, thirdly, from the mouth of the Oder, was finally carried overland to Marseilles, where it was sold to the southern nations. When the Goths made themselves masters of the shores of the Baltic towards the middle of the fourth century, A. C., the name of the northern Veneti was transferred to those dwelling by the Adriatic, and that of the Eridanus to Padus and Rhodanus, and this was the origin of that celebrated controversy respecting the amber country and the Eridanus, which engaged so much attention both in ancient and modern times.

The Veneti of the Adriatic, as well as the ancient inhabitants of Pannonia and Illyria† before the irruption of the Celtic nations in the fourth century of the Christian era, were, according to M. Safarik, equally of Sclavonian origin. The principal seat, however, of the Veneti, and which they have never abandoned, lay between the Carpathian mountains and the Baltic, the Vistula and the Upper Volga, the Don and the Black Sea. Many opinions are held respecting the meaning of the names Veneti and Winden, which are still applied by the Germans to the Sclavonians, though they seem never to have been their domestic appellations, but no positive conclusion on the subject has yet been drawn. The root is Vind, or Vend, the first of which is considered the more correct, as the letter *i* is more ancient than *e*, and because we also find Vindhia in the Sanscrit. It is usually referred to the Sanscrit *und*, to flow, to be fluid, and we have the Latin *unda*; Sclavonian *onda*; French *onde*; Old German *undea*, *unda*, *undia* (fluctus); Old Saxon *uthia*; Anglo-Saxon *ydh*,

\* Larcher is evidently wrong as well as Rennell in imagining that the insignificant tributary to the Vistula, the Rhodanus, was the river in question. The Dwina fully answers the description, *προς βαρυν ἀνταμω*, which the Vistula does not. The general run of Dictionaries are absolutely useless on the northern Eridanus, evidently imagining that the Padus alone answers to it. Charles Stephens states that the Rhodanus (Rhône) was also called by the Greeks Eridanus. Donegan gives, with characteristic accuracy, Eridanus. The Po and Rhone. Herodot. 2, 115, instead of 3, 115. A river supposed to have its source in the Rhipæan Mountains. Butler, pro pudor! only gives the Po. Is the term applied to any turbulent stream? Hesiod. Theog. 358. *Ἠριδανὸν βαθυδίνην*. Baehr, whose Herodotus is full of deep research, makes an admission, that does more honour to his candour than learning, "Qui verum ejus situm indagare velit cum vix quidquam profecturum esse putem."

† *Ἰλλυριοὶ Ἐννετι*, Her. Schweigh. i. 96.

&c.: and also to the Sanscrit *uda*, *udaka*, water; Greek *udor*, *udas*; Latin *udor*, *udus*; Gothic *wato*; Old Saxon *watar*; Scandinavian *wazar*; Slavonian *woda*; Lithuanian *wandu*; Danish *vand*; Celtic *wand*, *wend* (pluvies), *vin* (aqua), *von*, *vonan*, to flow, &c. Consonant to this etymology, Vineti would mean the dwellers near seas and rivers, but this seems untenable, since we find it applied to mountains,—as, for instance, Vindhia in India and Vindius in Spain. It may perhaps be more correctly derived from Hindi or Indi, as *w* may in such case be merely an aspiration which sometimes occurs, and also because the Sanscrit *h* is often changed in other languages into *w*. Take, for instance, the Sanscrit *vidaha*, Latin *vidua*, Slavonian *wdowa* or *vdova*. This question, however, must still be left open.

M. Safarik has also solved, much to our satisfaction, another difficult problem, regarding the domestic appellation by which the Slavonians designated themselves, and it appears that this was no other than that of Sirbi, which name is mentioned by Pliny, and also by Ptolemy, with the slight variation of Serbi and Sirboi. In Procopius and others we find Spori substituted for Sorbi. Sirb, Serb, or Sorb, means in Slavonic *satus*, *natus*, *gens*, *natio*, and numerous words are derived from it which still bear the primitive signification. Its root is found in the Sanscrit *su*, to generate, to produce; Latin *sevi*, *satum*, derived from *serere*, *se-sere* (self-reduplication). This mode of deriving the national name from such a source is common to almost all primitive races, before they become estranged from the simplicity of nature by the refinements of civilization. Thus the Germans, known to foreigners by various names, call themselves *diutisk*, *teusch*, *deutsche*, from the Gothic *thiuda* (*natio*, *gens*); Finnish *tauta*. The ancient Scandinavians used to call their country *Manahheim*, that is, abode of men.

We proceed under M. Safarik's guidance to notice, as far as our limits will allow, the nations which settled for a time in the midst of the Slavonians, or dwelt in their vicinity. Of these, part belonged to the Indo-European family, and part to the northern. The latter, a numerous primitive race, settled before the historic era in the north of Europe and Asia, was divided into two great branches: the Western, or the Tshoud Finnish; and the Eastern, or the Tshoud Uralian, from whom the Huns, Spali, Skamani, Sabiri, &c. derived their origin.

The ancient Scythians, under which name the inhabitants of all the northern region of Europe and Asia were for a long period comprised, first attract our attention. They were a Mongolian race, the ancestors of the Tatars of modern times, and belonged to the northern family. Herodotus found them in the sixth cen-



ture settled between the Don and the Dnieper, whither, according to their own account of themselves, they had migrated from Asia, probably from the country of Orenburgh. He\* tells us that they called themselves Skolotoi, from the names of one of their kings, which name probably did not last long beyond the reign in which it was assumed, and that the Greeks called them Skuthai, Scythae; but his statement may be incorrect, the first of these words being evidently a corrupt diminution of the second, which again, as it has no root in Greek, is most probably a corruption, or rather an inadequate expression for the word Tshoud, which the Slavonians apply to all the nations of the northern family. The English word Tshoud is, however, very far from being the correct expression of the Slavonic Cud, for the consonant C is hard, and is variously spelt in Slavonic, as Scud, Csud, or Czud, which it would be impossible to render in Greek otherwise than by Skuthes, Skuthai, Scythae. The Slavonic Cud signifies *gigas, monstrum*,—an appellation which, like that we have already alluded to, is common to many primitive nations. The domestic name of the Tshoud is Suoma, Suome, Suomi, Sabme, (men, nation), Suomalainen, Suoma-ma (the land of Suoma). In the time of Herodotus, the western portion of the Tshoud on the Baltic was broken down by the Slavonians, who, on the other hand, in the south, were themselves partly under the dominion of those Scythians called by Herodotus Royal Scythians; whilst their subjects, whom he speaks of as agricultural Scythians, were Slavonians, and differed from their masters in language, manners, mode of life, and external appearance.

The Scythian empire in the south of European Russia was overthrown about A. D. 94 by the Sarmatæ, Saramatæ, or Sarmathians,—a Medo-Persian people appertaining to the Indo-European family. Their name, still in use amongst some of the Asiatic tribes, means “inhabitants of a steppe,” and that they differed essentially from the Slavonians is apparent from the description of them left by Hippocrates and Tacitus. Having established themselves on the ruins of the Scythian empire, between the Don, the Dnieper, and the mouth of the Danube, whither they had migrated from their former seat between the Don and the Caspian Sea, they became known in history under three names, designating as many principal tribes—the Roxolani, the Jazygae or Jaxamatæ, and the Alani or Asi. The Alani entered into close alliance with the Goths, at the time the last-mentioned people migrated, A. D. 180—215, from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Black Sea, and the two nations carried

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\* Her. Schweigh. iv. 6.

on war together against the Vanar or Slavonians, a portion of whom, the dwellers in the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia, and White Russia, they succeeded in subjugating. The Goths derived from the Asi, the Asar of the Edda (*heros, divus*), many religious ceremonies, and even the celebrated hero Odin, to whom in after times divine honours were paid, was of the nation of the Asi. The arrival of the Huns was the signal for the destruction of their united empire; some of the Sarmates joined the Vandals and crossed over to Africa; others fled back for refuge to the Caucasus, their ancient country, where now, under the name of Abassi or Abassians, they are being exterminated by the Russians. A third portion, the Jazygae, fled to the woods and marshy lands of Podlachia, where the remnant of their descendants were destroyed in the 13th century by a King of Poland. Short as was the period during which the Sarmates held dominion over a part of the Slavonians, the Byzantine and Latin historians continued nevertheless up to the tenth century to designate under their name all the inhabitants of the north of Europe, who were in fact Slavonians, Tshouds, Turks, Mongols, and Germans. At this day the name of Sarmates is still sometimes applied to the Poles, especially by poets, but it is time that even these should discontinue to do so, since however poetical the name may sound in their ears, the use does not tell much in favour of their historical knowledge.

About the middle of the fourth century, the Slavonian countries were visited by three consecutive and horrible irruptions of the Celtic or Gallic nations. "Their country being over-crowded by its population," says Polybius, alluding to these events, "the Galli were seized with a kind of feverish frenzy, and during many years there was neither term nor measure to their expeditions beyond the Rhine." In our days the French have exhibited a repetition of this spectacle, and history is constrained ever and anon to bear witness to the words of the Preacher—"There is nothing new under the sun." The Galli either forced the Slavonians to abandon Pannonia and Illyricum, or after having exterminated a portion of them must have subjugated others, and sold many as slaves to the Greeks, by whom they were called Dacus and Geta. The Thracian nations settled in Dacia, in the neighbourhood of the Slavonians, being also compelled to yield a part of their country to the same invaders, fell in their turn upon the Scythians. Several of these Celtic or Gallic nations, known under the various appellations of Boii, Ombroni, Kothini, Anarti, Taurisci, Bastarni, Peucini, &c. then settled in Pannonia, Illyricum, Thracia, Dacia, Macedonia, and even beyond the Carpathian Mountains, on the Pruth, the Dniester, the Boh, and

near the sources of the Vistula and the Oder. Thus the history of the ancient Celts became in many points connected with that of the Sclavonians, and numerous Celtic words are still to be found in the Sclavonic language, especially such as designated their various divinities, idols and religious ceremonies. M. Safarik proposes to furnish instances of these in the second volume of his work, and in the mean time he appeals to antiquarians, remarking that very little has been done in our days towards the investigation of Celtic idioms and antiquities.

In the west and north-west, the Sclavonians carried on perpetual warfare with the Germans, the limits between the two nations being, according to Tacitus, mountains and mutual fear. The Oder was, however, the proper boundary, and the country lying between that river and the Vistula had been from time immemorial the theatre of their animosity. The populous nation of the Suevi settled in the immediate vicinity of the Sclavonians, as did also the Vandals, a bastard people composed of Celtes, Germans and Sclavonians, whose name, considered as one rather of ignominy, was a corrupt diminutive of Veneti.

To the north of the Veneti dwelt the Lithuanian people, known as the Lithuanians properly so called, the Prutzi or Prussi, Galindi, &c., a Sclavonian race, as is proved by their language, although they were estranged by early isolation from the great family. It would appear that the Lithuanians, having gained their country by conquest from the Tshoud Finns, had not entirely exterminated the latter, but had amalgamated with them, and that they again were in their turn early subjugated by the Goths. Their very name goes to prove the latter fact. This circumstance may account for the considerable variation of their idiom from the true Sclavonic, which has ever preserved its independence. It is an admitted fact, that the mixture of foreign idioms with an original language has the effect of petrifying it, as it were, within its grammatical forms, whilst an unmixed language undergoes by the mere lapse of time many changes in its structure. Hence it is that the Lithuanian has preserved its primitive forms, and bears more resemblance to Asiatic idioms than does the Sclavonic, which latter grew freely, like a magnificent tree, sending forth branches, boughs and blossoms. The Lithuanian language is now confined to the lowest class of the people, the middle and upper classes having been *Polonised* since the union of Lithuania with Poland in the 14th century.

We close our list of nations connected with the Sclavonians, by the Huns, the most celebrated amongst the destroyers of the Roman empire, and whose appearance in Europe produced another chaos, such an overturning of established nations and

empires, and setting up of new ones, as has only been witnessed once since, after the lapse of fifteen centuries. They also were members of the northern family, a Uralian or Eastern Tshoud people (the ancestors of the subsequent Avars and Magyars or Hungarians), who had migrated from the country now possessed by the Bashkirs, or Paskatir, called at this day the Great Hunia by the natives, with whom the word *chum*, *hum*, *kum*, signifies *man*, an appellation common to almost every primitive people. Having left their country about the historic era, they wandered for some time between the Volga, the Don, and Caucasus, whence, in 374, A. D. they turned their course to southern Russia, and overthrew the empires of the Ostrogoths and Alani. The terror they inspired may be gathered from the belief that became prevalent amongst the nations whom they vanquished, that they were the offspring of devils and witches (Aliorumen and Arlan). It seems that they remained on good terms with the Sclavonians, the murder of whose king, Box (Boos, Bozé), with that of his sons and seventy of his grandees, they avenged upon the Goths. They reached the zenith of their power under Attila, the Napoleon of his times, who has been alike unjustly treated both by his contemporaries and by subsequent historians, since, notwithstanding the injurious epithets bestowed upon him, he has never been convicted of any deliberate act of cruelty. There can be no doubt that during his invasion of the Roman empire at the head of 700,000 warriors he was accompanied by many Sclavonians, and the silence of historians respecting them is not more remarkable than that a similar invasion of Russia by Napoleon should be usually designated as that of the French only, although half Europe took part in it. The co-operation of the Sclavonians, and their alliance with the Huns, is fully borne out by the relation left by Priscus of his embassy to Attila, whilst the latter was stationed in that part of northern Hungary which is now the modern province of Tokay. This writer tells us, that during his passage he was offered for food and beverage millet and honey instead of rye and wine, by a people who lived in villages different from the Huns, by which no other than the Sclavonians can be meant, and at the same time it proves the fact, that even at that early period they occupied the country on the left bank of the Danube. The very words he cites are Sclavonic, as is also the appellation *Strawa*, given to the funereal feast after the death of Attila, described by Jornandes. Their alliance with the Huns caused the Sclavonians to be long afterwards designated by the name of the former, as are still, by the Germans, those Sclavonians who settled in the Swiss Canton of Wallis, near Granges (Sclavonic Gradec), in the villages Crimenza (Kremenica), Luc (Luka), Visoye, Grana, &c.

From the above brief statement two leading conclusions are to be drawn; first, that the Sclavonians have mixed only with the nations of the Indo-European and northern families,—the proofs of which are found both in their language and history; and secondly, that the *Ethnos megiston* of the Veneti, mentioned by Ptolemy, the *Winidarum natio populosa*, dwelling *per immensa spatia* of Procopius, and their *infiniti populi* of Jornandes, did not suddenly make their appearance in Europe as some believe, but that they were settled before the historic era in that part of Europe where history finds them under various names at the opening of the middle ages. The fall of the empires of the Huns and Romans, relieved the Sclavonians from the constant pressure which they had endured for centuries from the various nations, who now revelled amidst the ruins of the late masters of the world. It was now their turn to become conquerors, marching onwards to the south and west, to take possession, sword in hand, of those countries, the population of which had been thinned by the migration of German, Celtic, and other nations. But before we follow them in their career, we shall quote some remarks of M. Safarik on their character, religion, and social condition during the foregoing period.

“ Their generous disposition has been praised even by their enemies. Procopius affirms that they were not cruel and revengeful, but kind and noble hearted; and, according to Mauritius, sincerity without dissimulation, generosity without ostentation, and humanity, were prominent features of their character. The same spirit pervaded their religion, laws, morals and customs. There exist abundant proofs, that the primitive Sclavonians worshipped one Supreme Being, as the Maker of Heaven and Earth, though they also acknowledged inferior divinities, as mediators between the Supreme and the human race. The sacrifices they offered to their gods consisted of cattle, sheep, and other animals, and of the fruits of the earth. They did not offer human sacrifices, and though this savage custom was introduced among some of the Sclavonian races dwelling by the Baltic and in Russia, it never became general nor permanent. They also believed in the immortality of the soul, and in the rewards and punishments of another world. The affairs of the state were administered by the people themselves. Fathers ruled in their families, and at the general meetings or diets they elected seniors, palatins, dukes, &c., whose province it was to administer the national affairs both in peace and war. The laws and customs of the Sclavonians were preserved either by tradition, or were engraved by their priests on tablets of wood, in a kind of Runic characters. All classes enjoyed equal rights, and it appears that, although the highest dignity in the state was hereditary, especially amongst those Sclavonians who dwelt in the vicinity of the Germans, this circumstance in no way derogated from the sovereignty of the people. That servitude was unknown amongst them does not admit of a doubt; all from the highest to the lowest subject

having the same liberties. Even at a later period, when the class of nobility had arisen, the individuals not included within it remained perfectly free. Servitude with them was a weed of foreign growth, introduced amongst the western Slavonians by the Germans, and amongst the southern by the Greeks and Celtes. The Russians were indebted for it to the Scandinavians and the Tatars. It was one of their ancient laws, that any Slavonian in foreign captivity or slavery recovered his former freedom on re-entering his native land. With regard to their treatment of foreign prisoners of war, Mauritiuſ mentions one very humane law; namely, that a captive did not with them, as in other countries, become a slave for life, but only for a limited period, after which he was considered free, and might either return to his country, on paying a ransom, or settle amongst his former masters as a freeman and friend. To take care of the old, the infirm and the poor, was held to be the paramount duty of every Slavonian, and no vagabonds nor beggars were to be seen in the country. Their kindness to strangers, proceeding from generosity of disposition, and considered by them as a part of their religion, is commended even by their enemies, as, for instance, by Mauritiuſ, Helmold and others. Although polygamy was not forbidden, as being in accordance with the prevailing customs of the age, it is nevertheless attested by historians, that no instance of it could be found amongst the people, and but few among the higher class. Their wives were neither shut up nor guarded, but mingled freely in the society both of natives and foreigners; and this respect for the rights of the weaker sex bears testimony to the virtue and refinement of their manners, whilst a different conduct is a manifest proof of the barbarity, ignorance and corruption of a people. Besides their favourite occupation of cultivating the soil and tending their flocks, they were addicted to the arts and to commerce, and from remote antiquity much of the trade between Asia and the west of Europe was either carried on by them, or through their country. All the principal cities in Poland and Russia were flourishing long before the introduction of Christianity, and numerous proofs exist that between the second and seventh centuries the Slavonians were considered by the Greeks and Scandinavians as a nation possessing arts and letters.

“A people devoted to agriculture, arts and commerce, and not subject to a despotic rule, but accustomed to weigh for itself the advantages of an undertaking previous to commencing it, however averse it may be to war, ordinarily displays, when attacked, superior courage in the defence of its territory and liberties. The history of the Slavonians fully confirms this remark. According to the statement of Cæsar Mauritiuſ, they were distinguished in war, not only by their personal strength and valour, but by their consummate prudence, excellent discipline, and deep strategic schemes. The order in which they marched to battle may be learnt from Constantine Porphyrogenituſ. They have been accused of the love of pillage, and of cruelty to their enemies, but this reproach is unjust.

“Whoever will take the trouble to study their history will be convinced that their enemies themselves caused the evil complained of, by

first setting the example of cruelty and unjust aggression. Though the Sclavonians conquered provinces, they never subjugated a people, and it ill becomes their neighbours who endeavoured to enslave them, to destroy their national institutions, their laws and customs, and to deprive them of their property, to accuse them of pillage and cruelty. Besides, the wars carried on by the Sclavonians were always those of defence or retaliation, in the latter of which especially it would not be easy to keep the spirit of revenge within due limits. With more justice might their enemies point out two remarkable blots in the character of the ancient Sclavonians, which disgraced the wreath of their national virtues, and drew heavy misfortunes, and, in certain cases, inevitable ruin upon some of their generations. The first of these noticed by Cæsar Mauritius, and arising from their light-mindedness, was the little love they bore to one another, so that they lived continually in the midst of dissensions and wars: the second, which probably originated in a lively imagination, or rather in the incapability of remaining inactive, which seems to have been constitutional in them, was their love of foreignism, which was so strong in the heart of every Sclavonian, that even a foreign language, and foreign mode of living, was preferred by them to national customs, to the maternal idiom. It is owing to these two peculiarities that the Sclavonians, though a mighty, numerous, and widely spread race, were obliged to succumb, even in remote ages, to nations far weaker than themselves. Time has tried their merits and their failings, and they have reaped the fruits of both."

With our eyes fixed upon these few remarks, extracted at random from ancient writers known for their hostility to the Sclavonians, we can boldly answer in the negative the conclusive question: Are the ancient Sclavonians, from what we have related, to be considered savages and barbarians, as some writers are pleased to term them? We might apply to these, the words of that philosophic observer of nature, and profound judge of human affairs, Wm. Humboldt, spoken in reference to the Celtes and Iberians. "Let us be careful," says he, "not to compare these nations, called by the ancients barbarians, with the savages of America, as if there were any analogy between them; for the degree of civilization respectively attained by them was entirely different. Neither has the important question yet been resolved, whether that savage state, which even in America is found in various gradations, is to be looked upon as the dawning of a society about to rise, or whether it is not rather the fading remains of one sinking amidst storms, overthrown and shattered by overwhelming catastrophes. To me the latter supposition seems to be nearer the truth than the former."—(*W. von Humboldt, Untersuch. üb. d. Urbewohner Hispaniens.* Berlin, 1821.)

Period II. from 476—988 A. D.

It can hardly be doubted that the Sclavonians, from the vast extent of territory occupied by them at the time of the fall of the

Roman empire, and from the circumstances attending their new settlements, must at that period have exceeded in number every other European people. Their population not only sufficed to enable them to take possession of new provinces, but also to establish themselves in these colonies sufficiently numerous to repel foreign invaders, and at the same time to provide, by peaceful means, for their own maintenance. Both these necessities were satisfied, and the Sclavonians, unlike other migratory nations of those days, have transmitted to their later posterity the territories which they occupied at the commencement of the middle ages. For this preservation of their acquisitions they were indebted to their peaceful habits, and to their love of agriculture, arts and commerce. Their occupation of half Europe remains unparalleled in history. It would excite no wonder had it been accomplished by the usual means of conquest, and by motives of ambition, by a people greedy of plunder, and led on by the absolute will of a single chief. Such was precisely the case with contemporaneous nations; whilst the Sclavonians, divided into numerous independent communities, unconnected with each other, and under a popular form of government, migrated in small parties and at various periods to other countries. Their object was not to enslave men, but to acquire territory which they might convert by labour into a soil supplying abundantly the wants both of man and beast; and hence, when they waged war it was only in self-defence. "Providence itself," to use the words of M. Safarik, "seems to have befriended their peaceful intentions, and to have rewarded them with enduring advantages: for whilst those world-destroying nations have fallen into dust, together with their plunder, or are fast verging towards the bottomless abyss, the Sclavonians have preserved entire their possessions through the storm of ages, and have lived to see the dawn of the day which shall open to them a new existence, and a measure of power and splendour never before obtained by them."

The ancient Veneti appear in history at the beginning of the middle ages, under the name of Antes and Sclavi, the first of which appellations Procopius applies to the Sclavonians of the East, and the last to those of the West. The name of Antes, which seems to have had a not less foreign origin than that of Veneti, means, in Skandinavian and Gothic, *gigas, homo*, and from the sixth century those nations were designated by it, which in the tenth exchanged it for the appellation of Russians. At that period the boundaries of Russia were the lakes of Ilmen and Ladoga, the Upper Volga, and the Oka, the Upper Don, the Lower Dnieper, and the Black Sea, down to the mouth of the Danube; the north-eastern chain of the Carpathian mountains, the Bug, and the present govern-



ment of Wilno, as far as the Upper Dwina. Her population consisted of many independent nations, which formed a kind of confederation, till Rurik established a central government in 862. Rurik, who with his two brothers belonged to the Skandinavian nation of Varing, was invited to assume the reins of government by the Republic of Veliki-Novogrod; the citizens of which, being partly of Slavonian and partly of Tshoud extraction, agreed, as one means of appeasing their mutual animosities, to select their rulers from a third nation. The Varing, as their very name indicates, were a bold confederated people, and their country was called by the Tshouds, Ruotzi or Ruossimaa (Uplandia, Roslagen), for which appellation the Antes now exchanged their own, giving to themselves thenceforth the name of Rusini, and to the country that of Rus. Rurik's successors extended by conquest their authority over all the other tribes of Antes, and having established their capital at Kiow (Kioff) reached the zenith of their power under Vladimir the Great. This monarch introduced Christianity in Russia (988) according to the Greek ritual. His empire was subsequently overthrown by the Poles and Lithuanians, and remained united with Poland till the close of the last century, with the exception of the provinces situated beyond the Dnieper, which were conquered by the Tatars, and on recovering their independence in the sixteenth century bore for a certain period the name of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy. The Muscovites proper, or to use a better word, the Great Russians, which they are called by some in order to distinguish them from the inhabitants of ancient Russia, possess a less degree of Slavonian nationality than any of the other kindred nations, being, what historians term, a bastard people, that is, composed of several, as of Slavonians, Tshouds, and Tatars. Their idiom differs so much from the Russian proper, that they cannot understand the latter without previous instruction in it, which is not the case respecting it with the Poles, the Bohemians, and others. Conscious of this absence of the Slavonian element, their learned men of the sixteenth century traced the origin of their nation to the Ros people mentioned by the prophet Ezechiel, instead of to the Slavonian race, and the inhabitants of Great Russia have since called themselves Ros-sianie, and their country Rossia.

Not less remarkable was the change they introduced into the grammatical structure of their language, and the separation from the ancient Russians was completed when the latter, under the Polish government, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome in spiritual affairs, and the Muscovite Church declared itself independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. It is perhaps owing to their newly-discovered genealogy that the people of Great

Russia consider themselves as the only Christian nation in the world, and look upon all others as pagans.

The name of Sclavi has proved more enduring than that of Antes, and from its great celebrity has altogether supplanted the name of Sirbi, and become the general domestic appellation of all Slavonians. After a long controversy respecting the meaning and origin of the word, it was at length decided that it must be derived either from *Slawa* (fame), or from *Slowo* (word), by the first of which would be designated a nation celebrated for its achievements; and by the second a people the tribes of which all speak the same idiom, intelligible only amongst themselves. M. Safarik rejects both these; both because there is no example of a national appellation derived from such a source, and secondly, because they are entirely at variance with the Slavonic idiom; the termination *anin*, Latin *anus* (Sylvanus), in the word *Slow-anin*, being only added to names signifying places and provinces. He thinks that it was the original name of the tract of country on the Upper Niemen where Ptolemy places his *Siloveni* or *Suoveni*. The same country is called, in Lithuanian, *Sallawa*, *Slawa* (isle, land); in Tchoud, *Sallo* (a woody country), which it actually is; in ancient Prussian, *Salawa*; in Latin, *Scalavia*, and the inhabitants *Scalavite*; in modern German, *Schalauen*. The corruption of the most ancient appellation, *Slowanin*, into *Sclavus*, *Sclavinus*, *Slavonian*, may be traced to the fact, that no foreign idiom can by any letter or combination of letters express the Slavonic hard *l*, and Ptolemy made the nearest approach to it by spelling it *Siloveni*, *Suoveni*. The most correct word for it in our language would be *Slovanin*.

The Sclavi of Procopius, as well as his Antes, comprised several nations independent of each other. Of these, the *Polané*—the *Bulanes*, *Pulani*, of Ptolemy—the modern Poles, (so called from their fertile plains,) early acquired a certain degree of celebrity, and established the centre of their power first at *Kruswitz* (846), then at *Gnesen* (*Gniezno*), and subsequently at *Cracow*. Christianity was introduced amongst them by *Mieczislaus I.*, in 965; but his son *Boleslaus the Great* deserves more properly to be considered the true founder of the Polish monarchy, the limits of which he extended from the *Dnieper* to the *Elbe*, and from the *Baltic* to the *Danube* and the *Teiss*. He performed for himself the ceremony of his coronation in 1025, regardless whether his assumption of the royal title should be acknowledged either by the Pope or his antagonist the German Emperor. It is a fact deserving attention, that whilst at one period or another all the other Slavonian nations were subjugated either by the Turks, Tatars, Magyars, Greeks or Germans, Poland still preserved her independence,

standing ever the devoted sentinel to guard Europe against the infidels. She should therefore of right be viewed as the eldest and most worthy of the Sclavonian family, and whilst the civilized world commiserates her now unhappy fate, the Sclavonian nations have doubly to regret it, since it was through her that they were adopted members of the great European community. The Poles call themselves at the present day, Polak, in the plural Polacy (Polatzy), and their country Polska.

From Poland and Russia issued those numerous bands of Sclavonians who settled in the south and west of Europe, and to whose history we are now going briefly to advert. The migration of the Sclavonians from Russia began so early as the time of the Huns, and we find them accordingly settled in the Roman Dacia, or in Walachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, as also in Zagoria, a highland district at the foot of the Haemus or Balkan chain. These in 678 lost not only their independence but their very name, which was changed into that of Bulgares, belonging to a people related to the Huns, who subjugated them. The Bulgares however, like the Skandinavians in Russia, in their turn lost their nationality, and in the course of two centuries became entirely *Sclavonised*. They were converted to Christianity in 860. Constantin Cyrillus and Methodius, two celebrated Sclavonian apostles, introduced letters amongst them, and gave them a Sclavonic version of the Scriptures and a national liturgy. Thus Sclavonian literature first flourished among the Bulgarian Sclavonians. Besides the translation of the Bible, one of their princes made a version of St. Chrysostom's works, not to mention many original compositions by other writers. The empire of the Bulgarian Sclavonians, the capital of which was Pereslaw, the ancient Marcianopolis, was overthrown in 971 by the united forces of the Russians and the Greeks, since which time they remained vassals of the latter, and subsequently of the Turks. A portion of them, the Walachians and Moldavians, now however enjoy perfect independence, although they still acknowledge the nominal sovereignty of the Porte. The names of Walachia and Moldavia arose in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the descendants of the ancient Celtes quitted the mountains of Transsylvania, where they had taken refuge during the great migration in the time of the Huns, and made themselves masters of the government. Walachia is derived from the Sclavonian Walach or Wlach, by which the Gallic or Celtic nations were designated, and which corresponds to the English word Wales, Welsh, and the German Wälsche—*g* being usually changed into *w*. Walach in Sclavonic means a shepherd, thus indicating the mode of life of the Celtic mountaineers. The Polish name of Multani or Muntani (the

Latin *Montani*) for Moldavia, which latter is derived from the river Moldawa, also signifies Highlanders. In both these provinces Slavonic is the prevailing language, but it is intermixed with Latin, Celtic and Thracian.

During the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, Thracia, Macedonia, Thessalia, Albania, Greece (Hellas), the Peloponnesus and the adjacent islands, were occupied by emigrants from Poland and Russia to such an extent that the Greek historians of those days bitterly complained that all Greece had become Slavonian. "*Universa regio*," says Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "*Slavica ac barbara effecta*." When Nicetus, a native of Peloponnesus, boasted of his classic birth, the grammarian Euphemius called him "old Slavonian face." The epitomist of Strabo equally lamented that all Epirus, Greece (Hellas), Peloponnesus, and Macedonia, were peopled with Skytho-Slavonians. Constantinople itself became partly Slavonianized, as may be inferred from the Slavonian names of the highest officers of state; and it is a fact beyond all controversy that the Emperor Justinian was of the same extraction. Theophilus, his tutor (who died 534), says expressly that he was born of a Slavonian family settled in the Illyrian Dardania about the end of the fifth century. The father of the Emperor, called Sabbatias by Procopius and Theophanes, according to Theophilus bore the family name of Iztok (*Soloriens*), of which Sabbatios or Sabbazios is a Thraco-Phrygian version; and his mother and sister had the Slavonian name Wiglenitza (Bigleniza), &c. The name of *Upruwda*, which Theophilus mentions that the Emperor bore amongst his countrymen, corresponds to his Latinized name, its literal meaning being *jus*, *justitia*. Contemporary historians state that the Emperor Basilus also was a Slavonian; many cities bearing Slavonian appellations still exist in Greece, as, for instance, Platza, Stratza, Lutzena, Warsowa (Warsaw), Polonitza, &c. There are seven villages between Nauplia and Monembasia, inhabited by fifteen hundred Slavonian families. The nationality of these Slavonians was subsequently lost in that of the Greeks; yet so much of the Slavonian element had been infused into the latter that the modern Greeks are found to differ widely from their remote ancestors. But the Slavonians of Macedonia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Albania, have preserved their nationality both under the Greeks and the Turks, and may yet see the day of their independence, like their neighbours the Servians, who have but lately shaken off the yoke of Turkey. Amongst other primitive national institutions, the Slavonians of Turkey still enjoy their municipal corporations, the origin of which, Mr. Urquhart, in his enthusiasm for Mahomedan

nationality, has traced to some Arabian desert. Several Slavonian colonists settled about 664 in Asia Minor near Seleucia ad Belum, the present Seleukobel, in the district of Opicium (Obsikonthema), and near Trapezunt at the mouth of the Kizil-Irmak (Halys), where their descendants are said still to be dwelling.

The present inhabitants of Servia (Sirbia), who still retain the primitive domestic appellation of their race, are descended from a colony which migrated from the country beyond the Carpathian Mountains, namely, eastern Galicia, and hence their language is an intermediate idiom partaking of the Russian and Polish. The epoch of their migration is supposed to have been between 634 and 638, and they have preserved their nationality in its full integrity down to the present day.

The Slavonians of Dalmatia and Croatia, known usually under the name of Croates, came from the hilly country about Cracow, once called Charvatia or Croatia, in the early part of the sixth century. They preserved their independence for several centuries, until 1102, when they spontaneously united themselves with Hungary, and the Hungarian monarchs have since added to their title, that of King of Croatia and Dalmatia. Their conversion to Christianity took place towards the end of the eighth century.

The tract of country once called Karantonia, and which at the present day comprises the Austrian provinces of Illyria, Karnia, Styria, and Upper and Lower Austria, was subsequently to the year 334 by degrees occupied by the western or Polish Slavonians. Heavy calamities befel them during the eighth century, at which time the Germans, or rather the Franks under the dynasty of Charlemagne, extirpated by the sword, or sold as slaves to the inhabitants of distant countries, one portion of them, and subjugated the rest. We are told by Porphyrogenitus that the Franks tore infants from their mothers' breasts and threw them to the dogs: and that they bought and sold the adults by means of the Jews like so many beasts. To that epoch is to be traced the perversion of the honorable appellation of Slavonian, into that of slave (Sclavus, Sklabos, Sklawe, Slave, Slaef, Esclave, Esclavo, Schiavo).

Bohemia, inhabited from remote antiquity by Slavonians, who were driven out by a Celtic race, the Boi, whence the name of Bohemia, which latter were in their turn conquered by the German Marcomanni, was peopled between 451 and 495 A. D. by emigrants from the Polish country Croatia already mentioned. They call themselves Czechowe (Tshehove), and their country Czechy, from their chief, Czech, which name, like that of Lach, Leszek, among the Poles, signified a high class of state officers, rather than any particular family or individual. Christianity was

planted in Bohemia in 875, and the name of the first Christian King was Borywoy. Bohemia maintained her independence within the limits traced by nature itself until the sixteenth century, when she became an appanage of the House of Hapsburg, in which the Bohemian dynasty was perpetuated in the female line. Next to Poland, Bohemia is the most advanced in civilization of all the Slavonian countries; and several Bohemians, amongst whom Kolowrat may be cited, possess great influence in the government, which they have turned to the benefit of their nationality. The literature of Bohemia is rich in every branch; Kollar and Haly are eminent poets, whilst Palacky is the best historian of Bohemia, and M. Safarik of all the ancient Slavonians. The difference between the Bohemian and Polish languages is very trifling, and lies principally in the orthography.

The Slavonians of Moravia, so called from the river Morava, as also those of Hungary, who are now emphatically called the Slavonians, came from beyond the Karpats, and established themselves in these countries at the same epoch as the Bohemians, but in the year 568, having been expelled from Hungary by the Avars, they dispersed themselves in Illyria, Karnia, and Styria. When however the Avars were conquered in 796 by Charlemagne, Hungary was again filled with Slavonian emigrants from Moravia and the southern Karpats. They subsequently resisted many attempts of the Franks to enslave them, and under their king Swatopluk, formed an extensive empire, called Great Moravia, which stretched from the river Opava to the mouth of the Drava, and from Vienna in the East to the river Taxisse, and numbered Bohemia, a part of Silesia, Misnia and Lusatia (now in Saxony), as its vassal provinces. They were converted to Christianity in the early part of the eighth century, but their true apostles were Constantin and Methodius, who both died in Moravia, the latter as bishop, the former in a convent. To these men they were indebted for a translation of the Scriptures, for the Slavonic liturgy, and for the introduction of writing amongst them, after which the national literature early made a rapid progress. The invasion of Hungary by the Magyars, a branch nation of the Huns, in 907, broke up the Moravian empire. "This was a blow," says M. Safarik, "which struck to the heart of the Slavonian family. Such amongst them as escaped death or slavery, fled beyond the Karpats, to Bulgaria, Croatia, &c.; and in the soil fertilized by the toil and blood of the Slavonians, and enlightened by the spirit of the immortal Constantin and Methodius, the sword of the Magyars dug the foundation of a firm throne." After nine centuries under a foreign dominion, the Slavonians of Hungary, together with the rest of their brethren spread over Austria, have

lately displayed extraordinary intellectual activity, and have so successfully laboured in promoting their nationality and literature as to put in jeopardy those of their Hungarian masters. This accounts for the great zeal manifested of late by the Hungarian Diet for encouraging the study of the national language, which latter however will not be able much longer to keep down the Slavonian, from which two thirds of the words in the Hungarian are derived. This apprehension on the part of the Hungarians will not appear an ill grounded one, when it is considered that the German colonists are annually losing their nationality in that of the Slavonians. To the national jealousy of the Hungarians may be imputed their unwillingness to admit their Slavonian and German population to the same privileges with themselves, but on this point also they are obliged every year to make fresh concessions. Mighty events are casting their shadows before them, which threaten to stretch from Vienna to St. Petersburg.

The last of the principal Slavonian nations which we shall notice here are the Polabian, which appellation is derived from *Laba*, the Slavonic name of the *Elbe*. This nation was a branch of the Polish Slavonians, which began to emigrate from the *Vistula* and the *Niemen* in the third century, and occupied the provinces which had been thinned of their population by the emigration of the German nations towards and beyond the *Rhine*. The territory of which they took possession in the north of Germany extended from the mouth of the *Oder* along the shores of *East Sea* (*Ost See*) to the *Elbe*, including several islands. Eastward it was separated from Poland by the *Oder* and the river *Bobr*. Towards the south and south west it stretched as far as the *Bohemian mountains*, and on the west from the sources of the *Sala* to its mouth and along the *Elbe* to the mouth of the *Steknitz*; thence to *Lubeck* and along the upper *Eider* to the city of *Kiel* in the *Holstein* of the present day: some colonies of Slavonians also settled in the midst of the Germans towards the *Rhine* and in *Bavaria*, and there preserved their nationality up to the sixteenth century.

These Polabian Slavonians were divided according to the national custom into several independent tribes, to which circumstance their final extermination by the Germans is to be ascribed. Yet notwithstanding this disadvantage, they contrived to resist for upwards of four centuries the whole united power of the emperors of Germany, and the animosity and fury with which the war was carried on by both parties is almost unexampled in the annals of Europe. Christianity was never fully embraced by this portion of the Slavonians, as the Germans sought to introduce it only by destroying their nationality; the consequence of which was that

the majority of them perished sword in hand in defence of paganism. Some however, who were converted by the Poles, must be excepted, and a few of their descendants still inherit the provinces of Lusatia and Misnia in Saxony. Of all the Polabian Slavonians the Weleti were the most celebrated both for their numbers and for the persevering courage with which they defended their nationality against the Germans. Their primitive seat seems to have been in the vicinity of Wilno, though Ptolemy assigns them a district (*Veltae*) in Prussian Pomerania, between the Vistula and the Niemen. They were early conspicuous for their warlike habits, which were such as to draw upon them from the other Slavonians the appellation of wolves, which gave rise to the fable related by Herodotus, which that historian\* treats as absurd as a matter of fact, of a northern tribe annually transformed into these predatory beasts. Similar epithets were frequent amongst the Slavonians, who even now call the Turks vipers; and the Kurds, from their predatory habits, still bear that of wolves. The appellation may originally have been an honorable one, as it must be borne in mind that, in the primitive simple state of society, physical force was considered in the light of a prime virtue. From the Slavonian word for wolf, *Wilk*, sing.—*Wilzi*, plural; the Greek *lukos*, the Latin *lupus*; the Lithuanian *lut*, *liat*, ferocious, are derived the words *Wilzi*, *Wilzen*, *Lutici*, and *Weleti*, *Woloti*, *Weletabi*, &c. from *Welot*, *Wolot*, signifying giant; all which are indicative of the reckless courage for which the Weleti were particularly distinguished. When their fame subsequently spread over Europe during the middle ages, the Germans and Skandināvians invented marvellous tales respecting them, and finally declared them to be a nation of sorcerers. A sword, that worked wonders, was called from their name *Walsung*, *Welsung*, *Welsi*. Their sway extended along the shores of the East Sea (*Ost See*), which was called after them *Wildamor* (the Sea of Weleti), and their capital city was the famed *Vinetha*,—in Slavonian, *Wolin*,—situated at the mouth of the Oder.

According to Venantius Fortunatus, and to Bede, the Weleti penetrated between 560 and 600 into Batavia, and settled near the city of Utrecht, which from them was called *Wiltaburg*, and the surrounding country *Wiltonia*. Being separated from the other Slavonians by the German nations, the Weleti were unable long to preserve their independence, and in course of time either lost their nationality altogether, or ultimately rejoined their countrymen. Unquestionable proofs however of their having settled in the Netherlands exist in the names of cities evidently derived

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\* Herod. Schweigh, iv. 150.



from them, as Wiltsween in Holland, Wiltenburgh near Utrecht, &c. and in some purely Slavonian names, as Kamen, Sueta, Widenitz, Hudnin, Zwola, Wispe or Wespè, Slotà, &c. as also in numerous Slavonic words to be found in the ancient Dutch. It is the opinion of German historians, and of M. Safarik himself, that a body of Weleti or Wilti settled in our county of Wiltshire, where they arrived after the Anglo-Saxons; and some English authors, in alluding to this subject, derive the inhabitants of Wiltshire from a colony of Belgæ, who migrated thither from the country of Wiltonia already alluded to. Without pausing to investigate this question more fully at present, we will merely quote M. Safarik's own words concerning it.

"More obscure and less authentic are the accounts respecting the settlement of the Weleti in England, especially in that province which, after the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, was called Wiltsæten, or Wilts, and from which rose the present Wiltonshire. Early mention is also made of the town of Wiltun, now Wilton, and of the inhabitants Wiltoni, Wiltonisci; and it is not improbable that during that great migration of the north-western nations, and the confusion that arose amongst them during the fourth and fifth centuries, some detachments of chivalrous Weleti might have arrived there, and being pleased with the aspect of the country, already considerably advanced in civilization, settled in it. This would account for the numerous Slavonic words which occur in modern English. Being however unable to investigate this subject to its very source, at present, I am compelled to postpone the close examination of it to a future day and opportunity. The objection made by some against the supposition of the Weleti having settled in Batavia and Britain, on the ground that it would have been impossible for the weak and unwarlike Slavonians to have penetrated so far amongst foreign nations, as also that tumuli are found in Wiltshire, which it was not the custom amongst the Slavonians to raise, carries little weight with it. The Slavonians, as we know, penetrated from the Upper Volga and the western Dwina to Peloponnesus, Asia Minor, and Italy (beyond the river Soci), and in Germany as far as the mouth of the Elbe, having in all those countries conquered by the sword their permanent or temporary settlements. They might thence easily advance a few miles beyond the Mouth of the Elbe, and the raising of tumuli was from the remotest antiquity a practice quite as much in use with the Slavonians as with other nations."

Instead of dilating upon this curious passage, we would rather suggest to some of the Poles residing amongst us, to supply the inability of M. Safarik, by investigating the antiquities of Wiltshire, and ascertaining at the same time the number of Slavonic words contained in the English language, as we are of opinion that a work of this nature would throw fresh light upon English history. As Slavonic does not usually form a part of the studies of our literary men, the task could only be effectually performed by a Pole, and it would prove a pleasant labour for one of the

refugees, who, whilst tracing amongst us the vestiges of his forefathers, might think himself at home for a time in a stranger's land.

"Closing our report," continues M. Safarik, "of the Sclavonian nations and of the countries occupied by them, we cannot but feel astonished both at the numbers of the people and extent of their settlements. It is in those vast countries between the Carpathian mountains, the Vistula, Lake Ilmen, the Volga, and the Don, that Tacitus, Ptolemy, Jornandes, and Procopius have described the immense nation of our ancestors—the Veneti; it is from these countries that in the course of three centuries a hundred armies of the Sclavonian tribes marched to the south and west, and peopled half Germany, a part of England and Batavia, all Dacia, Pannonia and Illyricum, Byzantium and a part of Asia Minor; it is in these countries that the Bavarian historian, after the great migration of the Sclavonians, and the terrible wars which their countrymen who were left behind carried on with the foreign nations who fell upon them from the east and west, still describes two-hundred Sclavonian nations, dwelling in three-thousand seven-hundred and seventy large cities, exclusive of the most populous Sirbi. It is again these countries, which our Nestor finds, long before the arrival of Varing Roussi, filled with a thousand cities, and peopled with various Sclavonian nations, preferring, according to him and to the testimony of a series of foreign historians, liberty to life; it is these countries finally, which drew from Mathæus, Bishop of Cracow (1150), the exclamation, 'Sclavonia is as it were all the world; the Sclavonian people in their countless multitudes equal the stars of heaven!'<sup>\*</sup> Yet it is of these countries that certain Russian authors of the present day are pleased to assert that they were from remote antiquity the cradle of the Skandinavians, and that Rurik was not invited thither, but considered himself the legitimate heir to them; and further, that until the time of Wladimir the Great, they were a wild desert, over which were scattered here and there some poor families of nomadic fishermen and shepherds, called Czlovieki (men), that is, robbers, peasants, slaves, from which later chroniclers have derived Slavonin, Slavané (Sclavonian, Sclavonians), and transferred it to an imaginary nation which never had existence."

We are indebted to M. Safarik for another specimen of the Russian mode of writing history. He gives an extract from the work of a certain Muravieff, who has lately published a history of the well-known Republic of Veliki-Novogrod, in which the author affirms that it was never anything more than a wretched borough, containing only about six thousand inhabitants. It can hardly be necessary to observe that Muravieff's statement is entirely at variance with the truth; as the city of Novogrod, once a member of the Hanseatic league, was at one time so powerful as to set at defiance the Czars of Muscovy, though ultimately it succumbed to their power, when 30,000 of its population were killed and 50,000 transported.

<sup>\*</sup> "Sclavonia, quæ quasi est alter orbis—gens Sclavonica multitudinè innumerabili, ceu sideribus adæquata."

The true cause of similar mis-statements lies in the degraded condition of the Russian people at the present day, brought about chiefly by an oppressive administration, and the constant wars of aggression in which they are employed, whilst even a very slight knowledge of their former flourishing condition would open the eyes of the people, and render them hostile to their autocratic government. The insatiable ambition of Russia, aided by the zeal of the vanguard of her scribblers for the propagation of slavery, excites, amongst the Sclavonians, a well-grounded apprehension that they may be destined to suffer the fate of Poland.

Our author, who seems to be an enthusiastic Sclavonian patriot, on hearing his nation so grossly calumniated, is no longer able to restrain his indignation, and breaks into the following exclamation with the Bohemian poet Kollar:—

“What spell shall rouse ye from the silent tomb,  
Great Boleslaus, and thee, brave Swatopluk ! that ye  
May see your lands' misfortune ; and behold  
Your race degenerate, dishonoured now ?  
A stranger-foe our dearest life-blood drains ;  
And sons, all reckless of their sires' renown,  
Unblushing make their boast of slavery.”

ART. IV.—*Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit.*  
Von Joh. G. Herder. *Mit einer Einleitung* von Heinr. Luden.  
(Thoughts on the Philosophy of the History of the Human  
Race. By Joh. G. Herder. With an Introduction by Heinr.  
Luden.) Leipz. 1828.

IN a former number of this journal \* it was shown, that the circumstances of Germany afford favourable opportunities for exercising a sound judgment upon some of the most important questions that can be raised respecting *the extension of civilized settlements over the earth*. Those opportunities have not been thrown away; and without pressing the remark beyond its legitimate limits, or exaggerating the merits of Germans on this head, attention may justly be directed to a body of men,—the writers of Germany, who have made invaluable contributions towards advancing public opinion on a most perplexing subject; and the present is a most propitious time for correctly estimating what the most eminent of them, Herder, has done to clear that subject

\* Foreign Quarterly Review for October 1839.—Article “On the Influence of Germany on the Civilization of Uncivilized Tribes.”

from difficulty. Unquestionably, of all the writers, ancient or modern, who have professed to trace the history of man, and to treat at large of his civilization in its varied phases,—its rise, its progress, and its decay, its revival, and numerous modifications, Herder is perhaps the individual who has done the most complete justice to the subject in almost all its parts. Religion, as one of its instruments, has in him a powerful defender; justice, a strenuous advocate; philosophy, literature, and science, a great professor and friend; and the arts, an ardent lover. No class of men is neglected by him; but more especially has this profound genius excited a deep and general interest by his eloquent and feeling appeals on behalf of the less fortunate members of the human family, whose feebleness and deficiencies in their hour of struggle are mistaken by the prejudiced for essential conditions of their existence, and whose adverse circumstances, which alone make their progress slow, have too long been aggravated by injustice. It is a peculiar merit, indeed, of Herder duly to have appreciated the onward tendencies of the whole race of mankind, extending his enlightened curiosity, as well as his kindly sympathy, to destitute, barbarous, and savage tribes, no less than to wealthy and refined nations. Upon this capital point he stands forth in proud and striking contrast with many illustrious authors, among whom may be specially mentioned Bossuet, Voltaire, and De Sismondi, representatives of the principal historical schools of the last 150 years. When expressly developing the causes of great social convulsions, and professing to collect lessons from *all* the past, to elevate and guide *all* the future, Bossuet in his *Universal History*, Voltaire in his similar work, De Sismondi, less generally, in his *Italian Republics*, turn in seeming despair from the annals of the savage fathers of mankind, as if those annals were incapable of illustrating a single point of policy, or of advancing a single claim of humanity; and they dogmatically pronounce those periods to be unprofitable, when unquestionably the discriminating and deep study of them would afford great instruction against many evils which daily afflict the world in the unceasing contest between the civilized and the uncivilized in every age, as well as in every clime. Herder was the first to pursue this view of the case to extensive results.

Other historians, in addition to narrating the events which constitute the great interests of civilized states, have entered with the most exact precision into the circumstances either of certain *portions* of the more barbarous races to whom European civilization has never been imparted, or into the earliest state of *some* of the civilized nations, when they were still barbarous. Hume's account of the Saxons, and Gibbon's chapters upon the Northern

Invaders of the Roman Empire, not to mention the Manners of the Germans by Tacitus, are master-pieces of the latter kind; and Robertson, if his feebler genius had not been unequal to the topics he selected, and to his perception of what those topics were susceptible of, would have far surpassed his contemporaries in regard to the former. The names of two other eminent men, Schiller and Thierry, must be mentioned, whose promise of being equal to Herder on the same point, and superior to him on others, failed without any blame attaching itself to them. Schiller died too soon to give the world what he was capable of producing for universal humanity; and our own contemporary, Thierry, the author of *The Causes and Consequences of the Norman Conquest*, and of other excellent works,\* is by premature loss of vision debarred perhaps in a more unfortunate way from pursuing his favourite study—the struggle of the oppressed of all ranks against the oppressors of all times. But Herder, in the ripeness of his age, worthily accomplished the sublime task fitted to so few minds; and our apology for adding some crude remarks to the great monument of his powers, *The Philosophy of History*, is an earnest desire to suggest its especial usefulness at the present day, when new advances are making to protect, without misleading, the oppressed savage; and to restrain, without lowering, his civilized master.

There is one point of view in which an addition to his work will be seen to be more especially needed; and an English observer enjoys a political position, and political experience in that respect, which are scarcely open to a German philosopher even at present, and much less to one living in the eighteenth century. The point of view referred to is, the daily working of the measures of government upon the rights, the happiness, and the prospects of every class, and of every individual within the influence not only of British authority, but all other authority upon earth. This is the wide and undisputed range of our right of discussion; and whilst readily admitting, that so vast a field must be entered upon with becoming caution, and that the delicate interests it may sometimes border upon must be approached with decorum and prudence, we acknowledge no other bounds to our freedom but what are consistent with duty to our universal neighbour, and with a regard to the universal good of mankind.

That such is not at present the general rule of discussion is a

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\* The new work of M. Augustus Thierry, "*Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, précédés de Considérations sur l'Histoire de France*" (Paris, 1840), is a remarkable proof of the powers of this eminent writer; and the Preface contains a touching allusion in a single phrase to his unfortunate privations. After citing a passage from the *Martyrs* of M. Chateaubriand, which had made a deep impression upon him in his youth, he adds,—"*Aujourd'hui, si je me fais lire la page qui m'a tant frappé, je retrouve mes émotions d'il y a trente ans.*"—Preface, xxi.

proposition that need not be established by proof; but a remarkable illustration of this British freedom having been denied to Herder, and to his most enlightened countrymen, will be read with interest. In the later years of his life, Herder supported with great zeal a periodical work proposed by Schiller, which had also the earnest approval of Kant, Fichte, Goethe, Jacobi, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and other distinguished writers. Nevertheless, with so brilliant an assemblage to guarantee the work from any considerable evil, and to give it the promise of great probable good, *the jealousy of the German governments, to Schiller's great inconvenience, excluded the religion and politics of the state from its pages.*

"The more elevated inquiries to be pursued in that work," says the writer to whom we are indebted for the anecdote, "were to prepare better principles and purer morals for the advancement of mankind, and for the increase and spread of human happiness. If the present was interdicted as a subject of controversy, the page of history was open to the student of the past, and the future might be contemplated without excitement, whilst all reform was to be rested upon the calm introduction of improved ideas. Science was to contribute its stores to the work, and the Muses were to adorn it with their best gifts. In its preparation, learning and the fine arts were no longer to be separated as they were wont to be. The deepest truths were to be made familiar in social life; embellishments in style were to relieve the gravity of science;—and examples of good taste were to enliven dry philosophy. The din of war and political strife, which so much occupied mankind elsewhere, were here to have a favoured rival; and popular errors, which could not safely be attacked openly, would be undermined by prudent changes being gradually brought about in men's opinions." \*

But it was precisely because the daily affairs of state were excluded from their deliberations, that even such men as Herder and Schiller failed to devise the fitting remedies for the past evils which they so well described, and the proper means of securing the better condition of humanity which they so well also anticipated. Beautiful as is the foregoing theory, which Schiller drew and Herder approved, and excellent as the things are which it produced, nothing can be plainer than that such a scheme for human improvement must lamentably fail in the great struggles to which men are destined. With it, as the *sole* panoply, liberty, would be ever refused to the slave; due protection to the emancipated negro be impossible; and the safety of millions of aboriginal inhabitants of remote lands be hopeless. Great changes in policy alone can help all of them in their fearful struggles; and such changes come only through political discussion, and political action. These being

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\* Schiller's *Leben* von Dr. Karl Hoffmeister, vol. iii. pp. 7, 9.

refused to the great German minds, they speculate at an infinite disadvantage; and in enjoying free political discussion and free political action, we are compensated for our inferiority to some of our continental neighbours in our theories, and even in some great points of constitutional organization. With this deduction made for the adverse national position of Herder, his authority cannot be estimated too high; and he will be consulted at the present moment with the greatest public advantage.

Never were the lessons of philosophy, the precepts of genuine religion, and the force of well-founded public opinion, more urgently needed than they are at present for the relief of suffering humanity; and no man, we repeat, ever taught more profoundly than Herder how to alleviate the particular sufferings which now most extensively afflict those feeble members of the human family who are least able to avert them through their own slender resources. The horrors of war, so often excited among civilized nations themselves to their grievous dishonour, seem to be reserved by Christian nations in our day, in every part of the earth, exclusively as their grand mode of intercourse with heathens, but under the new character of wars to extend civilization, and trade, and even territorial dominion, in place of the old wars of extermination for the spread of religion. By the law of nations shut out from the right of appealing to the common sense of justice, which to civilized people often supplies the want of power to control aggression; and prohibited by the same law from seeking the vigorous intervention of neighbours to support resistance against wrong, the savage is crushed before he can acquire the civilization he yearns for, and which in derision is made the condition of his just treatment. The result of all this is manifest in the sanguinary conflicts in which all the great maritime Christian nations are engaged with uncivilized people, not only in regions remote from the immediate influence of public opinion, but also in countries most closely bordering upon our own, and under the direct observation of the most refined nations.

The American Indian, in the midst of enlightened millions of citizens of the United States, is hunted down by the blood-hound, and by the more fatal rifle-man, for the sake of a few poor acres of swamp, or to get rid of the troublesome protector of the runaway slave, as the Malay of Sumatra is decimated by Hollanders to compel the surrender of his unknown and pestilent forests. The Arab of Algiers, within two days' sail of polished France, is attacked by her legions, as his fellow Arab of Aden is defrauded and abused by British cupidity, and as the thousands of Zoolahs of South Africa are destroyed by misgoverned British colonists. The Tatars of Khiva, and the Circassians of the Caucasus are

assailed by enlightened Russia, already gorged with uncultivated wastes; and the natives of Australia, and a hundred other tribes, are systematically ruined by civilized governments too corrupt and too idle to adapt adequate remedies to the wrong. Consequently, all those various people, with reason enough, agree in one common sentiment excited by our sanguinary career—the sentiment of hatred of Christians;—in spite of the extreme desire the most savage among them have to share the benefits of an improved condition of life. In the heart of Africa that hatred has been met, caused by our violences in India; and if the Esquimaux of the frozen north could communicate with his persecuted brother of Kamschatka, or the ferocious wanderer of the Pampas with the peaceful islander of the South Sea, or the kidnapped negro with the solitary remnant of the victims of the convict-shepherds of Van Diemen's Land,—their united voices would utter the same cry of execration at the white man's name; and never with more reason than now; for the evil which is doing to these tribes, and which springs directly from principles fostered in the very heart of our civilized institutions, was at no period more fatal in effect, although more hopeless of cure. The eighteenth century with its ultra-fraudulent diplomacy, its surpassingly corrupt bureaucracy, its new and most mischievous colonial misrule, and, above all, its profound hypocrisy, ended consistently in an universal war big with universal curses; and prepared us too well for the scenes which are now enacting at the outskirts of civilization. The consequences of our present conflicts with the savages cannot be mistaken. These conflicts are novel only in their extent, and in their objects; their parallels in former days having furnished, in the scenes of blood which followed them, warning enough to stay our hand from iniquities identical with those of former days, and which must produce the like results.

To sum up the number of the slaughtered victims of our system during the last three or four years alone, would be to bring forth to view the most disgraceful of our colonial annals. In South Africa upwards of 12,000 blacks have been killed by our system since 1837, with many hundreds of whites, including women and children. In the Australias, in New Zealand, in Guiana, in Canada, crimes have occurred of this kind, which in intensity or consequences, if not in the number of lives lost, are of the deepest die.

It is well that this is one side only of the reality. If the cruelties of Spaniards, of Englishmen, and of Hollanders in all their colonies during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, which the good men of those times could not stop, may still be paralleled in the nineteenth, not only among the same people, but in every settlement of every other civilized state, still



the vindicators of humanity now are beginning to discover the causes why their predecessors, such as the Las Casas, the Monsons, the Elliots, the Boyles, the Penns, the Berkeleys, the Brainerds, the Benezets, and the Granville Sharps failed; and, in consequence of the general improvement of the public mind, the true policy when fairly presented has a better prospect of being adopted at present, and of being successfully worked out, than if it had been proposed at any earlier period.

How far the views of Herder prepared the way for this better state of things will be seen in the detail about to be given of his sentiments upon civilizing mankind, to which some observations are added to show what was wanting to his system.

Setting out with the principle—justified by an accurate survey of man in every age and in every condition wherever known,—that *all* possess some elements of civilization, Herder traces its progress and revolutions step by step, and carefully pursues the inquiry throughout the whole material and intellectual world; and he concludes with confidence that the general tendencies of things are towards improvement. Consistently with this opinion, his system would foster the useful and kindly elements in all, in order to give to good tendencies their utmost developement and influence. Far, however, from being unobservant of the difficulties which history opposes to these consolatory views, it is only after expatiating with great eloquence and great candour upon the fearful mischances that have befallen nations, and after even admitting the account “of their happiness and unhappiness, and of the vacillations of reason and passion, wisdom and folly, in their best rulers,” to have been most melancholy,—that he adopts the happier conclusion, that through obedience to reason, and by genuine religion, all mankind will become worthy actors on the great stage of life, where wisdom is destined to create order, and goodness to prevail over iniquity. So far indeed from its being a part of his system to overlook existing evils, he on the contrary studiously notices the bad as well as the good results of all human operations. For example, it is a solid compensation for the horrors of war to know, that this “trade of robbery, rudely exercised,” as it once was, without any mitigation, has at length lost much of its savage character, the very invention of its great instrument, *gunpowder*, promising to extinguish many of its brutalising incidents. “Thus,” says Herder, “conformably to an unalterable law of nature, the evil itself has produced some good.” The same principle he applies to commerce, to the arts, and even to *politics*. Upon this last topic, however, aware, as Herder is, of the vast influence of political constitutions, it is plain that he has not formed any definite plan as to the particular measures wanted to

avert the evils, which no man ever detected more sagaciously, or denounced with a more uncompromising spirit. Before enlarging upon this grave deficiency in the great work of Herder, *The Philosophy of History*, it will be convenient to show his enlightened views respecting the weaker branches of the human family, to which the powerful in all ages have been unjust, and to which Europeans still refuse the benefit of the change of manners, the political liberality, and the constitutional improvements so remarkable in our time.

"How contracted," says he, "must the scheme of Providence be, if every individual of the human species were to be formed to what we call civilization, for which refined weakness would often be a more appropriate term! Among a civilized people, what is the number of those who deserve this name? in what is their pre-eminence to be placed? and how far does it contribute to their happiness?"—*Preface*, p. vi.

The Jew, therefore, the Mussulman, the Hindoo, the Buddhist, and the Pagan, are essentially within the fold of humanity to him.

With the ground of true philanthropy thus broadly laid, and with the abandonment of a prejudice prevalent in Europe against *unbaptized* people, at least from the first crusader, it is not surprising to find the philosopher of Weimar at the head of the illustrious band, which was soon to obtain Negro emancipation, only as an opening to justice to the oppressed, free or bond, in every clime. England may be proud of Berkeley and Granville Sharpe, and their followers, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Sturge: France may well boast her Gregoire, and her Montyon; Spain, her Las Casas; and America, her Benezet and her Franklin. But in Herder, who is not alone in Germany, that country possesses "the genius of benevolence, and the benevolence of genius,"\* displayed with equal purity, and, in some points of view, with superior effect. From the essential distinctions which he proved to exist between man and all other created beings; from the upright attitude of man alone of all animated nature; from the power of speech belonging exclusively to him; in short, from all the wonderful peculiarities of man's conformation, Herder infers his capability of all that is intellectual and refined, his fitness for the highest civilization, and his hopes of immortality. He

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\* An interesting biographical work was published in Paris a few years since called *La Société Franklin-Montyon*. It consisted of the portraits and biographies of individuals distinguished for their useful talents, or rare benevolence, Franklin being adopted as the type of the former, and Montyon of the latter; Franklin as the individual in whom genius was the most successfully directed to the general good, and Montyon as the most remarkable of all men for directing the rarest spirit of philanthropy with the soundest judgment. The words in the text form the motto, and express the spirit of this work, which contains a rich gallery of examples under both heads.

shows with great force that all human beings, without exception, possess this conformation in more or less perfection, varying indeed almost indescribably, but being as evidently members of one original race as they are absolutely disconnected from the various brutes which in some respects resemble them.

"As the human intellect," says he, "seeks unity in every kind of variety, and the Divine mind, its prototype, has stamped the most innumerable multiplicity upon the earth with unity, we may venture, from the vast realm of change, to revert to the simplest position: *all mankind are only one and the same species*. How many ancient fables of human monsters and prodigies have already disappeared before the light of history! and where tradition still repeats remnants of these, I am fully convinced more accurate inquiry will explain them into more beautiful truths. We are here acquainted with the ourang-outang, and know that he has no claim to speech, or to be considered as man: and when we have a more exact account\* of the ourang-kubul, and aurang-guhn, the tailed savages of the woods of Borneo, Sumatra, and the Nicobar islands, will vanish. The men with reverted feet in Molucca, the probably ricketty nation of dwarfs in Madagascar, the men habited like women in Florida, and some others, deserve such an investigation, as has already been bestowed on the Albinos, the Dondoes, the Patagonians, and the aprons of the Hottentot females. Men who succeed in removing wants from the creation, falsehoods from our memory, and disgraces from our nature, are, to the realms of truth, what the heroes of mythology were to the primitive world; they lessen the number of monsters on the earth."—vol. i. p. 295.

After thus vindicating the dignity of the human race as a whole, Herder passes in review its individual branches, giving to each, according to its varying circumstances, the place for which from time to time it becomes most suited. If the love of home, the love of liberty, the love of offspring, mark the most barbarous as strongly as the most civilized; and if this degree of identity sufficiently indicates a common nature, certain it also is that the two states of life, the savage and the refined, produce men of powers and character, exceedingly diverse, so long as their conditions vary. Indolence and industry, ignorance and knowledge, poverty and wealth, are their several marks; and the contrary habits, which those circumstances respectively create, are unfortunately not only in the highest degree difficult to be changed, but they render the superior of the two bodies in which they prevail, in the highest degree likewise intolerant of the other's deficiencies. Accordingly the civilized conqueror of the barbarian, and the more refined colonist of savage lands, have almost always exercised

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\* The very remarkable work of Mr. Linnæus Martin on Zoology, now publishing, supplies by experience what Herder only anticipated by reason.

their superiority, without consideration, and often without mercy. Herder, in depicting the conflicts which from the earliest ages have taken place between men in these different states, steadily supports the cause of the weaker; and eloquently appeals to the better sympathies of human nature on behalf of those who, in modern times, are so extensively the victims of the cupidity of the strong. After describing the misery of the Mexican Indians and others, he then comes to "the throne of nature, and of the most barbarous tyranny, Peru, rich in mines and misery." "All the powers of these tender children of nature, who once lived so happily under their Incas, are now compressed into the single faculty of suffering and forbearing, with silent hatred." "*At first sight*," says Pinto, governor of Brazil, "*a South-American appears gentle and harmless; but on a closer inspection, something savage, mistrustful, gloomy, and repining, is discoverable in his countenance.*"

"May not all this," asks Herder, "be accounted for by the fate of the people? They were gentle and harmless when you visited them; and the unfashioned wildness of a well disposed race should have received that improvement of which it was capable. What can you now expect, but that, gloomy and mistrustful, they should cherish in their hearts the most profound, ineradicable discontent! They are bruised worms, that appear hateful to our eyes, in consequence of our having crushed them with our feet."—vol. i. p. 285.

Again, after stating affecting instances of love of home in uncivilized people, and of the horrors of the slave-trade, he indignantly exclaims:

"What right have you, monsters! even to approach the country of these unfortunates, much less to tear them from it by stealth, fraud, and cruelty? For ages this quarter of the globe has been theirs, and they belong to it: their forefathers purchased it at a dear rate, at the price of the negro form and complexion. In fashioning them the African sun has adopted them as its children, and impressed on them its own seal: wherever you convey them, this brands you as robbers, as stealers of men." Ib. p. 305.

For the dreadful revenge of the outraged savage, he thus accounts.

"To us this seems horrible; and it is, no doubt: yet the Europeans first urged them to this misdeed: for why did they visit their country? Why did they enter it as despots, arbitrarily practising violence and extortion?"—Ib. p. 306.

In the same way the deep-seated hostility of the American Indian to Christians is traced to the injuries received from an oppressive intruder. The same sympathy extends to China, who "cannot be blamed for laying restraints on the Dutch, Russians,

and other Europeans, when she observes their conduct in the island or continent of the East Indies, in the north of Asia, and in her own land."—vol. ii. p. 18.

And the reflections which conclude the sketch of India will find an echo in many a quarter, now that at length a popular movement is making to relieve the Hindoo from wrong.

"Happy would it have been," says Herder, "for such a peaceful people to have dwelt on a solitary island, remote from all conquerors; or at the foot of mountains inhabited by those human beasts of prey, the warlike Mongols; and near those coasts abounding with havens, to receive the artful and covetous adventurers of Europe;—how could the poor Hindoos maintain themselves and their pacific system? It was the constitution of Hindostan that sunk it under internal and external wars, till at length the maritime powers of Europe subjected it to a yoke under which it is uttering its last groans. Hard course of the fate of nations! Yet it is nothing more than the order of nature. In the most beautiful and fertile region of the earth, man must early attain refined ideas, an imagination widely expatiating on nature, gentle manners, and regular institutions; but in this region he must soon avoid laborious activity, and thus become the prey of every robber who visited their happy land,—till at length Europeans, from whom nothing is remote, came and established empires of their own among them. All the information, and all the merchandize, that they have brought us thence, by no means compensate the evil they have done to a nation by whom they were never offended."—vol. ii. p. 39.

Herder pursues a similar strain of reproach against the oppressors of the "*ancient aborigines of Europe*"—the Basques, the Gael, the Cimbri,—with their lands seized, their language eradicated, and their very name almost lost before successive invasions;—the Fins, pressed into the remote north,—and the Lettonians and Prussians cruelly enslaved by their pretended protectors and spiritual guides.

"So that centuries will pass before the yoke is removed, and these peaceful people are recompensed for the barbarities they suffered, for losing of land and liberty, by being humanely formed anew to the use and enjoyment of an improved freedom."—vol. ii. p. 325—339.

The crushed Slavian nations, as we have shown in another article in the present number, afford fresh occasion for the display of the same kindly sentiments, and more sanguine anticipations of the not distant time, when

"These now deeply sunk, but once industrious and happy people, will at length awake from their long and heavy slumber, shake off the chains of slavery, enjoy the possession of their delightful land, from the Adriatic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains, from the Don to the Muldaw, and celebrate on them their ancient festivals of peaceful trade and industry."—vol. ii. p. 351.

These few extracts show that Herder estimated correctly the disastrous consequences of disregard for national rights, and of the evils of conquest; and his remarkable exposition of the uses of religion, and above all, of the genuine Christian religion, in spite of early and great abuses, with his views of the humanizing effects of the arts, of literature, and of commerce, prove that he had excellent views respecting the transition from barbarism to civilization. Nevertheless he is greatly defective, not so much in laying too little stress upon the wonders to be accomplished for mankind by wise and humane legislation, as in omitting to set forth the particular laws and the principles of government that would abate the evils, and augment the good which he so well describes. This omission springs from his melancholy experience. He himself knew only despotisms, and perceiving the miseries brought even by the free, as for example, the Dutch and the English, upon the savage, he too hastily concluded that anarchy is better than any rule whatever. Hating misgovernment, and hopeless of being able to reform it, he even in a fit of despair abandons his general confidence in the better prospects of man, and if he does not incline to the error of Rousseau in favour of savage life, he would in this disposition leave uncivilized man, without aiding him in his efforts to improve.

"It is incomprehensible," says he, "how man should be made for no state, so that his first true happiness must necessarily spring from its constitution; for how many people upon earth are *entirely ignorant of all government*, and yet are happier than many who have sacrificed themselves for the good of the state? I will not enter upon the benefits or mischiefs which this artificial form of society brings with it; but it may be observed, as every art is merely an instrument, and the most complicated instrument necessarily requires the most prudence and delicacy in managing it, this is an obvious consequence, that with the greatness of a state, and the intricate art of its constitution, the danger of rendering individuals miserable is infinitely augmented. In large states, hundreds must pine with hunger that one may wallow in luxury; thousands are oppressed, and hunted to death, that one crowned fool or philosopher may gratify his whims. Nay, *as all politicians say that every well constituted state must be a machine, regulated only by the will of one, what increase of happiness can it bestow, to serve in this machine as a thoughtless member?* or probably indeed, contrary to our better knowledge and conscience, to be whirled round all our lives on an Ixion's wheel, that leaves the tormented wretch no hope of comfort, unless perhaps in strangling the activity of his free, self-governing mind, to seek happiness in the insensibility of a machine? Oh, if we be men, let us thank Providence that this was not made the general destination of mankind. *Millions on this globe live without government*; and must not every one of us, even under the most exquisite government, if we will be happy, begin where the

savage begins, seeking to acquire and maintain health of body and soundness of mind, the happiness of his house and his mind, not from the state, but from himself? Father and mother, husband and wife, son and brother, friend and man, are natural relations, in which we may be happy; the state gives us nothing but instruments of art, and those, alas! may rob us of something far more essential,—may rob us of ourselves. Kindly considerate was it therefore in Providence to prefer the easier happiness of individuals to the artificial ends of great societies, and spare generations those costly machines of state as much as possible. It has wonderfully separated nations, not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations, and characters; that the work of subjugating despotism might be rendered more difficult, that all the four quarters of the globe might not be crammed into the belly of a wooden horse. No Nimrod has yet been able to drive all the inhabitants of the world into one park for himself and his successors; and though it has been for centuries the object of united Europe to erect herself into a despot, compelling all the nations of the earth to be happy in her way, this happiness-dispensing deity is yet far from having obtained her end.”—vol. i. p. 401.

This passage, it will be seen, raises topics now of daily interest. A distrust of the power of *any* government to do good to uncivilized tribes,—a sentiment arising from the calamities inflicted upon them by *all* governments,—now paralyzes and misleads many friends of the oppressed aborigines. It strengthens the hands of the ill-disposed, by causing inquiry to be deferred as to what guarantees might be established to check illiberal and unjust proceedings towards those people. The same unreasonable and unreasoning doubts of the true power of law to put down iniquity, also prompts good men to resort to unsuitable means to promote excellent purposes; and at this very moment those doubts constitute stumbling blocks to the success of the noblest enterprise in which the benevolent were ever engaged. We allude to the efforts of a powerful party to place the political direction of the civilization of Africa chiefly in the hands of the missionaries, the result of which would necessarily be the ruin of the cause through the corruption of those who are now admirable agents within their proper sphere.

The good offices of religion, of commerce, and of the arts, we repeat, are sufficiently estimated by Herder; and, as has been stated, he is generally acquainted with the humanizing influence of good government. He himself anticipates the restoration of prosperity to the Slavian nations through “*legislation and politics*, instead of a military spirit.”—vol. ii. p. 351. He is quite aware that

“Social institutions are the most exquisite productions of the human

mind, and human industry, as they embrace the whole state of things, according to time, place, and circumstances, and consequently must be the result of much experience and assiduous attention."—vol. ii. p. 484.

He saw clearly the value of

"The *municipal law* which arose in the middle ages, very different from that of the Romans, and erected on the basis of liberty and security, according to German principles, and productive of industry, arts, and subsistence."—ib. p. 528.

Herder nevertheless knew well the want of something better than what has ever existed; and he concludes his great work in these striking words :

"In Europe men have not yet thought of a system of civilization by means of good training, good laws, and good political institutions, calculated to embrace all ranks in society, and to extend to the whole human race. *And when will they think of such a system!* It is not to be despaired of. The intelligence of civilized society improves; its restless activity spreads far and wide, ever gaining new strength in its slow, but generally prosperous progress, and that very slowness in reaching maturity seems to be a sure guarantee to excellence in the best things."

And in Johann von Muller's edition of the *Philosophy of History* may be seen a sketch of additional chapters found among Herder's manuscripts at his death, in which his views must have been developed more satisfactorily. The 23d, 24th, and 25th of those chapters have the following note of their contents for the 18th century, after a grand outline of a similar character for the preceding 600 years.

"23d Ch. The new Spirit of the Sciences in Italy and France. The Development of the Fine Arts. The Rights of Man and Equality. Spirit of Industry and Commerce. Money, Luxury, and Taxes. Legislation. General remarks.

"24th Ch. Russia. The East and West Indies. Africa. European System. Relations of Europe with the rest of the World.

"25th Ch. The Civilization of the Human Race considered, in reference to Religion, to Law and Government, to Commerce, to the Arts, and to Literature and Science. The special Nature of the Human Mind. Its general Influence on all Things. The Prospects of Man."\*

The grandeur of the edifice to be erected according to this plan is duly appreciated by Von Muller, who was himself eminently qualified to be the successor in completing the work; although he asks with a natural and modest doubt where that successor can be found.

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\* J. G. von Herder's *Sammtliche Werke*, Sienbenter Theil, p. 305. 12mo. Stuttgart und Tubingen Cotta. 1828.



If the just opinions of Herder, which are those of Lord Bacon, as to "law and government" being among the great means of civilization, were consistently carried out; and if he had completed what in the parts of his work touching this point is at present but a splendid *fragment*, the desponding passage above quoted could not have been written; but in its place there would have appeared a sketch of the particular legislation and institutions necessary to render the spreading of civilized man beneficial, and not destructive, to his uncivilized fellows in the woods and savannahs of America; in the deserts and forests of Africa; in the plains of Australia and India; and in the islands of the Southern and Eastern Seas.

Without attempting here to offer even a slight outline of a system of this character, we may safely say to the numerous individuals among us who cannot look upon the rapid extension of British power and British colonies, without feeling that the establishment of such a system is due to the national honour,—let Herder's *Philosophy of History* be your earliest study, with the determination to supply from the results of British experience what, in the author's peculiar position, it is not surprising should be wanting in him.

This article, as the reader will, we trust, have supposed, is not written on Herder. To do justice to his genius and character will demand a far wider range of criticism, and more copious illustrations, than it is, at present, our intention to enter upon. We do not even enter at large upon the *Philosophy of History*, having selected a single point for consideration,—namely, the German author's views respecting the duty of civilized towards uncivilized nations. The time seems propitious for the topic; and we repeat, that they who take a lead in founding new British empires in Australia, New Zealand, America, Africa, and the East, could not call a better councillor to their aid than this admirable man.

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ART. V.—1. *Specimens de Caractère Français et Etrangers de l'Imprimerie Royale*. Paris, Imprimerie Royale. 1835.

2. *Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Strasbourg, ou Recherches sur les Travaux Mystérieux de Gutenberg dans cette ville, et sur le Procès qui lui fut intenté en 1490 à cette occasion*. Par Léon de Laborde. Paris. Sechener. 1840.

3. *Débuts de l'Imprimerie à Mayence et à Bamberg, ou Description de Lettres d'Indulgence du Pape Nicholas V. pro regno Cypri, imprimées en 1454*. Par Léon de Laborde. Paris, chez Sechener; à Strasbourg, chez Levrault; à Leipsig, chez Rudolph Werzell. 1840.

Of all the events connected with the ultimate destiny of man, printing amid human inventions will probably exercise the most important influences. When it burst forth like the dawn of light, it both awakened the minds of men, and poured upon them that radiance, which had long been held entombed within the dark precincts of monasteries. Previous to that epoch, the thoughts of men were ever in danger of sinking with them into their graves, or if they survived, the individuals who originated them, were deprived of their just fame; through printing, the intellectual labours of mankind are preserved and perpetuated. Fabrick upon fabrick is continually added to the structure of human intelligence, and from the living monuments of the past, men gather the experience that enables them to ascend still higher, and to take their own upward flight.

And truly this is a mighty power for man to wield; the characters traced by his pen are circulated by its means amongst thousands of human beings, contributing possibly to their comfort and prosperity in social life, and becoming their consoling friends in solitude. Above all it lent its powerful aid to religion, when it burst asunder the chains by which men were barred from the near approach to the book of life and truth, and delivered it unfettered and entire, a most precious gift, to all future generations; thus hastening the period when the words "and there shall be one fold and one shepherd" shall be fulfilled.

Printing has also greatly contributed to the production of learned men in Europe. Lord Herbert in his life of King Henry VIII. supposed that Cardinal Wolsey more particularly alluded to the effects of this art, in his letter to the Pope, where he remarks:—

"that his Holiness could not be ignorant, what diverse effects this new invention of printing had produced, for it had brought in and restored books and learning, so together it had been the occasion of those sects and schisms, when men begin now to call in question the present faith and tenets of the Church, and to examine how far religion is departed from its primitive institutions; and that, which particularly was

most to be lamented, they had exhorted lay and ordinary men to read the scriptures, and to pray in the vulgar tongue, and if this was suffered, besides all other dangers, the common people at last might come to believe that there was not so much use of the clergy."

The monks were exceedingly alarmed by the encroachment, which printing threatened to make on the power which they ever used over the minds of their fellow men; and they had the sagacity to perceive that the eyes of those who had hitherto been accustomed to place implicit faith in their precepts, would now soon be opened. The good fathers too, one of whose chief occupations was that of copying manuscripts, viewed with an eye as jealous as that of a Manchester weaver, and not without cause, the mighty "machine" which threatened "to throw them out of work." A certain vicar of Croydon too, in a sermon which he preached at St. Paul's Cross, made use of these remarkable words "we must root out printing or printing will root out us."

It has been surmised by some, that the art of printing has been practised in former ages amongst the eastern nations.

It appears that stone was the first substance upon which any figures or letters were engraved; according to Epigenes,\* the ancient Chaldeans engraved or wrote their astronomical observations on bricks for about 720 years. And the characters upon the Babylonian bricks brought into this country are manifestly impressions produced by an engraved block, as in most cases several of the letters are indistinct, as if an unequal pressure had been applied; and engraved cylinders also have been found, which are supposed to have been employed in impressing characters upon the soft clay, previous to its being hardened by exposure either to fire or the sun.

In treating of the subject of printing some reference should be made to the history of paper, but our readers are probably too familiar with all that is known of the papyrus of the Egyptians, one of the most ancient substitutes on record, and the gradual improvements in various countries down to the present day, to need our giving more than a passing allusion to it; and to treat this branch worthily, would require a separate treatise. Such of our readers as require more information respecting this subject may have recourse to a far better source in Sir J. G. Wilkinson's admirable work on the "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians." Neither is it requisite to dwell on the shoulder blades of sheep, on which the early Arabs engraved their romantic effusions. The papyrus paper, from Egypt, was also in use amongst them, until the introduction of parchment 250 years be-

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\* All the MSS. give "DCCXX. annorum." The insertion of M. by some editors of Pliny appears wholly unsupported by existing MSS., although Cicero may be adduced in favour of the reading DCCXXM. in two passages.

fore our own era, a material for which we are indebted to the ambition of Eumenes, who, wishing to possess a more splendid library than that at Alexandria, was frustrated in his endeavours by the jealous efforts of the Ptolemies, and this circumstance led to the invention and employment of a substitute.

Parchment held its ground until the use of it was in some measure superseded, by the discovery of the method of making paper from cotton and silk, called *carta bombycina*, and is supposed to have been known in the beginning of the twelfth century. It derived its appellation of *carta Damascena* from having been introduced into Spain from Syria. The Chinese were acquainted with the art of making paper in great perfection from various vegetable substances as early as A. D. 95, and Gibbon tells us "from credible testimony, that paper was first imported from China to Samarcand A. H. 80 (A. D. 652) and *invented*, or rather introduced, at Mecca A. H. 88, (A. D. 710)."

The period at which linen paper was first used has not been accurately ascertained; but, apparently it was not prior to the eleventh century. The Moors introduced it into Spain. The earliest specimen preserved of it, is an Arabic version of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, bearing date of A. D. 1100; and Casiri in his catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the library of the Escorial, makes especial mention that many of them are written on this kind of paper. It is certain, however, that linen paper was very rare in Europe until the fifteenth century, and it was not before 1690 that writing or printing paper was made in London. Previous to that period we had our supplies of it from Holland and France. A kind of mixed paper, however, must have been in use long before, as a letter addressed to Henry III. by Raymond, son of Raymond sixth Count of Toulouse, is still preserved in the Tower of London. This, therefore, must have been between the years 1216 and 1272.

The Chinese practised a kind of printing at least 2000 years ago, but not with moveable types. This seems to have been somewhat similar to the mode now in use amongst us of printing wood cuts from blocks; and even in the present day, they still execute works in this manner, as well as by moveable types. The manner in which they do it is by preparing a smooth block of wood, generally from the pear-tree. Being planed, the block is squared to the size of two pages—the surface is then rubbed over with size, generally made from boiled rice, which makes it perfectly smooth. The characters to be printed are written on thin paper the size of the block, which is glued on to it in an inverted position, so that the characters can be perfectly seen through the back. The intermediate parts are then cut away with great skill,

and the letters are thus left in relief, and finally the paper is gently removed. The Chinese chronicles state that this mode of printing was invented 50 B. C., but that paper was not manufactured till 95 A. D., so that printing was in use 145 years before the invention of paper. Previous to that time, they used a kind of silk instead of paper. This was certainly the nearest approach to the modern mode.

Towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, a rude attempt was made in England by the printing of playing cards, from wooden blocks. This was followed by what were called block books, on which, at first, only the rude figure of a saint with a few lines of letters were cut, and gradually entire pages were impressed in this manner. The earliest block book that we know of, bears the date of 1423, and is in Earl Spencer's library; it contains a very curious wood cut of St. Christopher. M. Leon de Laborde, in his interesting work on the History of the Invention of Printing, more particularly notices this, together with the Letters of Indulgence of 1454. In the dates he gives us of the chief incidents in the invention of printing, he imagines that the probable period at which these blocks were first executed in the Low Countries was about A. D. 1410. These were followed by a few editions of a short grammar of Donatus, in what may be called wooden stereotype.

Our readers, under this head of early publications, must be reminded of the obligations, we are under for the possession of many rich and valuable MSS., to three great monastic bodies who followed the Benedictine rule—that of the Clugni, instituted towards the early part of the tenth century, the Carthusians, in 1084, and the Cistercians, in 1098, who applied themselves with the greatest zeal to the propagation of classical literature, remarkable for the beauty of the hand writing, and more convenient system of abbreviation. The abbey of Clugni was especially rich in Greek and Latin authors, and indeed few Benedictine monasteries were without some kind of library.

The manner of publishing the works of authors in England, about the time of Henry III. was, by having them read before one of the monasteries or other judges appointed by the public, for three days successively; and if they were approved of, copies of them were permitted to be taken by monks, scribes, and illuminators, trained up to that purpose for their livelihood. The complaint of poor William Caxton shows what a tedious process it was.

“ Thus end I this book, and for moche as in wrytyng of the same, my penne is worn, myn hande very, and myn eyne dimmed with over moche lookyng on the whit paper, and that age crepeth on me dayly.”

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Sometimes half the life of a man was devoted to a single work. Guido de Jais wrote and illuminated a very beautiful MS. Bible, which he began in his fortieth year, and did not finish until he was upwards of ninety. Great indeed was the anxiety of the learned men amongst the antients to possess a library, notwithstanding the expense and difficulty of procuring it, as is shown from the following extract by Dr. Conyers Middleton, in his *Life of Cicero*:

"Nor was he (speaking of Cicero) less eager in making a collection of Greek books, and forming a library by the same opportunity of Atticus' help. This was Atticus' own passion, who having free access to all the Athenian libraries, was employing his slaves in copying the works of their best writers, not only for his own use, but for sale also, and the common profit both of the slave and the master; for Atticus was remarkable above all men of his rank for a family of learned slaves, having scarce a footboy in his house, who was not trained both to read and write for him. By this advantage, he made a very large collection of choice and curious books, and signified to Cicero his design of selling them, yet seems to have intimated withall, that he expected a larger sum for them than Cicero could scarcely spare, which gave occasion to Cicero to beg of him in several letters, to reserve the whole number for him till he could raise money enough to purchase. 'Pray keep your books,' says he, 'for me, and do not despair of my being able to call them mine, which I can compass, and shall think myself richer than Crassus, and despise the fine villas and gardens of them all.'"

The following extract from an epistle of Antonius Bononia Becatellus, surnamed Parrome, to Alphonsus King of Naples, bears testimony to the great expense and trouble in transcription of works:

"You lately wrote to me from Florence that the works of Titus Livius are there to be sold in very handsome books, and that the price of each book is 120 crowns of gold. Therefore I entreat your majesty, that you cause to be bought for us Livy, which we used to call the king of books, and cause it to be sent hither to us. I shall in the mean time procure money which I am to give for the price of the book. One thing I want to know of your prudence, whether I or Poggius have done best; he, that he might buy a country house near Florence, sold Livy, which he had writ in a very fair hand, and I, to purchase Livy, have exposed a piece of land to sale. Your goodness and modesty have encouraged me to ask these things with familiarity of you. Farewell, and triumph."

The late Mr. Ames had a folio MS. of the *Roman de la Rose*, and on the last leaf is written, "*C'est lyvre costa au palas de Parys quarante coronnes d'ors, sans mentyr,*" that is, "This book cost at the palace of Paris, 40 crowns of gold, without lying," equal to about 33*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

A deed preserved in the library of the college of Laon in Paris,

and witnessed by two notaries in the year 1332, shows that MSS. were sold in those days by contracts as binding as those by which estates were transferred. As a still more striking instance of the high estimation in which such property was held, the Countess of Anjou paid for a copy of the homilies of Haimon, Bishop of Halberstadt, 200 sheep, 5 quarters of wheat, and the same quantity of rye, which in our days would almost make a man's fortune in Australia.

Several cities have maintained their claim to having been the scene of the glorious invention of Printing by moveable letters, with as much pertinacity as the seven cities contended for the birth place of Homer. We refer such of our readers as delight in these discussions, to the interesting work we have already mentioned, of M. Leon de Laborde, who has published many of the curious suits and controversies of those early times in the original German, with a French translation. Our space will not allow us to enter into a detailed account of these, but we will give the prominent features of the early history of the invention.

John Gensfleisch of Sulgeloeh, better known by the name of Gutenberg, a native of Mentz, settled at Strasburg in 1424, where he carried on the business of polishing mirrors and precious stones, and is supposed to have there conceived the first idea of printing about 1440, though Laborde is of opinion that the real inventor is not known. The following ten years were probably spent in perfecting his invention, as there is no evidence that he actually published any thing before that period. Subsequently to 1440 Gutenberg took into partnership Andrew Drizehn, John Riff and Andrew Kielman, all natives of that city. Their agreement was for the term of five years, but owing to some differences that arose between them, they separated before its expiration. In 1450 he was induced to associate himself with John Fust or Faust on the latter advancing him 800 florins at 6 per cent. and 300 more to be spent in wages and materials for the establishment. The priority of Gutenberg is disputed by the city of Haarlem, which claims the honour of the invention for Lawrence Costar, one of its own citizens. The pretensions of the latter have been strenuously advocated in Holland by M. Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, and by M. König, in his work on the Origin of Printing, which last mentioned work obtained a prize at Haarlem in 1816. In 1628, Scriverius, of Haarlem, published the fragment of a MS., without date, by Juan Van Zuyren, a burgomaster of that city, who died in 1591: it was entitled "On the First and True Invention of Printing, unheard of until now." Scriverius asserted that he received the fragment anonymously, and it does not appear that the name of the inven-

tor is mentioned. Hadrianus Junius, a learned Dutchman, in his *History of Holland*, in Latin, published in 1578, ascribes the invention to Lawrence the son of John Costar (or Kostar, signifying Sacristan), and mentions that the idea first occurred to him from cutting letters on a tree, and thence upon pieces of wood. He then made some glutinous ink, as he found that common ink sunk into the paper, and with these rude materials he printed, in the Flemish tongue, a book called "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*," the leaves of which were glued together in pairs, as they were only printed on one side, and the blank sides would have appeared unsightly. He next tried leaden and tin types, and took into partnership his servant John. We need not remind our readers of the current fable of John's theft, and how he finally set up printing on his own account at Mentz. Mr. Santander insists that no such person as Costar existed, but that if even he did live, that he died in 1440, a year before the robbery is said to have been committed. Other legends are cited in confirmation of the tale, but it is more particularly on the authority of the above story that the inhabitants of Haarlem hold annual festivals, and have raised monuments in commemoration of Lawrence Costar, in their eyes the sole inventor of printing.

But let us return to Gutenberg, who is generally allowed to have been the real inventor. With him and Fust was associated Peter Schœffer, the servant and son-in-law of the latter. In 1452 Schœffer made a great improvement in the art, by contriving an easier mode of making types, by forming punches of engraved steel, by which matrices were struck, from which the types were cast. This produced the uniformity of letters, a great desideratum, and tended to economize their labour. Each, therefore fulfilled his part in the invention, Fust being the ostensible patron in the establishment. Hansard termed them "the grand typographical triumvirate." The first work that issued from their press is generally allowed to be the Latin Bible, without a date, which, having been found about the middle of last century in the Cardinal Mazarini's library at Paris, bears his name. Of the various dates that have been assigned to it, 1455 appears to be the most probable. It was a splendid dedication of the noble art to the Giver of all Wisdom, in thus making their first attempt, by printing the entire Bible, and is a curious proof of their unshrinking perseverance and the confidence they placed in their invention. Before its completion, however, it appears that Gutenberg had some dispute with Fust with respect to the repayment of this loan, and the partnership was dissolved in 1455, so that the work was brought to its conclusion by Fust and Schœffer only.



Gutenberg established a printing press at Mentz, under the patronage of Dr. Conrad Humbracht or Humery, who was in fact the proprietor, as he advanced the whole of the money to support it. In 1460 the great Latin dictionary entitled *Cartholicon Johannis de Balbis*, issued from this press, and during the same year the *Constitutiones Clementis V.*, which latter work, however, some authors have ascribed to that of Fust and Schœffer. While Gutenberg was working his opposition press, his late partners were actively pursuing their labours, and in 1457 produced the first Psalter extant, with the names of the printers, and the date on the last page, in the form of a colophon or notice. Another Psalter was printed by them with similar characters in 1459, and in the same year, "*Durandi Rationale*," being a treatise on the liturgical offices of the Church. Van Praet thinks that the Psalters were printed from wooden types, and that the last named work was the earliest production of the cast types, bearing the name and date of the printers. A Bible without a date, but supposed to have appeared between 1460 and 1462, is ascribed by some to Gutenberg, and by others to Pfister, who set up a press at Bamberg. The Mentz Bible, published in 1462, was considered his first production, until the discovery of the Mazarin Bible. The labours of the printers were suspended owing to the invasion of the city by Adolphus Count of Nassau. In 1465 Gutenberg was attached to the court of Adolphus, and admitted amongst his gentlemen. It seems uncertain at what period he died, but there is not any notice of him later than 1469, and his printing apparatus was given up to Dr. Humbracht.

Fust subsequently resumed his labours, and in 1465 produced the *Offices of Cicero*, and the following year a second edition of the same work. Shortly after which, he went to Paris for the purpose of selling some of his bibles, and is supposed to have died there of the plague, as from that period the name of Schœffer alone appears in the works which issued from that press.

The legend of Doctor Faustus and the Devil is said to have been derived from the following circumstances: The form of the olden types closely resembled the ordinary letters in MSS.; and Fust, in order to keep his invention a secret, tried to pass off his books as MSS., but from his offering them for sale at 60 crowns each, instead of 500, which was the ordinary price demanded by the scribes, he was considered to have dealings with the Devil, and the uniformity of the copies strengthened the suspicion. The red ink also, which embellished his editions, being of a very brilliant colour, was supposed to be his blood, and the story goes, that to save himself from being burnt, he revealed his art to his Parisian judges.

We have been tempted to dwell longer than may perhaps be necessary upon the first productions of the press, from the interest with which we always contemplate the extraordinary perseverance displayed by the fathers of this glorious invention. In our last number, in the article of "the Gutenberg Jubilee in Germany," it will be seen with what joyous enthusiasm that name is greeted on the festal day, and our readers will not fail to remember the inscription which is on the front of the pedestal supporting the splendid statue raised to his memory at Mentz;—

"JOHANNI GUTTENBERGENSI

Moguntino.

Qui Primus Omnium Literas Ære

Imprimendas Invenit,

Hac Arte de Orbe Toto bene Merenti ! "

On the breaking up of the chief printing presses, the workmen, released from their obligations, of course spread themselves amongst various cities, and set up on their own account. The cities where printing was at first most actively carried on were Bamberg, Cologne, Strasburg, Augsburg, besides two or three others; and within a very short time books were issued from all these places. Henry Becktermünze commenced at Elfeld or Eltwel in the Rhingau, by printing a Latin and German Dictionary, extracted from the Catholicon, and said to be with the same characters. This was finished November 4th, 1467, by Nicholas his brother, who two years afterwards printed a second edition, which, after a nearly similar interval, was followed by a third, and in 1477 a fourth edition of the same work appeared. In the mean time Ulric Zell and Pfister were actively prosecuting their labours at Cologne and Bamberg; yet notwithstanding their zeal, books were produced but slowly at the commencement, and according to Panzer only twenty-four different works appeared between 1461 and 1470.

In 1469 Ulric Gering and two others, who had been formerly employed by Fust as pressmen, were induced by Fichet and La-pierre, rectors of the Sorbonne, to come to Paris, and commence printing. The epistles of Gasparin of Barziza were the earliest result of their labours. Italy also began at this time to try her strength. Sweynheim and Pannartz, who had also worked under Fust, set up a press at the monastery of Subiaco, in the Appennines. This monastery contained a numerous collection of MSS., and was more suitable for their enterprise, from the circumstance of the monks being Germans. In 1466 they left Subiaco for Rome, where they actively followed their occupation. About the same period Cenniui, a goldsmith, established a press at Florence; John of Spire, a German, set up another at Venice;

and between 1471 and 1480, according to Panzer, 1297 books were printed in Italy alone,—234 of which were editions of ancient classical authors. Poland also made some progress in the art, although there was a remarkable gap in her progress, for between the years 1465 and 1500 we have no evidence that any work emanated from Polish presses.

To Zarot, of Milan, belongs the distinction of having printed the first Greek Grammar, by Constantine Lascaris, in 1476. This was followed in 1480 by Craston's *Lexicon*, which by all accounts was nothing more than a very imperfect vocabulary. Before him no one had attempted to cast Greek types, with the exception of a very few occurring in some publications by Sweynheim and Pannartz. Other printers inserted any Greek words they met with by the pen. In 1480 the Hebrew characters made their appearance in separate types: two Jewish Rabbins, Joshua and Moses, are said to have been the first who attempted them, at Saccino, in the duchy of Milan.

Presses were established in the Low Countries, at Deventer, Utrecht, Louvain, Basle, as also at Buda, in Hungary. Nothing seemed to discourage the patience of the German printers; for besides the editions of the Scriptures, Mentelin of Strasburg, in 1473, brought forth the great *Encyclopædia* of Vincent of Beauvais, in ten volumes folio. In the ten years between 1470 and 1480, France produced several works. An edition of Cicero ad *Herennium* appeared at Angers in 1476, and another of Horace at Caen in 1480. There is a dispute amongst the French writers as to the first book printed in their language; some declare that it is *Le Jardin de Dévotion*, par Colard Mansion of Bruges, which appeared in 1473, while others contend that *Le Roman de Baudouin Comte de Flandres*, published at Lyon in 1474, was anterior to the former. One of the most important works of that period was *Les Grands Chroniques de St. Denis*, a large volume printed at Paris in 1476. It was not very long before the light of this invention was shed upon our own country. William Caxton was born in 1412. He was apprenticed to an opulent merchant of London, and went to the Low Countries in 1442, and remained abroad thirty years, during which time he made himself master of the art. Another account tells us that he was sent over in 1464 by Edward IV., to negotiate a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, and some time after that period returned to this country with the invaluable art. While he was at Cologne, in 1471, he translated his "*Recueil des Histoires de Troye*,"\* by order of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, and the following year

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\* This book at the Duke of Roxburgh's famous sale was bought for 1060*l.*

he published it. Soon after this he came to England, bringing with him his apparatus, and settled at Westminster, under the patronage of the Abbot. Here he produced his first specimen of English typography, on the game of chess. In 1477 he published his edition of "*Dictes and Sayings*," a translation from the Latin by Lord Rivers. Caxton died either in 1483 or in 1490: we are inclined to think that the former date is correct. He printed in all sixty-four different works; no insignificant number, considering the comparatively short time during which he was employed in the business; though, in a literary point of view, his works indicate but a low state of knowledge in England. From the circumstance of a copy of the "*Expositio Sancti Hieronimi in Symbolum Apostolorum*," which is preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge, bearing date Oxford, 1468, it has been contended that Caxton ought not to be considered as the founder of the art in England. The difficulty, however, has been cleared up by Middleton and Mr. Singer, who prove satisfactorily that the numeral x (for the date is in Roman numbers) has been omitted either accidentally or designedly. There are several instances of a similar deception having been practised. There is at Haarlem a large quarto, the translation of "*Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*," printed anno mccccxxxv by Jacob Bellart, and this is shown in confirmation of the claim laid by that city to have produced the first printed book; but a certain Mr. Brayford, who had seen another copy with the date attached to it, observed that in the Haarlem copy the letter L had been artfully erased. Caxton was not the only printer of London; for we have the name of John Letton, who printed by himself two works, and was afterwards taken into partnership for two years by William Machlima. They only produced, however, about eleven works. Wynkyn de Worde, the worthy successor of Caxton, printed, between the years 1493 and 1534, 408 works. Robert Pynson was the first who assumed the title of "*King's Printer*." Between the years 1493 and 1531 he printed 210 works. Julian Notary, who established himself "*Without Temple Bar, at the sign of the Three Kings*," flourished between 1499 and 1503, but his publications did not exceed 23 in number. Printing was introduced at Oxford between 1480 and 1485, by Theodore Rood, a native of Cologne, who carried on the business in partnership with John Hunt, an Englishman. At Cambridge, John Tibuck was the first who printed there in Latin, Greek and English: his books are dated 1521 and 1522. The period at which printing was introduced into Wales has not been exactly ascertained, but the name of John Shaewell, in 1587, is on record; and the earliest specimen we have of the art in Scotland, is a *Breviary*, published at Edinburgh in 1510.

The first book published in Spain was a curious work on the Conception of the Virgin, which appeared at Valencia in 1474, in the form of a poetical contest, carried on by thirty-six poets. In 1476 printing appeared at Barcelona, Saragossa and Seville, and in 1480 at Salamanca. Our space will not allow us to trace the progress of the art in all the civilized parts of the globe, but it passed rapidly from Europe to Goa, to the Philippine Isles, to Mexico, and thence, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, to Lima; and about the same period the Vatican and Paris printers introduced the Syrian, Arabian, Persian, Armenian, and Coptic characters.

The early specimens of printing are distinguished by the extraordinary size of the characters. The Mazarin Bible is an instance of this. Generally they were of the rude Gothic character, mixed with those produced by the hand to imitate the hand-writing of those times, and were therefore subject to the abbreviations used in MSS. There was seldom a regular title page on a separate leaf, but the works usually commenced with the words "Incipit liber qui dicitur," &c. It was the custom also to leave blanks for the capital letters at the beginning of chapters, to be filled up by the illuminator. M. Leon de Laborde, in his work, "*Nouvelles Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Imprimerie*," gives us some very beautiful specimens of these. Many of them are extremely grotesque, and our curious readers will be pleased with his specimens of the "Alphabet Grotesque," which he gives in this work, executed by a Flemish Master for an edition of a Bible for the poor. The only points in use at first were the colon and full stop, but afterwards an oblique stroke (/) answered the purpose of the comma. Another feature of early printing is the inequality and thickness of the types, and the absence of the printer's name and the date of the publication. When these were inserted, they are generally to be found at the end, accompanied by some pious ejaculation. The term "Editio princeps" was given to the editions of classic authors which were considered to be the first, that is to say, which were taken directly from the MSS., and again the same term was applied by bibliographers to all editions prior to 1480. It is of course very difficult to distinguish the genuine editions.

Early publications are generally distinguishable by the mark or vignette of the typographer, an invention ascribed to the elder Aldus. A curious alphabetical list of 153 of these is given in the Appendix to Hone's *Introduction to Biography*. (vol. ii. page xx. xxv.) Monograms or cyphers were also much in vogue, these frequently containing the initial letters of the printer's name or some curious device. The old masters and engravers also followed

this practice. A familiar acquaintance with these monograms is desirable, inasmuch as it is of great service in ascertaining the identity of publications that are destitute of a date. The earliest specimen extant is that of Fust and Schoeffer, annexed to their first Psalter. The two letters A. V., enclosed in a little square, designated the works of Antoine Verard, son of the celebrated printer of that name, who flourished at Paris, between 1480 and 1500. Our own Caxton, as well as his successor Wynkyn de Worde, each had no less than three such devices. The monogram used by William Faques, "the king's printer," who joined in some patent with Robert Pynson, was very curious; it consisted of a white triangle, based on the apex of a black one; on the former is a text taken from the Latin vulgate version of the 16th chapter of Proverbs, v. 8—"Melius est modicum iusto super divitias p̃ctobz (peccatoribus) multas;" and on the latter another from the same chapter—"Melior est patiens viro forti, et qui dominat." John Day, who distinguished himself between 1546 and 1584 by the variety and importance of his publications, had for his motto, "Arise, for it is day," in witty reference, as is supposed, to his own name, and that night of ignorance which was dispersed by printing and the enlightening powers of the Reformation. It is reported of him also, that when he used to awake his lazy apprentices, he enforced the words of his motto by the sharp application of a rod. The first improvements which were made in the mode of printing, were in the disuse of abbreviations and the numbering of the pages, which had been hitherto counted by leaves only. The exact period at which the custom of putting letters at the bottom of each sheet, to denote its sequence, is not known. Though these marks must be familiar to all our readers, every one, perhaps, may not be aware of their precise use. They are principally intended to distinguish the sheets in the printer's warehouse, and they also guide the binder as to the number of leaves into which the sheet should be folded. The folio copy of the "*Baldi Lectura super Codic. &c.*" printed by Jo. de Colonia and Jo. Mantheu de Ghenetzen, anno 1474, and preserved in the public library at Cambridge, seems however to indicate in some measure the date of the introduction of this custom. About the middle of the book the letters begin to appear at the bottom of the terminating page, as though the idea had been conceived and adopted during the progress of the work. They were in use at Cologne as early probably as 1475, and at Paris in the following year; but Caxton does not seem to have applied them to his works before 1480.

As the art advanced, eminent men took pride in correcting the

press for such printers as were most esteemed, and works rose in value according to the abilities of the corrector, whose name the printers frequently subjoined. So anxious was Robert Stephens (a celebrated printer of an early period) that his editions should be perfectly free from error, that he hung up the proofs in public places, and rewarded those who were acute enough to detect an error.

Errata were very necessary in the early stages of printing. A work published in 1561, entitled "*The Anatomy of the Mass*," is a striking instance of this. It is a thin volume of 172 pages, and is accompanied by a list of errata of 15 pages! The editor, a pious monk, tells us, in a notice prefixed to the errata, that he was led to this serious undertaking, in order to defeat the artifices of Satan, whom he accused of having, with the intent to ruin the fruit of this work, first of all drenched the MS. in a kennel, so as to render the words illegible, and then caused the printers to commit such egregious errors as were never before equalled. There is an amusing instance of a printer's widow in Germany, who, looking forward, we imagine, to laying aside her weeds, and wishing to lighten the matrimonial yoke, which perhaps she contemplated a second time, stole down into the printing-office during the night, and altered, in a new edition of the Bible, which was printing in her house, the sentence of subjection to the husband pronounced upon Eve, in Gen. chap. 3, v. 16. She cleverly substituted *na* for the two first letters of the word *herr*, and thus altered the sentence from "*and he shall be thy lord*" (*herr*) to "*and he shall be thy fool*" (*narr*). The lady paid dear for her private erratum, as it is said that she was imprisoned for life for the crime. The errors of the Bibles printed by Messrs. Field and Hill, about the year 1653, were innumerable. One is affirmed to have had six thousand faults, and Sterne is said to have actually counted 3600 errors in one of our London printed Bibles.

The arbitrary value set upon books by collectors is well known, as also the high prices given for works possessing little merit beyond rarity. The scarceness of a work is however of course dependent in a measure on the number of its volumes, and on its typographical excellence of execution, as, for instance, that splendid collection of architectural engravings published by Piranesi and others, and the travels in the East Indies, published by De Biyn, in twenty-five parts. The Duke of Devonshire gave 546*l.* for a complete copy of this, at the sale of Col. Stanley's library, in May, 1813. Other instances of works expensive in proportion to the number of volumes, but which have but a relative value, are the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, a mass of immense

research, in fifty-three folio volumes, and the collection of Byzantine historians, diminished in value by the recent reprint, &c. &c.

Printing presses at the commencement were extremely rude and clumsy in form, and resembled a common screw press. Some improvements were introduced by an ingenious Dutch mechanic, William Jansen Blaen, who resided at Amsterdam, but strange to say, the printing presses of the early period remained very stationary as to construction, until the beginning of the present century, though the workmen of course improved in skill by increasing practice. The Apollo, the Albion, and the Stanhope presses, are names long familiar to our ears, more particularly the latter, which possesses many advantages over the rest. We have not space however to enter into their respective merits; but the superiority of the Stanhope press consists in such an adjustment of two levers acting one on the other, which levers turn the descending screw, so that sufficient power is gained to print the whole of one side of a sheet at a single pull, as it is technically termed, whereas in the more ancient presses, two separate efforts of the machine were necessary to produce the impression of one sheet. But even after these improvements a single press could only work off about 250 impressions or 125 sheets per hour, and to produce a greater number of copies it was necessary to have duplicate presses. Mr. König, a German, was the first to whom the idea occurred of applying the power of steam to the printing press. He came to England in 1804, but did not meet with much encouragement from the leading printers to whom he communicated his plan, as they doubted its practicability. After repeated disappointments, he at length got Mr. Bensley, senior, to listen to his proposals, and he commenced his operations with the common press. The result however was not satisfactory, and to use his own words, he found that he was only employing a horse to do what had before been done by man; and soon after that he conceived the idea of printing by cylinders. The first person to whom he exhibited his new plan was Mr. Walter, of the Times, and an agreement was entered into between them, for the erection of two machines for printing the Times newspaper. On the 28th of November, 1814, the first copy printed by steam appeared before the public. This worked uncommonly well, 1800 copies being produced per hour, but it was superseded by the improvements of Messrs. Applegath and Cowper, who took out a patent in 1818. The improvement upon Mr. König's machine was the application of two drums, placed between the cylinders, to ensure perfect accuracy in the *registering* or the exact correspondence of the impression on both sides of the sheet, and also in a superior manner of distributing the ink. The lower part of the machine consists of a table, at



each end of which lie one of the two forms of types, from which the impressions on the two sides of the sheet are about to be taken. By the movement of the engine these forms advance and return, and are met half-way by rollers of a very soft substance, made of a mixture of treacle and glue, and covered with ink. These pass diagonally over the forms and give out sufficient ink for one impression. They immediately roll back again and are met by another large roller, made of cast iron, termed the Doctor, which replenishes them with ink, having itself received a sufficient quantity to perform its office. Above the tables are two large cylinders covered with flannel. The action of these cylinders is very beautiful. A boy stationed above them, having on a table by him a pile of paper, places on the upper cylinder a sheet, which is confined for the moment in its place, by being slipped under two strings of tape. The engine being put in motion, the cylinder revolves, the sheet is caught round and thrown on to the form of types and immediately impressed. It is then caught up by the other cylinder, and coming down in an inverted position upon the second form of types, is again impressed, and by the same power hurried into the hands of another boy, who stands below the machinery ready to add it to his increasing pile.

A moment of reflection will show the extreme accuracy requisite in the performance of this process, in order that the sheet of paper, after receiving its first impression, may travel round the sides of the cylinder, so as to meet the second set of types at that exact point, which shall cause the second side, to coincide exactly with the back of the first. The equal distribution of the ink, which is indispensable to rapid and uniform printing, is another point worthy of admiration. Thus by this beautiful process, in two revolutions of the engine, a sheet of paper is impressed with ninety-six columns of news, or with sixteen pages of letter-press, and the addition of any wood-cuts which may be introduced. A further advantage belonging to this machine is the perfect control under which it is, as it can be put into full work four minutes after the form of types is brought into the machine room; and thus from 4000 to 4200 copies per hour, amounting to about 12,000 impressions, are sent forth to the anxious world. Our readers will remember the interest which was excited by the appearance of the supplement to the Times on July 6th of the present year. On that occasion there were two double sheets, or sixteen folio pages, containing ninety-six columns. The advertisements occupied seven pages alone, and the whole matter was sufficient to form about six small volumes of an ordinary size, all for the price of five pence! Messrs. Applegath and Cowper's

machines, as well as Napier's, whom we must not forget to mention, are now in general use, and the average number of copies thrown off per hour by the smaller steam presses is from 750 to 1000 sheets.

We are indebted to William Caslon, who was formerly an engraver of fire-arms and of bookbinders' tools, for the perfection of our present type. He formed a very beautiful Arabic alphabet, for an edition of the New Testament, in 1720, which brought him immediately into notice. Before the time of Caslon, the English printers imported their types from Holland.

At the present day the business of the printer is often combined with that of the typesetter, and where the establishment is very extensive, as in the case of Messrs. Clowes, in Stamford Street, and one or two others, it must be a very great advantage.

Typesetting, the most important part of printing, is an interesting process, and is generally considered a separate trade; and as many of our readers are probably not much acquainted with it, we will devote a few lines to its description. The matrix is formed in copper by the impression of an accurately carved steel punch of the letter intended to be cast. This matrix is placed at the bottom of a steel mould, the exact size of the shank of the type. The whole is enclosed in a cube of wood split into two equal parts, which acts merely as a holder for the typesetter. A hole is of course left for the admission of the molten metal. The typesetter, provided with a small furnace, a cauldron, and various ladles proportioned to the quantity of metal used for different sized types, holds the mould in his left hand, and pours the liquid metal into the hole, throwing the mould upwards with a rapid jerk, to force the metal into the matrix. He then opens the mould, throws out the new-formed symbol, and quickly shutting it again, proceeds in his contribution to the spread of knowledge. A good workman can produce from 400 to 550 types per hour. The next process is to break off the superfluous length, which is done by boys, who are able to do as many as 3000 per hour. The little workmen's fingers are however unfortunately very often injured by this process, owing to the antimony which is contained in the metal. In one or two cases the loss of the thumb and finger has been the result. The sides are then rubbed on a flat stone to take off any roughness, and between 2000 to 2500 per hour can thus be polished. They are then arranged in a row, the niches (which are always at the bottom of the type) being placed uppermost, and any remaining roughness is removed by a single stroke with a plane; after which they are turned up, and the faces of the letters examined with a magnifying glass, in order to detect

any that are faulty, or, as they are technically termed, "fat-faced," "lean-faced," &c. &c. These are remoulded, and the rest, after being papered up, are ready for use.

It is the custom of the trade to send round to the printers specimens of their characters; and many of these books, elegantly bound, are exceeding beautiful, as the impressions are of course from picked types. The specimens of type from the royal printing establishment at Paris, are preserved in the British Museum. They are contained in a folio volume, entitled "*Specimens de Caractère Français et Etrangers de l'Imprimerie Royale*," which consists of seven or eight pages, and on each page are nine or ten specimens of different characters in various languages.

There are forty or fifty different sizes of types, from the smallest, used in our pocket Bibles, to the largest, employed in hand-bills. Most of them have distinct names, said to have been derived from being employed in the printing of Breviaries. The smallest are denominated diamond; then in succession come the pearl, ruby, nonpareil, minion, brevier, bourgeois, long primer, small pica, pica and English. There are also the various stops, the spaces used for dividing words, besides what are termed quadrat, a kind of larger space. These are all sold by the pound, according to their size. The diamond is about twelve shillings per pound, the brevier three shillings, and so on. In the diamond type, as many as 2800 of the letter i go to a pound, and of the spaces about 5000. The fount consists of a complete set. The following printer's average scale for a fount of ordinarily sized letters, may be interesting to some of our readers, as showing the great disproportion in the numbers required of the different letters.

a 8500	b 6400	o 8000	u 3400
b 1600	i 8000	p 1700	v 1200
c 3000	j 400	q 500	w 2000
d 4400	k 800	r 6200	x 400
e 12,000	l 4000	s 8000	y 2000
f 2500	m 3000	t 9000	z 200
g 1700	n 8000		

From this it will be seen how very much the letter e predominates.

The care of setting up the types belongs exclusively to the compositor, who forms altogether a separate class from the pressman. Two cases, containing nearly 100 pounds weight of type of various kinds, are placed before each compositor. The upper of these is divided into ninety-eight compartments, and the lower into fifty-three. The letters which are most frequently in use

are placed in the lowest divisions, so that the workman may not lose time by having to stretch his hand too far. He picks out with astonishing rapidity the requisite letters, and arranging them in the composing stick, a frame which he holds in his left hand, (always taking care to place the niches outermost,) the line is gradually formed; but it is not considered to be complete until it has been, in printers' language, "justified," that is, arranging the proper intervals between the words by spaces. This process is repeated again and again, until sufficient matter is composed to form a page of a sheet, and when the requisite number of pages are composed for the sheet, they are then firmly fixed by quoins or wedges into the chase, which is a rectangular iron frame. It is now taken to the press, and a proof sheet is "pulled," and being put into the hands of the reader, is examined and then delivered to the compositor, to rectify his mistakes. He is not paid for the correction of his own errors, but for alterations made by the author he receives generally sixpence per hour. After being revised, to ascertain whether the mistakes have been corrected, the form is ready for the pressmen to work off the required number. It is well known that the accuracy of the proof depends in a great measure upon the skill with which the compositor distributes the letters of the last type pages into his cases. The manner of doing this is by grasping two or three words together, and reading them off, the types are rapidly dropped into their respective places, without being looked at further. An expert compositor can distribute as many as 4000 letters per hour.

The reader, whose office is an important one, assisted by a little boy, pursues his sedentary labors. The latter reads the author's copy in a loud voice, giving to all languages alike the English pronunciation, until coming to an error, he is stopped by the reader, (in this instance rather misnamed,) and then suddenly the little machine is turned on again.

The paper room of a printing establishment is a curious sight. To prepare a sheet for receiving a clear and sharp impression of the types, it undergoes the wetting process. This is done in a room appropriated to the operation, containing three or four large troughs filled with water, where a number of men, who might vie with the Brighton bathing women, are constantly employed in dipping the sheets, which are then removed to a screw press, and subjected, during ten or twelve hours, to a heavy pressure, in order that the moisture may be equally distributed through the paper. A man can dip from 150 to 200 reams a day, and the paper will remain sufficiently damp for ten days or a fortnight.

When the sheets are printed, they are placed in the drying room, at the temperature of about 95° Fahrenheit, and being hung across wooden bars, are suffered to remain about twelve hours to dry both the paper and the ink.

When dry and pressed, they are placed in heaps according to their respective letters, and a troop of little boys termed "gatherers," trotting past them, take a single sheet from each pile, which they deliver to the "collator," who glances at the printed signature of each sheet, to see that they follow in regular succession; they are then folded, and are ready for delivery to the bookbinder. The quantity of paper consumed by a large printing establishment is enormous. Upon an average about 5600 reams is printed per month; and during the year from about 10,000 to 12,000lbs. weight of ink is consumed.

Stereotype printing was first practised towards the end of the sixteenth century, by J. Vander Mey, father of the printer of the same name. He resided at Leyden, and, with the assistance of the Rev. J. Müller, pastor of the German Reformed Church in that city, made his trial in stereotyping, as his first essay, a Bible of a quarto edition. There is no notice of it in this country earlier than the year 1725. William Ged, a goldsmith at Edinburgh, was the first who tried it. He entered into partnership with William Fenner, a London stationer, and James James, an architect. In 1730 the University of Cambridge gave them a privilege for printing Bibles and Prayer Books. They had not been employed however very long in the business, when some disagreements occurred, and one of the partners bribed the workmen to injure the works. A royal order was in consequence issued to prohibit the operations of the establishment, on account of the numerous errors exhibited by the copies which issued from it. Ged, however, in no wise discouraged, by the aid of a loan set up, with his son's assistance, in business for himself, and in 1742 published at Newcastle an edition of Scongall's "Treatise on the Life of God in the Soul of Man."

The formation of stereotype plates is a simple process. The form of types being carefully cleaned from any particles of ink, is oiled over with a brush, and being placed in a little frame, the plaster of Paris used for making the mould, is first dabbed over with a cloth to secure perfect sharpness in the matrix, and then more being poured on, it is allowed to become hard, and being removed from the types, is baked in a small oven an hour and a half or two hours. The mould is next put into a kind of frame or box. After being immersed for a few minutes in a mass of molten metal, it is taken out and allowed to cool; after which

the plaster of Paris is knocked off with wooden mallets, and thus the stereotype plate is produced, the multiplier of knowledge, capable of producing a million of beautiful copies. Previous to the plates being used, they are carefully examined by the "pickers," as they are termed, who remove any superfluous metal adhering to them. Messrs. Clowes are said to possess the largest number of stereotype plates, their stock weighing above 1500 tons, which are deposited in vaults under the premises—a stupendous collection of dormant knowledge!

The early printers were their own booksellers, and Peter Schœffer appears to be the first person who sold his own editions. Towards the 16th century the two trades began to be disunited; as the printer found it difficult to dispose of his own books, and we find there is a petition extant, addressed in 1472, by Sweynheim and Pannartz to Sixtus IV. stating the poverty they were reduced to, owing to their having on hand so many copies of various works.

The prices of books of course fell considerably after the invention of printing, and the University of Paris instituted a tariff fixing the respective prices of books. Large sums however were still paid for the early printed books. Lambricet mentions that the Bishop of Angers gave forty gold crowns for the Mentz Bible, published in 1462, and that an English gentleman paid eighteen gold florins for a missal, concluding his observations with a remark which is equally applicable to our own times, and the truth of which we feel to the detriment of our purses in all our continental tours—"Mais on a toujours fait payer plus cher aux Anglais qu'aux autres nations."

It would be interesting to trace accurately the history of the censorship of the press, with all its modifications and encroachments as they gradually arose in the various countries.

This custom was observed at a period far anterior to the epoch of the invention of printing, for throughout the history of literature, we find instances of persons to whom devolved the charge of examining the works of various authors. The different universities of Europe, more particularly exercised this authority, and the booksellers appointed by them were compelled to take an oath that they would observe the various statutes and regulations, and no one could sell any works without this permission. They were also obliged to put up in their shop, a catalogue of the prices of their books, and such as were deemed unfit for perusal were burnt by order of the university. Savigny tells us that the Stationarii of Bologna were compelled by oath to keep by them 117 copies of certain books, for the hire of which there was a fixed price.

At first Privileges, as they were called, were granted to the printer for a period of five or seven years, in order to secure to him some return for his labours. The first instance on record is one granted by the Senate of Venice to John of Spire, in 1469, for five years, for an edition of Cicero's Epistles, the first book printed in that city. There are a few other instances of this, and it was the custom to enter the privilege at the end of the work.

But the interference of the censor soon ceased to be exerted only for the protection of the author and printer. These, finding that by their art they were enabled to address thousands of beings, promulgated opinions deemed dangerous by the governments of Europe, and they began to be circulated amongst various nations through the medium of the press, and the Church of Rome thundered forth, though in vain, her Bulls for the suppression of the doctrines propagated by the champions of the Reformation.

Beckmann gives us the first instance of the appointment of a censor, in a mandate issued by Berthold, Archbishop of Mentz, in 1486:—

"Notwithstanding," he begins, "the facility given to the acquisition of science by the divine art of printing, it has been found that some abuse this invention, and convert that which was designed for the instruction of mankind to their injury. For books on the duties and doctrines of religion are translated from Latin into German, and circulated among the people, to the disgrace of religion itself, and some have even had the rashness to make faulty versions of the Canons of the Church into the vulgar tongue, which belong to the science so difficult, that it is enough to occupy the life of the wisest man. Can such men assert that our German language is capable of expressing what great authors have written in Greek and Latin on the high mysteries of the Christian faith, and on general science? Certainly it is not; and hence they either invent new words, or use old ones in erroneous senses, a thing especially dangerous in sacred Scripture. For who will admit that men without learning, or women into whose hands these translations may fall, can find the true sense of the gospels or of the epistles of St. Paul? Much less can they enter on questions which, even among Catholic writers, are open to subtle discussion. But since this art was first discovered in this city of Mentz, and we may truly say by divine aid, and is to be maintained by us in all its honor, we strictly forbid all persons to translate, or circulate when translated, any books upon any subject whatever, from the Greek, Latin, or any other tongue, into German, until before printing, and again before their sale, such translations shall be approved by four Doctors herein named, under penalty of excommunication, and of forfeiture of the books, and of one hundred golden florins to the use of our exchequer."

This document paints strongly the anxiety of the Romanist clergy to curb the freedom of the press. That body of literary

despots at Rome, known as "the Congregation of the Index," set their ban upon every work adverse to their own tenets, and it is amusing to think of the surprise that must have been felt by many of the minor literary inquisitors of the other cities in Europe, when they found many even of their own works put down in the Roman Index,—that literary purge Milton so forcibly describes as raking "through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb."

Poor Richard Sinion was a victim to this, for being compelled to insert in one of his works the qualifying opinions of the censor of Sorbonne, he inclosed the alterations between brackets, so that the public might clearly distinguish between the author and the censor. But alas! his care was futile; for neglecting to mention his plan to the printer, the numerous copies appeared without the essential marks, and our readers may imagine the despair of the author, when he found that these alterations flowed into the original text, and overturned all the peculiar opinions he sought to maintain.

There were but few disputes touching copyright before the reign of Charles II., although all are familiar with the despotism displayed during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Mary in the suppression and destruction of suspected works. There is an amusing story in Burnet, and also Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, of Tonstall, Bishop of London, who in Henry VIII.'s time was remarkable for his preference for committing books rather than authors to the flames. Tindal had just printed a translation of the New Testament, and the worthy bishop conceived that he could not better aid his cause, than by buying up all the editions, and making a public bonfire of them. He accordingly employed an English merchant named Packington, at Antwerp, then the refuge of the Tindalists in 1529, to procure all the copies he could find in that city. The merchant, who was a secret follower of Tindal, communicated to him the bishop's design. To his surprise, however, Tindal gladly gave up to him all his copies, for he was anxious to print a new and improved edition, which he could not set about until the remaining copies of the original one should be disposed of. The bishop made his bonfire in Cheapside, but the result was not so satisfactory to him as he had anticipated, for the populace not only cried out that this was a "burning of the Word of God," but evinced so much curiosity to read the condemned book, that Tindal's second edition met with a rapid sale. Subsequently when one of his party, who was sent to London to sell some copies, was arrested, on the Lord Chancellor's assurance that no harm should happen to him if he would reveal the name of the person who had so much encouraged the sale, he readily



accepted the pledge, and announced that it was no less a person than Tonstall, Lord Bishop of London, who by buying up the first edition, had occasioned the rapid sale of the second.

Under the reign of Charles I. a regular establishment was formed for the licensing of books. In a letter from J. Mead to Sir M. Stuteville, July 19th, 1628, it is mentioned that Charles printed his speech on his dissolution of parliament, and in consequence of the dissatisfaction it occasioned, some one printed the last speech of Queen Elizabeth as a companion piece. This was presented to the king by his chief printer, with a complaint that his privileges had been invaded, as he asserted that it was his own copyright. He got no other reply however from the somewhat displeased monarch, than "You printers print any thing;" and some gentlemen of the bedchamber who were present, prayed the printer to bring more of these rarities to the king, "because they might do him good."

It is well known how many noble and eloquent compositions have suffered from the royal licensers. Authors were however at last relieved from the grievous oppressions of the Star Chamber, and we find an act was passed in the eighth year of Anne's reign, securing to them the exclusive right of printing their books, for fourteen years certain, and provided the author should still be living at the end of that term, an additional fourteen years was to be granted to him. By the act just mentioned, authors were imperatively to send one copy of their works to the following libraries, viz. to the Royal Library, now the British Museum; to the two English, the four Scotch universities; Sion College, London; and the Faculty of Advocates.

When this act was first passed, it referred only to Great Britain, but in 1811 Ireland partook of its benefits, and an additional clause was made that the penalty incurred by piracy, exclusive of forfeiture, was to be increased from one penny to three pence, and that two more copies were to be entered at Stationers' Hall, to be delivered to Trinity College, Dublin, and King's Inn, in the same city. This continued in force until the existing law of copyright was passed in 1814, and we need not here enter into the change effected by this bill. Its prominent features are, that the duration of all copyrights shall extend to the definite term of twenty-eight years, whether the author should live so long or not; with the further provision, that if after that term he should still be living, the benefit of his literary labours shall be continued to him. In the event of his death, however, before the expiration of twenty-eight years, his representative shall have the sole advantage of the printing and publishing during the remainder of the term.

Our limits will not allow us to enter even slightly upon the

merits of Mr. Sergeant Talfourd's bill. Much that is plausible may and has been said on both sides; but such a subject should be discussed thoroughly in all its bearings (which the length of this article precludes), or should be left at rest. Such of our readers, (if there be any), as may still be unacquainted with the proposed plan, and the objections to it, may easily obtain information from the bill itself, and by a clever letter addressed by Mr. Tegg to the "Times," February 20th, 1839.

The American authors participate in the benefit of the law of copyright in England. But for this, the delightful productions of Washington Irving, Cooper, and others, would but ill repay them, for as English works of fiction can be republished in America free of the expense of copyright, the booksellers can afford to sell them at a dollar and a half, where the American work costs two. In consequence of the piracy so detrimental to the profits of English authors, a petition was sent by them to Congress in 1837, praying for some law to protect their rights. The bill was brought in upon the report of the Select Committee, of which Mr. Clay was the chairman, but was lost as Capt. Marryat\* relates, through the influence of the Southerners, who were resolved not to do anything that might enable Miss Martineau to propagate in those States, with greater facility, her abolition doctrines. One of the honourable members of Congress made a characteristic reply to Capt. Marryat, when asked by that gentleman what was his opinion upon the subject.

"Well now, you see, Captain, what you ask of us is, to let you have your copyright in this country, as you allow our authors their copyright in your's; and I suppose you mean to say that if we do not, that our authors shall have no copyright in your country. We'll allow that; but still I consider you ask too much, as the balance is on our side most considerably. Your authors are very numerous, our's are not. It is very true that you can steal our copyrights, as well as we can your's; but if you steal ten, we steal a hundred. Don't you perceive that you ask us to give up the advantage."

Another evil resulting from the present system is the well-known fact, that the American booksellers in the republishing any English work of standard authority, especially theological works, are very apt to alter the text, and this means has been resorted to for the dissemination of Unitarian and Socinian principles.

The present duty paid by America upon books in boards is twenty-six cents per pound, and thirty cents upon bound books. Books however published prior to 1775 are admitted upon a reduced duty of five cents.

The great expenses attending the publication of English works is a prominent feature in English literature. This results from the enormous duties on paper and advertisements. The duty on a work of which the average number of 750 copies is printed amounts to about one-seventh of the whole cost, and on 1000 copies it exceeds the entire remuneration of the author; the publisher allows from 20 to 25 per cent. to retail dealers on quartos, and from 25 to 30 per cent. on octavos, and those of an inferior size; the credit they give varies from seven to twelve months. It is estimated that between 1500 and 2000 works are produced annually in Great Britain, which at the average impression of 750 copies amounts to between 1,125,000 and 1,500,000 volumes.

Throughout Germany the freedom of the press is more or less curtailed, according to the political organization of the different governments. Austria, Bavaria, and Prussia are the most vigorous in their surveillance, while Wurtemberg, Baden, Saxony, and the free towns, allow greater freedom. In all the states of Germany the censorship is generally committed to a certain number of scholars belonging to the Universities. *All* books and periodicals above twenty pages, must pass through the hands of the censors before they can be published; the censor is generally remunerated by the author or publisher, but in some towns he is paid by the government. The printer is bound to send the proof sheets to the censor, that he may be satisfied that his corrections have been observed; the latter then grants a certificate, and the work can be legally published.

Literary property in Germany is protected by law. In 1783 the Diet passed an act securing the possession of a work to the author, for the space of ten years after publication, with liberty of extension to twenty years under certain circumstances. In 1838 a new law respecting literary property was issued in Prussia, which ensures to the author full benefit of his labours during his natural life, and in the event of his death secures the same privileges to his representative for the space of thirty years. Anonymous authors are protected by a term of fifteen years only.

Many of the other states have followed the example of Prussia, but Austria pursues her own policy.

The literary law also of the Continent demands, as in England, that a certain number of copies of every work shall be lodged in the various libraries of the different states in which they are published. The total contribution however required from the author is small in comparison to that in England. Only one copy is required by Prussia, Saxony, and Bavaria; Austria demands two; France the same number, and the Netherlands three.

It would be unnecessary to advert to the jealous restrictions

observed in Germany, by which no newspapers or journals can be established without especial permission. The number published in Austria in 1837 amounted to seventy, twenty of which were printed at Vienna. A curious instance is given in Mr. George Chalmer's "*Life of Ruddiman*" of the despotism displayed by the Venetian government at one period with regard to the publication of newspapers:—

"A jealous government did not allow a *printed* newspaper; and the Venetian Gazette continued long after the invention of printing to our own days, to be distributed in *manuscript*."

In the Magliabechian library at Florence, there are thirty MS. volumes of these Venetian Gazettes. We need not remind our reader that we are indebted to Burleigh for the earliest newspaper published in this country.

The number of works published in Germany has much increased of late. Almost every bookseller is his own publisher, and book-writing has grown into a sort of mania in that country, every one being ambitious of becoming an author.

As many of our readers are probably well acquainted with the book trade in that country, especially as connected with the Leipsic and Frankfort fairs, we will confine ourselves to a very few observations. Mr. Henry Mininger, in an able paper on the statistical account of the German book trade, tells us that the earliest information which we have of the Leipsic fairs, is in the year 1545, at which period the celebrated booksellers Steiger and Boskoff of Nuremberg, attended them, and that in 1589 the number of new works brought there amounted to 362, and in 1616 this number was doubled. The first printed catalogue that we have of books in Germany appeared in 1561, published by George Willer of Augsburg. This was followed by the Leipsic one printed in 1598. The number of sellers of books, prints and music in Germany, in connection with that city, in 1778, amounted to 282; in 1822, to 566; in 1831, to 830, and during the last year (1839), the numbers have augmented to 1381. The booksellers, therefore, have encreased 66 per cent. since 1831, and 144 per cent. since 1822.

The German publisher sends his stock to the keepers of the various assortments of books on commission for a certain time, and when the market is closed, he pays the regulated sum for those sold, and takes back the remainder. Every publisher almost in Germany has an agent at the Leipsic fairs. M. Bisset Hawkins, in his little work on Germany, published by Jugel at Frankfort, mentions, as another proof of the increase of the book trade

in that country, that Leipsic itself contained in 1722 only 19 bookselling establishments, and 13 printing offices; in 1836 there were 116 of the former and 23 of the latter, which have considerably increased since that time.

Since the days of Napoleon the activity of the French press has also greatly augmented. The number of printed sheets, *exclusive* of newspapers amounted in 1816 to 66,852,883, and in ten years there was an increase of 16,158,600. At present that number is about doubled. The French booksellers are *brevetés*, that is, regularly licensed, and bound to observe certain rules. French dealers generally regulate their discount by the *subject*, and not by the size of the volume, as we do in England. For instance, on history and general literature, they allow 25 per cent.; on mathematics and other scientific works, from 10 to 15 per cent.; but on works of fiction as much as 50 or 60 per cent. The piracy practised by booksellers in France and Belgium is well known. Baudry's and Galignani's catalogues show the immense number of English works which are re-printed in Paris for almost nothing, the bookseller paying merely for the paper and printing. On the other hand, Belgium gluts herself upon the brain of the French author, and the result of many a weary hour and aching brow is immediately caught up by the Brussels bookseller, who thus robs the poor author of his just profits. Switzerland is more particularly famous for the immense number of publications reprinted there. A single bookseller, in the first six months of 1837, reprinted 318,615 French volumes. It would be a useless and a weary task for our readers, were we to enter with any minuteness into the subject of the importation of Foreign works into the United Kingdom. The average duty paid to government for the importation of foreign works is 5*l.* per cwt.; and, on looking at the returns for the last ten years, we find that there has been no material increase or decrease during that period. According to the list laid before the House of Commons, we find that the total for the last nine years in England amounts to 77,003*l.*, giving an average per year of 8556*l.*; in Scotland, 733*l.*, and an average of 81*l.*, and in Ireland, of 2041*l.*, and an average of 249*l.*; and the net produce of the last ten years for the United Kingdom amounts to 91,590*l.*, making an average of 9159*l.* per year.

Before we conclude this hasty sketch of the progress of printing, we cannot refrain from slightly alluding to one branch of it, which though but little thought of by the generality, and even its existence is perhaps wholly unknown to some of our readers, yet in one sense probably, is productive of good, that surpasses all the other blessings that are so justly attributed to the art in general,

by cheering a portion of mankind, who but for this, must have continued to sit in darkness, and condemned to the loneliness of their own thoughts,—we allude to the printing for the blind. Those who from a long illness, or any other cause, have been debarred the pleasure of reading, and have been dependent on others for a short hour of amusement, will remember the delight they experienced when they were permitted once again to read to themselves, and can therefore appreciate far more the vivid enjoyment of the blind, now enabled to while away the long hours in becoming acquainted with the ideas and sentiments, not only of those who have the blessing of light, but with those also of their companions who are suffering from the same misfortune; great must this alleviation be to the blind from birth, but still more so to those who have later in life been deprived of the light of heaven, which they remember to have enjoyed in the happy days of early youth. To them this new power must be as a returning ray.

It is a merciful dispensation that with persons deprived of one of the senses, those which are left become doubly sensible, and this fact is especially observable in the blind, whose sense of touch and hearing are almost proverbially acute. Such of our readers as have associated with blind people cannot fail to have remarked the difference between those blind from birth, and those who have become so in their youth, or later in life, which latter mostly retain a feeling of regret for the past. How often must a pang be unknowingly inflicted upon these in every casual conversation, be it of no more import than the mere passing remark upon the beauty of a flower. For they naturally recur to the time when they could gather flowers in the bright sunshine, and perhaps remember with painful precision, the form and colour of the last they looked upon. We ourselves have met with an instance of this in a lady who had been deprived of her sight for many years, and at the time when she was reaping the benefit of the studies of her early youth. We were speaking in her presence of some very fine illustrations of a German poem, when joining in the conversation, she named some beautiful peculiarities belonging to them, thus showing how vividly her mind had retained the last impressions of sight.

The blind are indeed deeply indebted to the efforts of those benevolent and intelligent persons who have contributed to lessen their deprivations by this ingenuity. It is well known that the first idea of printing letters that should be tangible, suggested itself to the Abbé Haüy, the superintendent of the Institution for the blind at Paris, from his observing a proof sheet which happened to have been printed only on one side, and consequently the letters appeared at the back in considerable relief. Since then

many improvements have been made in the system, and many books are now printed under the direction of Dr. Piguer. By the benevolent exertions of Dr. Gall much has been effected; after seven years of patient investigation he produced in October 1834 the Gospel of St. John, in such a type as renders the art of reading an easy task to the blind. A short description of this may not be unacceptable to our readers. The letters are cast in relief, the facility with which they can be distinguished depending on the perfection of their form rather than their size. The blind themselves in the various Institutions of Great Britain, America and France, have been employed in printing some of their own books. The letters are placed in two cases divided as usual into small squares. In teaching the blind children to distinguish the letters, it is not usual to commence with the first letters of the alphabet, as is the case with those who have their sight, but the difference between a full stop and a comma is first taught, then the semicolon, and from that they are led on to the o, and the more simple letters, before they are allowed to attempt the complicated forms. They are next taught the formation of words and sentences. The paper used for this kind of printing is stouter than ordinary paper, and is steeped in water for some days to prevent the edges of the embossed letters from tearing it, to avoid which, the pressure is also more gradual than in the common printing press. Dr. Gall conceived that angular letters would be more easily distinguished than those of the ordinary form, and the result proved the correctness of his idea, as these were admirable, and are considered the most simple and tangible. Dr. Gall yet further improved upon his first mode by composing the letters of a succession of points, which he termed *fretted*, so that the paper is almost perforated by them. Books printed in this manner are also executed with greater ease and quickness, than even in common printing, and the pages can be impressed upon *both* sides. It was a question at first whether it would not be better to employ only capital letters, but this plan was set aside on account of the too great uniformity that would have resulted, and books intended for the blind are printed in the types usually employed for pulpit Bibles, as well as in the fretted form.

The blind pupil is taught to feel with the first and second fingers of his right hand, whilst he keeps the line he is upon with the forefinger of the left hand; the sense of touch is ordinarily so sensitive in blind persons that they generally are able to read rapidly after a very few lessons, even when their hand is covered with a thick glove.

By a similar process the blind are enabled to correspond with

each other by the aid of stamps, in which the letters are set with points, which they press into the paper fixed in a frame, and they can thus send letters, of which the direction can be read equally well by the postman as by themselves.

They form also a very efficient manifold writer, for they can readily pierce through three or more sheets of paper at the same time, and we know of an instance of a blind girl who by this means used to send copies to her friends of her little compositions both in poetry and music; for this latter can be written in the same manner, only with different characters. The whole apparatus giving this valuable power costs only fifteen shillings.

We refer our readers to a work by Dr. Guillé of Paris, printed by the blind themselves at the Institution already alluded to, for many interesting facts respecting the plans pursued there for their education. He relates that at the Convent of the Celestines the school for the deaf and dumb was united with that of the blind, and that the inmates of each mutually endeavoured to hold a communication with each other. The blind having learnt that the deaf and dumb could converse together in the dark by writing on each other's backs, engaged their friends to instruct them in this process. The deaf and dumb found it however no easy task to practise their mode of conversation during the day time, and tried to teach their blind friends to write characters in the air, but not succeeding, and still determined not to be baffled, they taught them the manual alphabet as well as their own particular signs. We give M. Guillé's own description of their curious communication with each other:

"When the blind person had to speak to the deaf and dumb, he made the representative signs of his ideas, and these signs, more or less exactly made, transmitted to the deaf and dumb the idea of the blind. When the deaf and dumb in his turn wished to make himself understood, he did it in two ways; he stood with his arm stretched out and motionless before the blind person, who took hold of him a little above the wrists, and without squeezing them, followed all the motions they made; or if it happened that the signs were not understood, the blind man put himself in the place of the deaf and dumb, who then took hold of his arms in the same manner, and moving them about as he would have done his own before a person who could see, he filled up the deficiencies of the first operation, and thus completed the series of ideas which he wished to communicate to his companion" \* \* \* \* \* "It was an extraordinary sight to behold a pantomime acted in the most profound silence by 150 children, anxious to understand each other, and not always succeeding. Tired out at last with long and fruitless attempts and often ending, like the builders of Babel, by separating without being able to understand each other, but at the same time not without having given reciprocal



proofs of bad humour, by striking as the deaf do, or screaming as do the blind."

The British and Foreign Bible Society and Sunday School Union have given their valuable assistance in augmenting the works of the blind. The former has already published the four Gospels and some of the books of the Old Testament, varying in price from three shillings to ten shillings each; and the latter, besides portions of the Scriptures, have printed "The First Class Book," for teaching the blind to read, together with some other little works facilitating their education, and all at a price that renders them attainable by the poor. In addition to these is the "Magazine for the Blind," published by Simpkin & Marshall, which costs only sixpence. In the last number (No. 13, August, vol. 2) there is the autobiography of a blind man (one of the main objects of its institution being the encouragement for these individuals themselves to contribute to it), and the whole publication seems judiciously conducted.

Perhaps no better mode could be selected to show the stupendous power of printing than giving a statement of the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In Great Britain 2572 assistant and associated societies are dependent on this institution, and 351 in the colonies and other British settlements. From the report of the present year, the 36th since its establishment, it appears that the Bible and Testament have been translated into 136 different languages, viz. European languages 47, Asiatic Russian 6, Caucasian dialects 5, Semitic 3, Persian 3, Chinese 8, throughout India and Ceylon 38, Polynesian 9, African 9, and American 8; these are exclusive of eighteen others in progress, but not yet completed.

The number of Bibles issued by the Society from March 7th, 1804, to March 31st of the present year (1840) has been 4,771,004, besides 7,551,467 Testaments, in all 12,322,471, making an average in thirty-five\* years of about 352,070 per year. Thus, as we have already remarked, does the Book of Truth beam upon many nations of the earth through this mighty invention.

No longer need we fear that the treasures of literature should be destroyed by a monarch's caprice, or that a sect of hypocrites can sweep into the flames the learning of former ages. The compositions of the great and good are now preserved for the instruction and amusement of succeeding ages, and the mind may wing its way through the literary world, gathering knowledge, and advancing in learning and honour.

\* Between 1804 and 1805 there was no issue, on account of the Universities not having completed their stereotyped editions.

## ART. VI.

## 王嬌鸞百年長恨

*Wang Keaou Lwan Pih Nien Chang Hăn, or the lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwan Wang; a Chinese Tale, founded on fact.*—Translated from the Original by Robert Thom, Esquire, Resident at Canton.—Canton.—1839.—Printed at the Canton Press Office.

A SPECIMEN of Chinese literature, which throws any light upon the singular people with whom we are about to engage in warfare, will be viewed at the present period, with peculiar interest, and will be refreshing after the dictatorial edicts of the mighty Lin, and his anathemas against the "filthy liquid." There are many difficulties to contend against in placing before the public any portion of the literary productions of the Chinese, since they invariably throw all kinds of impediments in the way of any European, who attempts to attain an insight into their literature.

Poor Mon. P. Bourgeois, one of the missionaries, during his residence at Peking, speaks most feelingly of his difficulties in understanding and speaking the language, especially in the first discourse he attempted to preach to a native congregation. "God knows," says he, "how much this first sermon cost me! I can assure you this language resembles no other. The same word has never but one termination." He found great difficulty in understanding the word *chou*, which, when he first heard it, signified a book, but the next time it was employed in the signification of tree; and afterwards he was as much puzzled as the Frenchman was in the numerous meanings of our word *box*, when he was assured that it expressed *great heats, the loss of a wager, Aurora, &c. &c.* "From an aspirated tone," says he, "you must pass immediately into an even one; from a whistling note to an inward one; sometimes your voice must proceed from the palate, sometimes it must be guttural, and almost always nasal." The poor man, in his zeal, recited his sermon about fifty times to his native servant, and although he continually corrected him, when it came to the trying moment, "out of ten parts of the sermon" (as the Chinese express themselves), they did not understand more than three. It is curious to observe how great a mass of literature has been accumulated by the Chinese, notwithstanding that it has ever been a principle with them to exclude the learning of all other nations, and to confine the interchange of their ideas wholly within their own limits. This

would seem to proceed more from their inflexible pride and conceit, than from any dislike of adding to their stock of literature, as many of our readers will remember that education and the advancement of learning is looked upon as a most essential point in the policy of the government. The particular form of printing practised in China, viz. that of stereotyping, and the extreme cheapness of the copies of the works, both in paper and printing, tend to promote the circulation of every kind of literature. Their drama, poetry, and especially their romances or novels, give us a far greater insight into the manners and feelings of this singular nation, than any other portion of their literature. Their plays form a prominent part of their literary labours. In the collection of Chinese works belonging to the East India Company, there are as many as two hundred volumes, and a single work in forty volumes, containing just one hundred theatrical pieces.

The most famous of their works of fiction is entitled *Tsae-tsze*, or "Works of Genius;" and Mr. Davis remarks that, "as the writers address themselves solely to their own countrymen, they need not be suspected of the spirit of misrepresentation, prejudice and exaggeration, with which the Chinese are known to speak of themselves to strangers." The same author relates an amusing instance of this, which occurred at Canton; a native being told that the King of England rode in a carriage drawn by *eight* horses, being determined to keep up the honour of his country, immediately replied, "China Emperor *twenty-four*!" Their romances abound with poetry, as our readers will find, even in the short narrative of Miss Lwan's sorrows; and it is curious to observe, that so early as 1,100 years ago, they cultivated to a very great extent this branch of their literature, of which their "Book of Odes" is their earliest specimen. Mr. Davis gives us an extract from a Chinese work on that subject, in which they themselves compare the progress of their versification in later centuries to the growth of a tree; "the ancient Book of Odes may be likened to the roots; when *Toolo* flourished the buds appeared; in the time of *Kien-gân* there was abundance of foliage; but during the *Tang* dynasty many reposed under the shade of the tree, and it yielded rich supplies of flowers and fruits." The "Book of Odes" is considered to have been written about 3,000 years ago, and the composition chiefly consists in descriptions of the pain felt by the author, at the conduct of an ungrateful friend. Those of our Oriental readers, who have been sufficiently curious to read any part of this, will remember the beautiful allusions to the storm in one portion of the work. Their poetry generally consists of odes and songs of moral,

sentimental and descriptive pieces; amongst the last, some of our readers will recollect the curious poem on London, written by a Chinese in 1813, who seems, from his somewhat accurate but quaint description, to have been better acquainted than the generality of his countrymen with England and its manners, and evincing more knowledge with respect to our country, than Goldsmith exhibits in his Chinese philosopher with regard to China. Our space will not allow us to enter into the different versification adopted by their poets, nor the curious arrangement of the shortest, which consists of three feet, and is used for assisting the memory, as in the composition of the Santse King 'Trimetrical Classic,' a work on general knowledge for boys in that country. We would refer our curious readers for a very full account on this subject, to the second volume of the Royal Asiatic Transactions, which gives numerous examples, but we fear that perhaps in our anterior observations we have been guilty, as the Chinese say, of "pouring water on a duck's back," and will, therefore, proceed to examine the amusing work before us. The tale is ex-

tracted from the 11th volume of **今古奇觀** Kin

Koo Ke Kwan, "Remarkable Observations of Modern Times," in twelve volumes; it is somewhat difficult to ascertain under what head the work may be classed, since it is neither in the style of the classics nor in the Mandarin language, but is rather "the demi or bastard classic." The resident natives at Canton, who consist merely of Hong merchants, linguists, compradores, &c. &c., are unable to afford translators any assistance in the complicated difficulties of the language, and if they possessed any literary knowledge, are not allowed to communicate it. Mr. Thom tells us, that

"during a residence of five years he has only three times (and that by mere accident) conversed with persons who can properly be called by profession literary men (*lettrés Chinois*); two of these occasions being upon business, no familiar conversation was permitted. The third was at a Hong merchant's, where a Nan lin (*académicien*) was visiting as a friend. This *lettré Chinois* condescended to ask a few questions, but smiled with incredulity on being told that the English had their poetry, as well as the Chinese had their's, and appeared actually to sicken with disgust, when assured that it was quite possible in our barbarous tongue to compose a *Wân chang*! (thesis or homily.) It is worthy of note that this gentleman, on meeting the writer, gave himself out as a *merchant*, most probably from the idea that it was beneath the dignity of a *lettré* to pollute his lips by conversing familiarly with a despised foreigner! In one word then (and the truth must be told, even though with a blush) the Chinese men of letters look upon us, upon our pursuits, and upon every thing connected with us, with the most utter contempt!"

Mr. Thom consulted one of the *S'ên sǎng* or teachers who frequent the Hongs, but even the most talented of them, the translator of *Æsop's* fables into Chinese, only plunged him deeper into his difficulties; for having occasion to consult him repeatedly during his labours on the present work, he would continually give him random interpretations of several important passages. The explanation of one day was totally different from the following, "and when taxed with inconsistency, he would merely say, that every man when reading Chinese poetry would read it in his own way; that it was, "*quot homines tot sententiæ*," every man had a different interpretation.

Many of the expressions of the Chinese writers are not exactly calculated for the English reader, and Mr. Thom thought it advisable, in reperusing his work, to leave out various offensive passages, and also to arrange it in such a manner as should relieve the remarkably abrupt style it presented in an entirely literal form—this little work is embellished with a very tolerable lithographed plate by a native artist, without that painful disregard of all perspective which we have in most of the works of the "old masters" of China.

Previous to the story of Miss Keaou Lwan Wang is the short tale of a young lady named Miss Neen urh, and a certain Mr. Chang-yih; but we must refer our readers to Mr. Thom's translation, for this lady's remarkable character and adventures, and on the present occasion will confine ourselves to the more pathetic narration of the former lady.

We are told that "this fact," meaning the history of Miss Wang, "did not occur in the Tang dynasty, neither in the Sung dynasty, but it took place in our own, or our father's time."

The tale commences with our readers being informed that—

"During the four years of the reign of the Emperor Teenshun the Meaoutzse barbarians of Kwangse rebelled and caused a deal of confusion. Every place was despatching troops to subdue or extirpate the rebels, and among others was a Chehwuy (the rank of a colonel) called Wang-chung, of the Lingan military station, who was bringing up a division of Chekeang soldiers, but who not arriving in time was reported to the emperor, and in consequence degraded to the post of a Tseen hoo, (or a captain), and further, being sent to perform his duties at the centre of the military station of Nan yang, in the province of Honan, he forthwith took his family to the place of his official employment. Wang-chung was upwards of sixty, and had only one son, called Wangpew, who being somewhat famed for skill and valor was detained by the viceroy and his lieutenant in the army as a sort of cadet. He had however two daughters, the elder was called Keaou Lwan, and the younger Keaou Fung. Lwan's age was now about eighteen, and Fung's about two years less. Fung had been brought up apart from her home, and

being betrothed to a cousin by the mother's side from her tender years, there only remained Lwan who had not yet been pledged to matrimony. Captain Wang had married his present wife, Mrs. Chow, after the death of his first wife, and Mrs. Chow had an elder sister who had married into the family of Tsaou, but who now being a widow and very poor, was received into her sister's house as a sort of companion to her niece. Keaou Lwan, and the whole family called her by the familiar appellation of aunt Tsaou."

Miss Lwan seems to have been inclined from her infancy to be a little blue, and had a touch of romance combined with it; for she would often "sigh when standing in the pure breeze or the bright moon," and complain of her state of single blessedness. We must not forget to mention in the establishment a little lady's maid, who, like all lady's maids, was every thing to her young mistress, and quite au fait in the art of delivering a billet-doux, as well as dress-making and dressing hair.

One fine morning, being the Tsing-ming term, or during the time when the Chinese worship at the tomb of their ancestors, Miss Keaou Lwan went into the back garden, accompanied by her good aunt and her little waiting-maid, to unbend her mind by a game in the round-about. During their amusement they were watched by a young gentleman who was a Sewtsae, or a Bachelor of Arts, named Ting chang, of the family of Chow, in the Foo district of Soochow. It so happened that his father was a professor of the College of Nan yang, and that this same college was on a line with the military station; so our young gentleman dressed in mulberry coloured clothes, and wearing on his head a cap or kerchief of the Tang dynasty, was bending forward his head and looking on, called out without ceasing, "Well done! well done!" Poor Miss Keaou Lwan's countenance was suffused with blushes, and like all timid young ladies she rushed for protection to the first person near her, which was her aunt, and then made a precipitate retreat to her boudoir or fragrant chamber, as it is called in China. Young Mr. Ting chang, delighted with the adventure, jumps over the wall to hover round the spot, where the atmosphere had been perfumed by her presence, and in so doing was fortunate enough to find "a handkerchief of scented gauze, three cubits long and finely embroidered;" overjoyed at his prize and hearing some footsteps he makes his exit, and takes his stand at the same gap in the wall—the little waiting-maid makes her appearance, who was sent by her mistress to look for the lost scarf.

"The student seeing her go round and round, again and again, and hunt here and there and every where, until perfectly fagged, at length smiled, and said to her, 'My pretty miss, the handkerchief having already got into another person's possession, pray what use is there looking for

it any longer?' The waiting-maid raised her head, and seeing that it was a Sewtsae who had addressed her, came forward with a 'ten thousand blessings on you, young gentleman, I presume that it is my young master who has picked it up; if so, please to return it me, and my gratitude will be unbounded!' The student asked, 'pray whom does the gauze handkerchief belong to?' The waiting-maid replied, 'it belongs to my young lady.' The student rejoined 'since it belongs to your young lady, I must still have your young lady come and ask for it herself, and then I will return it her.'"

A pretty little flirtation then takes place between the student and the waiting maid; the former declaring who he is, and in return learns from the "pretty Miss" that her "mighty name" is Ming hea, and that she is the bosom attendant of her mistress. Ting chang still refuses her the handkerchief, but begs her to take a little piece of poetry to her mistress, written upon a sheet of peach-flowered paper, doubled up so as to form a *fangshing*, or parallelogram, and after a little persuasion, aided by the gift of an irresistible gold hair pin, she consents. This is the commencement of a poetical correspondence between the new lovers, "so voluminous" that we cannot here narrate it all. We shall, however, give our readers, in the author's words, Aunt Tsaou's discovery that her niece has a lover.

"The season of the year was now the Twan-yang-term," (or the fifth day of the fifth moon, a great Chinese holiday,) "and Captain Wang spread a little family banquet in the pavilion in the garden. Ting chang kept going backwards and forwards near a favourite spot; he knew perfectly well that the young lady herself was in the back ground, but he had no means of seeing her or speaking with her face to face, neither could Ming hea communicate a single word. While he was in the very midst of his perplexity, he unexpectedly met with a soldier of the military station, whose name was Sinkew. Now this said Sinkew was also a very skilful carpenter, he was commonly employed in the military station, where he acted as a sort of police serjeant, and was moreover frequently in the college, where they employed him as a workman. Ting chang then, on meeting Sinkew, forthwith wrote out a verse of poetry, which he sealed up carefully, and taking two hundred cash, gave them to the soldier to buy himself a cup of wine, entrusting him at the same time with the letter, which he was instructed to hand over to Miss Ming hea. Sinkew, when he had received a man's pay, was an honest enough fellow in discharging the duty he was engaged for; so he waited till next morning, when, spying a good opportunity, he slipped the letter into Ming hea's hand, who in her turn banded it up to her young lady. Keaou Lwan accordingly broke it open and perused it. There was a small introduction, which said, 'On the festival of the Twan-yang, I looked for my young lady Keaou Lwan in the garden, and not seeing her, my mouth uttered the following verse, impromptu'—

"I have spun the party-coloured thread with which I had hoped to have bound our destinies together—

"I have poured out the full goblet spiced with the Chang poo leaf, which I had expected to have pledged with you !

"But clouds sunder the river of our mutual sympathies, I see not her who is the delight of my eyes ;

"And, like the beauteous sun-flower, in vain my heart turns to the God of day !

"At the end of the billet-doux were these words, 'Chow Ting chang, of Sung-ling, who scribbled this, presents his best respects.'

"Keaou Lwan, having read this love letter, placed it on the top of her bookstand. She then, in course, went to comb her hair, not yet having made a reply, when, unexpectedly, Aunt Tsaou entered the fragrant apartment, and seeing a scribbled sheet of poetry, gave a great start, and exclaimed, 'Ah ! Miss Keaou ! If you have these clandestine goings-on in the western outhouse,\* why not have the landlord of the eastern path to direct you ? How could you ever think of concealing this piece of business from *me* ?' Keaou Lwan blushed, and replied, 'although we have been stringing a few rhymes together, the thing has not gone any further ; were it so, I should not dare to conceal it from my dear Aunt.' Aunt Tsaou remarked, 'This young student, Chow, is a sewtsae, of Keang-nan province ; your respective families are much upon a par, why not desire him to send a go-between to arrange matters ? You would then complete a matrimonial connexion for life, and would not this be a good plan ?'

Many amusing details respecting the ceremony of marriage may be found in a work entitled "The Fortunate Union." A married woman in China must really be considered a very happy person, for, like the sovereign of our country "she can do *no wrong*." Upon the shoulders of the unfortunate husband, who stands in a similar situation to our ministers, rests all the responsibility of her actions as well as of his own. The lady on marriage assumes her husband's surname. There are seven grounds of divorce, amongst which are *talkativeness, thieving, ill temper, &c.* Aunt Tsaou mentions the usual custom of a go-between, which is always observed, and is entitled *ping*. These agents, selected by the parents, bring the matter about by inquiring into the relative positions in life of the bride and bridegroom, as it is essential in China that there should be an equality of rank on

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\* This alludes to a well known Chinese novel called the "Se Seang," (literally, the Western Outhouse,) which relates to the intrigues of Miss Tsau, from whose eyes a single glance bereft an unfortunate student, named Master Chang Kung, alias Kwan Suy, of his soul and spirit, and consequently he became her devoted admirer, and borrowed the outhouse of the temple, under pretence of studying there, but the current of their loves did not run smooth.



both sides. The most appropriate time is considered to be in spring, and in the first moon of the Chinese year (February), when the peach tree blossoms in China. Our readers will remember the delicate allusion Mr. Chow wished to convey to his fair one, in writing upon peach-coloured paper. Mr. Davis, in his work on China, gives us some very beautiful verses from the pen of Sir William Jones, the paraphrase of a literal translation of a passage in the Chinese "Book of Odes:"—

"Sweet Child of spring, the garden's queen,  
Yon peach tree charms the roving sight;  
Its fragrant leaves, how richly green,  
Its blossoms, how divinely bright!

"So softly shines the beauteous bride,  
By love and conscious virtue led,  
O'er her new mansion to preside,  
And placid joys around her spread."

But we left Miss Lwan in rather a critical position. She very rationally concedes to her aunt's wishes, and accordingly writes a few rhymes to her lover, telling him that he would "do well to employ the go-between, to communicate a word in season." Ting chang, upon receiving the poetry, sends his friend Chaou-heo kew, (literally, the man of ice,) to Captain Wang, soliciting the honour of his daughter's hand. Now Miss Lwan was every thing to her father, as she arranged all his papers and wrote his letters, and as he could not possibly do without her, he would give no promise. Upon this decision of the hard-hearted parent, heaps of verses pass between the disconsolate lovers, and a bright thought occurs to Ting-chang that Mrs. Wang is of the same family name as his own, and that he will pay his respects to her and ask to become her adopted nephew. To further his plans, he complains to his father that the college is too confined for his studies, and that he should like to pursue them in the back garden of the military station. His father, Professor Chow, negotiates the affair with Captain Wang, and it is amicably arranged, and that he shall also take his meals with the family. Ting-chang chooses a lucky day on the almanack, and, taking some silks and brocades as presents, makes his appearance at Captain Wang's house, and is most graciously received. The old gentleman, however, takes care to cut off all communication between his daughter's apartments and the young student's, so that now no more peach blossom paper could be used. This was not a very favourable state of affairs for the lovers, and poor Miss Lwan falls sick and refuses to eat.

Ting chang all of a sudden remembers that he is deeply read in the science of medicine, and declares to Captain Wang that he can do her more good than any of the soothsayers and physicians already consulted. The plan succeeds, and he obtains two or three interviews with his fair one; but the tiresome old lady and gentleman are always present. To remedy this he proposes, as an essential thing, that the invalid shall have more exercise. From this time the course of their love runs smoothly, and we give our readers the following interesting scene of the first vows which passed between them, while they were in the garden:—

“Ting chang at length seized an opportunity when no one was present to urge his suit, and earnestly implored a glance at the fragrant chamber. Keaou Lwan stole a look towards the spot where aunt Tsaou stood, and answered in a low whisper ‘the key is in *her* possession, my brother must himself beg it of her.’ Ting chang in an instant comprehended her meaning, and next day, having purchased two pieces of the finest silks and a pair of gold bracelets, he employs Ming hea to lay them before aunt Tsaou. This good lady forthwith bled away to her niece, and said to her, ‘young master Chow has been sending me a very handsome present, I’m sure I don’t know what his meaning can be by so doing!’ Why, said Keaou Lwan, ‘he is a young and thoughtless student, and not without his faults, I presume he means by his present to solicit my kind aunt’s indulgence!’ Aunt Tsaou replied, ‘what is most at heart with you two young folks I know perfectly, but whatever intercourse you may have, I will never never disclose it!’ Saying these words, she took the key and handed it over to Ming hea. Lwang’s heart was delighted, and she instantly wrote the following stanzas to Ting chang:—

‘In secret I take these words and send them to my lord,  
But do not inconsiderately open your lips to other people!  
This night the door of the fragrant apartment will not be locked,  
And when the moon changes the shadows of the flowers let my lover  
come!’

On receiving these lines, Ting chang’s joy was without bounds. That night, when it was already dusk and the watchman’s first drum had sounded, he with slow and stealthy steps bent his way to the inner section of the house, and the back door being ajar, he sideways slipped himself through. From that day when he felt her pulse in her bedroom and returned by the back garden, he had but slender recollection of the passage, so he moved along slowly: but at length seeing the rays of a lamp and Ming hea standing waiting for him at the door, he quickened his pace, and walked straight into the young lady’s chamber. Ting-chang made her a low bow and wished to clasp her in his arms, but Lwan pushed him off and desired Ming hea to call aunt Tsaou to come and sit with her. At this the student’s hopes were greatly balked, and all the bitterness of disappointed love rising up before his eyes, he upbraided

her with change of mind, and his tears were about to flow. Lwan seeing him in this state observed, 'I am a virtuous maiden, and you sir are, I believe, no rake; alas! it is only because the youth possesses talent and the fair one beauty that we thus love, thus compassionate each other! I having clandestinely admitted you to my apartment, now hold myself yours for ever! and you, sir, were you now to cast me off, would not this be a poor return for the implicit confidence I repose in you? No! you must here in the presence of the all-seeing Gods, swear to live with me as man and wife, till both our heads are white with age; if you aim at any irregularity beyond this, though you slay me, yet will I not consent.' She spoke these words with great earnestness, and had scarce finished when aunt Tsaou arrived. This lady, in the first instance, thanked Ting chang for the handsome present he had sent her during the day, and the young gentleman in return implored her to play the part of a go-between and marry them. He swore to be a most faithful and loving husband; and his imprecation, if false, flowed from his mouth like a torrent. Under these circumstances, aunt Tsaou thus addressed them both:—'My beloved nephew and niece, since you wish that I play the go-between, you must begin by writing out conjointly four copies of a marriage contract. The first copy we will take and burn before heaven and earth, so as to call the good and evil spirits to witness what we are about. Another copy you will leave with me, the go-between, as proof, if at some future day your love towards each other should wax cold: and each of you should preserve a copy as a pledge, that one day or another you will join the bridal cups, and go through the other forms of a regular marriage. If the woman deceive the man, may the swift lightning strike her dead! If the man deceive the woman, may unnumbered arrows slay his body! and further, may he or she again receive the punishment of their crime in the city of the dead, by sinking into the hell of darkness for ever and ever!' Aunt Tsaou pronounced the curse in a most solemn and touching manner, that struck awe for a moment into the hearts of both the student and Lwan; with mutual fondness, however, they set about writing out the several copies of the marriage contract, which being solemnly sworn to, they knelt in humble worship before heaven and earth, and afterwards returned their hearty thanks to aunt Tsaou. She then, producing rich fruits and mellow wine, pledged each of them in a cup, and wished them joy as man and wife."

Our reader must understand that these clandestine marriages seldom take place in China, and therefore our lovers were very cautious in their movements, for fear that old Mr. Wang should discover them. Matters however went on very prosperously, and the little waiting maid Ming hea was despatched every third or fifth day with an invitation from her mistress to Master Ting chang to come to her. And thus half a year rolled on, and Professor Chow's term of office being expired he departed, and would have taken his son with him, but that he refused, on the plea that he

wished to complete his course of studies, but really from his excessive love for Miss Lwan. But our readers will find that love is but a name, as well as friendship; for Ting chang looking over the *Pekin Gazette* perceived that his father, on account of ill health, had retired from office, and was gone to his native place. A violent desire of seeing his parents suddenly seizes him. His grief is observed by Miss Lwan and her aunt, who both very generously urge him to follow the dictates of his filial affection. By their united entreaties he at last consents to go; we give our readers, in the words of the translator, the affecting scene of the last few hours the lovers were together:—

“That night Lwan set out wine in the fragrant apartment, and sent an invitation to Ting chang. Then she again went over all the circumstances of their previous oath, and again they fixed upon as it were their wedding day. Aunt Tsaou also sat by their side: they conversed the live long night, nor did balmy sleep once seal up their eyes. When about to depart, Lwan asked the student to leave with her the place of his abode. Ting chang inquired for what reason. ‘Nothing,’ said Lwan, ‘merely in case of your not coming speedily, I may perhaps send a few lines to you.’ The student caught up a pencil and wrote the following sentence:—

‘When I think of my relations a thousand miles off, I must return to Soochow—

My family dwell in Woo keang town, the seventeenth division—

You must ask for the mouth of the Shwang yang rivulet in the South Ma—

And at the bottom of the Yeuling bridge stands the house of Woo the grain inspector.’

“Ting chang said farther by way of explanation, ‘the name of our family is properly speaking Woo, and one of my ancestors, a long time ago, in fulfilling the duties of a tithing man, was very famous for the way in which he managed the grain intrusted to him; hence we are called the family of Woo the grain inspector. Chow is the name of another family into which we have been adopted. Although to satisfy you, my love, I have written out these lines, yet is there little occasion for them, seeing the vehemence of my desire to return to you. While separated from you, days will seem years. The longest that I can possibly be away is a year, the shortest, about half that time, when I will most certainly bring my father’s card in my hand, and come myself to claim you as my bride. As I live I will never never permit my beauty of the harem to be a prey to anxiety and suspense.’ Having thus spoken they embraced each other and wept; gradually ‘night’s candles being burnt out, the envious streaks of day did lace the severing clouds in the far east,’ when Lwan herself accompanied her lover out of the garden. There is on record a stanza of eight lines in couplets to the following purport:—

TING CHANG.

'Bound together by mutual sympathy as fish to the water, so have we been evidently created for each other!

'But, alas! when I think of my parents far away I am compelled to tear myself from you.'

KEAOU LWAN.

'In the flower garden hence-forward who will look with me at the bright moon?

'In the fragrant apartment from this, I care not about playing at chess!'

TING CHANG.

'I only fear lest your person being far distant from me, your love may also grow cold!

'I feel no anxiety about my literary essays not being complete, I only dread lest my happiness be not complete!'

KEAOU LWAN.

'I droop my head and speak not, but the feelings of my heart are perfectly alive to what is going on!

'Though overcome with grief at the thoughts of parting, I perforce assume a look of content and satisfaction.\*

"In a moment more it was broad day-light, and the horse that was to bear the student from his bride stood at the door ready saddled and bridled. Mr. Wang got wine ready in the inner hall, and his wife and the other ladies assembled for the stirrup cup or parting glass. Ting chang again made his obeisance and took his leave. Lwan, finding that grief was getting the better of her, and that she was about to burst into tears, silently stole away to her apartment, where she caught up a piece of black silk, such as is used on these occasions, and wrote thereon a verse of eight lines. This she gave to Ming hea and desired her to wait for a favorable opportunity when Ting chang was mounting his horse, privately to put it into his hand. The student, when on horseback, broke it open and read as follows:—

'We have grasped each other's lily hands and sat side by side.

'And now compelled to part—how can I bear up against two torrents of tears?

'Before your horse, my love, shall have distanced yon mournful willow,

'My heart shall have gone before you far as the white clouds beyond.

'I will adhere to the rules of chastity as firmly as did the unfortunate lady Keang—

'Or as you, sir, in esteeming the five relations of mankind, are of the class of the dutiful Min keen.

'When your aim is accomplished, do you speedily turn your head and bend your steps hitherward—

'For your poor girl of the harem is thin, and unable to endure so much troubled sleep.'"

\* Mr. Thom also gives us another translation of this line. "I perforce take my parting tears, and dress therewith my arched eyebrows."

Our readers, who are unread in Chinese lore, will perhaps be glad of the information extracted from the interesting notes the author has added to his little work. There seem to have been two or three celebrated ladies of the name of Keang, one of them was the royal concubine of the Chaou of the Tsoo, who used to amuse himself by walking on a certain terrace with Queen Keang, and was accustomed to send her a ticket or piece of bamboo by the servant, when he required her presence. A tremendous flood arose and encircled her house. The Emperor hearing of it sent a messenger immediately to desire her to leave it, but poor Queen Keang, not seeing the accustomed piece of bamboo, obstinately refused to leave the room, and was unfortunately drowned. Another lady of the same name (and to whom we suppose Miss Lwan refers), was the wife of Prince Kung-pih of Wei, who having died early, the lady's parents were very anxious that she should marry again, but she resolved to be faithful to her first love, and composed certain stanzas, which are well known in Chinese literature. The dutiful Min Keen or Min Isze Keen was a disciple of Confucius. His father was a coachman, and married a second time. The new Mrs. Keen proved to be, like all stepmothers in fairy tales, a very wicked one. After her marriage she bore him a son: one day the father finding that she had deprived his little son of some of his under clothing, he was in a great passion, and would have turned his wife out of doors, but little Min Keen with tears in his eyes said "while mother is still here, it is only one son who suffers cold, but were you to send mother away, both boys would be destitute and forlorn." So kind a supplication appeased the father's wrath, and tended to lessen the severity of his stepmother. We are told that Confucius said of him, "who is the dutiful son? Why it is Min Isze Keen!" And now our readers must prepare themselves for the treacherous conduct of Mr. Ting chang. He arrives at his father's house, and finds that he has made a matrimonial alliance for him with a certain Miss Wei, of incomparable beauty, and with enormous wealth. Ting chang is not proof against her golden charms, and forgetting Miss Wang, "after half a year Miss Wei crossed his threshold, man and wife took to each kindly."

Poor Miss Wang, not hearing from her false lover, pines in secret—"during the day she was wretched and lonely—before the pale lamp her own shadow was her only companion." Upwards of a year passes away, when one day Ming hea rushes in and tells her that a man is just come from the military station at Lingan, which she particularly impresses upon her is in the Hangchow district, and that as he is about to return, she can send her husband a letter. Keaou Lwan writes a very long one

without loss of time, and begging him to return to Nan yang immediately, and to bring with him a marriage contract to complete their "matrimonial arrangement for life." The letter seems to have been mostly in poetry. It must have been put in a very large envelope; and the following direction would, we fear, be rather awkward for those which our present government have issued, with Mr. Mulready's interesting group of Chinese, &c. &c. upon them.

"I will trouble the bearer to take this letter and present it at the public court in Woo city,

The family, which are of the greatest respectability, worthy indeed to be boasted of!

Their ancestors have dwelt for a long time in the house of a certain grain inspector,

And the distinguished father at this moment holds the office of a Seven hwa!\*

If you already know the eastern part of the building, the western will not be far off—

Only take care that you don't make a mistake and go to the north Ma instead of the south Ma!

If you meet any one on the road, you must ask him, 'Pray, Sir, in what pretty little hamlet is the bridge of Yen-ling?'

Miss Lwan languishes on seven months longer without a syllable from her lover, and at the end of that period sends a similar letter, committing it to the charge of a certain Mr. Chang who was going that way. Mr. Chang is as good as his word, and delivers the letter into Ting chang's own hand, whom he meets on the very bridge mentioned in the address. Ting chang is very much confused at this unexpected letter, and invites Mr. Chang into a neighbouring tavern, to take a friendly glass of wine "while he writes a hurried reply, to the effect that his father is ill and requires his presence, but he hopes ere long to see her." Mr. Chang returns to Nan yang, and the young lady eagerly reads the contents—"and though it did not specify any time for her lover's return, yet it held out a *hope*, and served as painted cake does to appease one's hunger, or looking at plums to allay one's thirst." Ting chang is far too occupied with his own concerns to remember his former vows, and for the third time does the disconsolate Miss Lwan send him a letter—and all without effect. The news of her sister Keaou Fung being safely delivered of a fine boy, makes her sigh more deeply at their different destinies. Her grief is prettily expressed in the following lines, which are the conclusion of her letter.

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\* "An ancient mandariship, about equal to a modern Che-heen."

"I again and again enjoin my lover that he miss not an opportunity of returning,  
 Even should we live a hundred years as man and wife, pray how long is that after all?  
 The daughter of the Wang family has become the bride of the son of the Chow family—  
 The civilian's boy has espoused the military officer's girl!  
 And ten thousand bushels of sorrow lock down my eye brows over-cast with care!  
 Alas! when I reflect that we are in two distant lands, my regret is greater than ever!"

Much the same sort of direction is put on this letter, only it is shorter, and she dignifies the grain inspector by the appellation of "Respectability itself." Our readers must now prepare themselves for the more tragical part of this history. Miss Lwan's feelings again place her on a bed of sickness. Her parents, together with aunt Tsaou, conceive that the best thing for her is to form another alliance; but she replies—"A human being without faith is as a beast! I would rather that Mr. Chow should deceive me, than that I should attempt to deceive the all-seeing Gods!" Gradually the truth unfolds itself to her heart, and she despairs of his return. As a last resource, by her aunt's advice, she writes him a series of stanzas, recalling to his memory their former loves. Many of the expressions are very forcible and beautiful, and others, again, tend to excite our laughter. We will give a short extract from this poetical epistle.

"Since you went away, Sir, I do nothing but knit my eyebrows;  
 I am grown careless about arranging my rouge and cosmetics, and my head is like a broom;  
 Bride and bridegroom in two different lands—Oh! painful is the thought—

\* \* \* \* \*

One night I dreamt that my love was wedded to another;  
 And when morning broke, without being aware of it, grief had transformed my face from youth to age!  
 We swore, that if false, we were willing that the Gods should hurl their thunder and dart their avenging lightning—  
 And the goddess Heuen neu communicated our oath through the whole of the nine heavens!  
 Since then, you have only returned to your native place and not to the streams of Hades—  
 Why is there so much difficulty in seeing your face, or in getting tidings from you?  
 My lover's affection is false, but mine, alas! is too true—



And I now again send this letter by express, to show the carnation colour of my heart !\*

Alas ! for a blushing flower of thrice seven summers—

Silent and lonely is her fragrant apartment, and her painful thoughts insupportable."

\* \* \* \* \*

Aunt Tsaou added also a few lines of expostulation, and the two were inclosed in an envelope with the sublime commencement—

"These for a majestic and striking house, like a prime minister's palace," &c. &c.

Sin conveys the letter to Ting chang, who is very much frightened, and, hastily entering his house, sends the following *verbal* message by his tiger:—

"My master," says the boy, "has been married to the young lady of Mr. Wei, the Tung che foo magistrate, now about three years; the road to Nan yang is very far, and he can hardly be expected to go back there; and as a letter is a difficult thing to write, he relies upon you, that you will deliver this verbal message for him. This scented gauze handkerchief in former days belonged to Miss Lwan, as well as this sheet of paper, which is a marriage contract; and he begs that you will return them to her, in order that she may think no more about him. Master at first wanted to have kept you to give you a dinner, but he is afraid, lest the old gentleman, his father, might be asking annoying questions, and getting surprised and angry, so he sends you these five mace of silver" (about three shillings sterling) "for your road expenses, and expects that next time you won't give yourself the trouble of a long journey for nothing!"

Sin got into a violent passion at this message, and heaped all sorts of maledictions upon Ting chang's head; at last he is so overpowered by his feelings, that he becomes hysterical and weeps aloud. His noisy grief attracts the attention of the passers by, who learn the whole history, and are loud in their reproaches against Ting chang. Miss Lwan, upon receiving the fatal message, passes three days and three nights in her chamber, bewailing the past, and drawing up a poetical narration of her cruel fate. We must refer our readers to the work itself for this sad narrative, which she inclosed, together with copies of their marriage contract, in the form of a Mandarin's public document, and directed it to the chief magistrate of Woo-keang. Our readers must sympathise with us in the melancholy fate of Miss Lwan from the original translation;—

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\* "This means a *sincere* heart; they say that the heart of a bad man is black—Morrison."

"That very night Keaou Lwan washed her person with the utmost care, and having changed her clothes, she desired Ming hea to go and boil her some tea, using this deceit to get Ming hea out of the room. No sooner was her maid gone, than, having first fastened the door, she made use of a stool to support her feet, then taking a white sash, she threw it over a beam and tied it; next, having made fast the scented gauze napkin, the first cause of all her woes, round her throat, she joined it to the white sash in a dead knot, and finally kicking away the stool, her feet swung in mid air, and in a moment her spirit dissolved in ether, while her soul sought the habitations of the dead, at the early age of twenty-one years! \* \* \* Ming hea, then, having boiled the tea, was bringing it to her mistress, when she found the door fast shut; she knocked for some time, but no one opening, she ran in a great fright to communicate the intelligence to aunt Tsaou. This lady along with Mrs. Chow speedily arrived, and the room door being forced open, words cannot describe the horror and dismay that seized them, when the sad spectacle within presented itself to their view! Old Mr. Wang was not long in hearing the dismal tale, and in an instant repaired to the spot. It were needless to relate the scene of sorrow that ensued; neither the old gentleman nor his lady knew for what reason their beloved daughter had committed so rash an act. But it was necessary to take some steps for the interment of the body; and a coffin being procured, what was once the lovely and accomplished Lwan was, amid the tears and lamentations of the whole household, consigned to the silent grave!"

Such is the melancholy end of poor Miss Lwan. Her faithless lover most unwillingly "sought the habitations of the dead" by the hand of the executioner, and our concluding extract will give our readers some idea of the cruel punishments inflicted by the Chinese upon their criminals. It seems that his worship Keu'é, the chief magistrate, received Miss Lwan's letter, and handed it over to the imperial censor Fan-che, who happened to be travelling through the country, exercising his prerogative of reforming any abuses that he should meet with. Ting chang was commanded to appear before him, and on being accused and denying his guilt, was ordered by his excellency to have fifty blows with the bamboo, and to be sent to prison until he could make further inquiries at Nang yang; after some days the answer came back, and—

"The censor in a voice of wrath thus addressed him: 'To treat with levity or insult the daughter of a Mandarin is one crime. Being already betrothed to one wife, marrying another is a second crime. Having had adulterous intercourse leading to the death of a party concerned is a third crime. In your marriage contract it is written, if a man deceive the woman, may unnumbered arrows slay his body! I have now no arrows here to slay thee, but—' added he, raising his voice, 'thou

shalt be beat to death with staves like a dog, so that thou mayest serve as a warning to all cold blooded villains in future.' With that he shouted with a loud voice, as a signal to the bailiffs and lictors who were in waiting :—these, grasping their clubs of bamboo, rush forward in a body, and simultaneously struck \* the wretched culprit, pieces of whose body flew about the hall in all directions, and in a moment a bloody and hideous mass marked the corpse of the betrayer of Lwan !”

The tale concludes with a little *moral*.

“Reader ! why should he thus court the wealth and beauty of a second bride, and turn back upon his previous oath ? what really was the profit on't ? There is a stanza which says—

‘ Having become man and wife for a single day, remain man and wife for ever !

What can you expect to gain by deceiving a tender girl's too confiding heart ?

Should you say that no vengeance awaits the false and cruel lover—  
Please to read this story of lasting resentment, which took place in  
bye-gone years !”

And so say we ; and to such of our readers as are not Oriental scholars, we can recommend Mr. Thom's translation, who has been extremely happy in the style he has adopted ; and we hope that he will again employ the Canton press for the gratification of English readers. Should he do so, we trust that his future labour may be employed upon a work which contains fewer poetical effusions ; for although this class of romances is very curious, yet they do not throw so much light upon the domestic manners and customs of the Chinese, as would be desired by such readers as must rely upon translations for any insight into Chinese literature.

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\* In the original it says, they made no distinction between *sol* and *si*, or they rung all the notes of the gamut upon him at the same time.

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ART. VII. — *Vita di Caterina de' Medici, Saggio Storico di*  
Eugenio Albèri. 4to. Firenze, 1838.

THERE is rest for the relics of man in his tomb, but there is none for his memory. Posterity, as an immense jury, sits round his death-bed for his trial, but its sessions are adjourned to infinity. History issues no sentence that history may not repeal. Time fights the battles of truth, an unimpassioned but unwearied ally. Every hour there are new evidences brought forward, mysteries unravelled and reputations restored. Envious malignity or hatred of party can never have laid a man's name so low, that it may not be lawful for any person to plead his cause before the nations, and call forth a revision of his judgment.

No one will, therefore, dispute to M. Eugenio Albèri the right of appearing in the lists as the avowed champion of Catherine de' Medici. No one would be even entitled to inquire into the motives that prompted him to undertake her apology, had he not, himself, condescended to explain them. He informs us, that, having, in compliance with some person's wish, prepared himself to write a short biographical sketch of Henry II.'s queen, he was soon involved in serious doubts as to the rectitude of the judgments passed against that singular woman, that having in consequence studied his subject with more intense interest, and having recourse to other sources of information than those from which historians and biographers had hitherto drawn their narratives, he was led to reject all the opinions entertained about her, and resolved to try to clear her fame from the stains inflicted upon it, no less by hostile libellers than by grave and impartial historians, and to vindicate her name and at once that of Italy, so often and so freely outraged by foreigners.

The documents consulted by him are especially the contemporaneous reports of the Venetian ambassadors, over a complete edition of which our author himself is now presiding in Florence, and the manuscripts of the *Archivio Mediceo* which was thrown open to him by the munificence of the Grand Duke. It is, perhaps, well to observe, that that prince is keenly alive to every discovery that can reflect any lustre on the name of his Medicean predecessors, and that to the gratification of his royal feelings, M. Albèri's essay has been, we think, rather ungenerously attributed.

That the countrymen of M. Albèri have not always been fairly treated, we are by no means unwilling to admit, and their justification seems to be evidently implied in that almost European saying, "that the Italians are better than their reputation." The odious part of the cowardly bravo, and of the treacherous

stabber and poisoner, are, in all works of fiction, invariably assigned to one of their nation, in accordance with those same rules of art (as Victor Hugo pleaded against his Italian challengers) by which the fox is always made to act the part of the swindler, and the cat that of the traitor, in the fables of Æsop.

Those atrocious personifications of inhuman monsters which have power to startle romantic young ladies in their sleep, of which we read in modern novels, but which, as we see nothing that resembles them in real life, we would feel inclined to set down as the work of a distempered fancy, are easily accounted for, and cease to excite our wonder as soon as the country of the dark misdoer is announced; for Victor Hugo has taught us that there is no enormity that we have not reason to expect from a man whose name ends in *i*. Were not the hero an Italian, we should look to the inventor himself with a feeling of distrust and abhorrence, akin to that of Frederick the Second of Prussia, who, having read Granelli's *Dion*, expressed a wish to have the poet in his hands, that he might hang him without respite, in order to deliver the world from the dangerous genius that could frame so subtle a plot of iniquity.

Walter Scott himself, our amiable and benevolent Scott, who never was in Italy but in his dying days, and who had hardly seen any Italian but poor Foscolo, whom he hated because he was "ugly as a baboon,"—Scott himself, contrary to his custom, outrageously violated all historical truth, to represent as the basest of traitors the most gallant and accomplished knight of his age—Conrad of Montserrat, who, far from ever conspiring against the life of others, fell himself a victim to the dagger of the assassins of the mountain, not without some suspicion (we trust utterly unfounded) of some participation in his murder, by the jealousy of our lion-hearted Richard himself.

Still it would be unjust to quarrel with a poet or a novelist for accommodating facts to suit his designs; and we can only pity such of their readers (and they are a larger class than is generally supposed) who listen to those sweet illusions with blind reliance, and ground their belief on the authority of what is avowedly a work of invention. But history can with less scruple be called to account; and if it can be proved, as M. Albèri asserts, that the French historians, instead of paying due honour to the memory of a queen, who did so much for their nation, have not blushed to spread and sanction the most injurious reports, to throw upon a foreign woman the blame of the deeds of blood that stained their annals in the sixteenth century; we must allow him a neutral ground in our pages, and take note of every sound argument he may be able to bring forward to her exculpation.

In fact, we must request our readers to note that most foreign consorts have fared ill in all troubles of the state. We need simply indicate Catherine of Arragon, Henrietta Maria, and Marie Antoinette, to substantiate our position.

We consider it our duty to confess, ere we enter into the subject, that of all people in Europe the French are the most unfair in their estimate of foreign nations, and especially of Italy: we all remember with what venom and acrimony, whenever it suited their purpose to show their allegiance to the Bourbons, their most distinguished writers hastened to abjure Buonaparte, reproaching to the fallen hero his Italian nativity, his bilious southern temper, and his half African hue. We know with what readiness they adopted as countrymen Massena or Lagrange, perhaps because their names did not terminate with an *i*. That they vented in their writings their rage against Catherine de' Medici because she was too shrewd and too active to meet with the fate of Marie Antoinette of Austria, might be not altogether improbable; but it would be difficult, at so late a period, to clear all doubts on so arduous a subject, and M. Albèri might boast of having accomplished no inconsiderable task, if he could succeed to redeem, even in part, the conduct of a woman to whom her bitterest adversaries never denied strength of character and loftiness of mind.

It is only under an historical or a national, by no means under a religious point of view, that he examines his subject. The life of Catherine is not a work of polemic divinity. Properly speaking a book of that kind has not, these many years, been published in Italy.

While at a distance she still preserves a militant attitude, and causes some uneasiness abroad, the Church of Rome has laid down her arms at home, and trusts her cause solely to the support of Austria. Of that innumerable militia of Italian priesthood, there is not one pressing forward for the cause they have embraced. The highly gifted but worldly-minded prelate, surrounded with luxury and vice, wants that energy and ardour that only conviction can give, and the modest but ignorant curate is too blind himself ever to bring light upon others. The one class disgrace the name of religion by their conduct, the other by their absurd superstition. Hence it happens, that the few generous enthusiasts that still dare to raise a voice, not indeed for Romanism, but for a pure, ascetic, and, as it were, a dreaming Christianity, the men of the school of Manzoni and Pellico, not only do not belong to, nor write in the spirit of, the clergy, but are even looked upon by them with mistrust and jealousy, though the

closest investigation may not find them astray for a single moment from the strictest orthodoxy.

But the worst of evils, indifference, is in that country the order of the day: the demolition of the old fabric of Romanism has involved in its ruins more of the sound part of the doctrines of Christ than a true lover of religion would gladly behold, and every mark of emancipation of religious opinions has been likewise a step to anarchy and scepticism. The best part of the thinking classes are so deeply engrossed with their longings for a political change, that every theological question is irretrievably put off as one of secondary importance, to be easily resumed and settled whenever the nation recovers the right of free discussion. The life of Catherine is, therefore, very far from being the work of a priest. M. Albèri, a Roman exile, and only by special favour allowed a precarious residence in Tuscany, is not even a votary of the regenerated, if not reformed Christianity of Manzoni. He never attempts to palliate or to excuse the horrors of the long bloody revenge that Romanist fanaticism wreaked upon the Huguenots of France. He only affirms that the French were already too greatly addicted and used to bloodshed, to need the influence of a crafty and ambitious foreign woman to urge them to the most dire extremes; that placed between the opposite interests of irreconcilable parties, constantly pressed by suggestions and menaces from abroad, constantly besieged by the cannibal roar of a maddening populace, she was frustrated in her repeated efforts to bring about a reconciliation, thwarted in her sincere wish to remain calm and neutral among so many discordant elements, and at last overwhelmed, overturned, dragged along by the current, and compelled to choose among so many evils what she considered the least.

But whether it was religious or patriotic zeal, or even a feeling of gratitude towards the clement grand duke, that actuated M. Albèri to write, he has nevertheless an undisputed right to be heard; and we shall feel under great obligation to him, if in the course of our examination of his work we can arrive at any important fact that may throw new light on that most important period of history.

Few persons ever care to inquire into the particulars of the earliest youth of Catherine, few are acquainted with the hardships and dangers she met with in the home of her father, ere she reached the high station to which her misfortune had reared her. Catherine was born of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, grandson of Lorenzo il Magnifico, and was the niece of Pope Clement VII. By the order of her uncle, the young princess, an orphan of both parents, was in her fifth year placed in the monastery Delle Murate. In 1527, the Florentines taking advantage of the distress of Clement, who

was then besieged by the Imperialists in the castle of St. Angelo, drove the Papal lieutenant from their city and proclaimed their independence. The young recluse, forgotten by her relatives, remained as a hostage in the hands of the enemies of the name of Medici. When the last extremities had come for Florence, she was dragged out of her violated cloisters by those rude republicans, who were deliberating whether she should be delivered over to popular fury or exposed on their bulwarks to the imperial artillery, or given up to a public house of prostitution. "But the mute eloquence of her guileless childhood," adds M. Albèri, "prevailed over the counsel of those incensed partisans," and she was only removed to another convent, whose inmates were known to be better attached to the popular cause. In 1530 Florence capitulated, and Catherine was sent to her uncle in Rome. Destined to serve as an instrument to the selfish schemes of Clement's pusillanimous policy, the unconscious girl had already been proffered to the Duke of Ferrara and the Prince of Orange. But now, seriously alarmed by the rapid progress of Charles V., and by the uncontrolled ascendancy he had gained over Italy, the ill-fated Pope destined her to a royal match in France, and gave her as a pledge of the alliance he had just contracted with Francis I. Towards the end of the summer of 1533, Clement VII. sailed for Marseilles with a pompous retinue, and bestowed with his own hand the youthful bride on Henry, the King's second son.\* She was then aged fourteen.

The young Princess, scarcely emancipated from her monastic timidity, was thrown into a world of debauchery, such as was never before or after rivalled in Europe. The manners of Francis the First and his court are depicted by M. Albèri with a shocking veracity, and we have in the documents added to his narrative, a sad commentary upon what most revolted us in "*Le roi s'amuse*."† By dwelling so minutely on these particulars, the advocate of Catherine aimed to refute the charge laid on her name by the French historians, of having opened a new school of seduction and incontinence in France, and ministered to the pleasures of her children and courtiers, to weaken their intellect and enervate

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\* Suriano, the Venetian ambassador, then residing in Rome, describes Catherine in the following terms: "Di natura assai vivace monstra gentil spirito, ben accostumata: è stata educata e governata cum le monache nel monasterio delle Murate in Fiorenza, donne di molto bon nome e sancta vita; è piccola de persona, scarna, non de vito delicato, ha li occhi grossi proprij alla casa de' Medici."

† François, par la grace de Dieu, à notre aimé et féal conseiller et tresorier de nos epargnes, M. Jehan Duval, salut et dilection. Nous voulons et vous mandons que des deniers de nos epargnes vous baillez comptant à Cecile de Vieville, dame des filles de joie suivant notre cour, la somme de 45 liv. tournois, que nous lui avons fait et faisons don, tant pour elle que pour les autres dames et filles de sa maison, a despartir entre elles ainsi qu'elles aviseront.—From a MS. Royal Library, Paris.



their soul, so as to keep them passive and submissive under her control. We think there can be no doubt that French corruption needed no incentive from abroad, and a girl who had seen nothing of the world, save during the three years she spent with her uncle at Rome, must have received the first rudiments of looseness of manners rather from her adopted country, than from the land of her nativity.

M. Albèri proceeds to deny to Francis I. the same he had long usurped as a patron of letters and arts, and reports a royal decree by which he gave the first instance of a censorship of the press in his kingdom, charges him with several traits of dissimulation and perfidy in his political transactions, and even calls in question his brilliant chivalrous gallantry, and destroys the authenticity of that sublime billet to his royal mother, after the disastrous battle of Pavia, "*Tout est perdu fors l'honneur.*" Hence, taking into consideration what more immediately belongs to his subject, he demonstrates all the inconsistency of the conduct of that monarch in religious matters. He alleges the asylum and encouragement given by Francis to Erasmus, Melanchthon and Marot, the succour he granted to the Genevese rebels, and, what is rather more to the purpose, his alliance with Soliman and the lawless corsair of Algiers, by which he jeopardized his own no less than the states of his antagonists, and scandalized all Christendom by suffering Barbarossa to open a mosque in his house at Toulon. Here M. Albèri, by way of contrast, gives due praise to the conduct of Charles V. who, in his African expedition, set equally at liberty Catholic and Lutheran captives, and to the generous ardour with which the German Protestants in their turn hastened to the rescue of that emperor when harassed by the sultan's armies in Hungary.

And it was this same Francis of Valois who had so openly applauded the earliest reformers, who did not shrink from joining hands with the enemies of the faith, that kindled the first faggot to burn the heretics in France. On the 21st of January, 1535, (less than two years after the bridal of Catherine), at the head of a most solemn procession, the king was seen perambulating the crowded quarters of Paris. In each of the six principal squares, there was an altar for the sacrament, a *prie-dieu* for the king, and a pile wherein one of the heretics was to be slowly consumed; for their death did not take place according to the ordinary and expeditious manner of that punishment. The king had given orders that, at a certain distance from the pile, two beams should be raised somewhat in the shape of a lever, to one end of which the sufferer was secured, and hence plunged and re-plunged into the flames so as to prolong his martyrdom beyond

natural endurance. M. Albèri quotes here the authorities of the earliest French historians, and especially of Daniel, who thus concludes the narration of that awful butchery:—"François voulut, pour attirer la bénédiction du ciel sur ses armes, donner cet exemple signalé de piété et de zèle contre la nouvelle doctrine."

The horrid and numberless slaughters which signalized the extinction of the Waldenses of Provence in 1545, in consequence of a parliamentary decree, are not calculated to inspire us with a more favourable opinion of the nation than the *autos-da-fê* of Paris have given us of the monarch; and we must here be permitted to observe, that a superior state of cultivation had hitherto preserved Italy from witnessing such scenes of summary execution.

Italians seemed to have an instinctive foreboding of the endless divisibility of sects, still they evinced the greatest horror for religious persecution. It was not until the middle of the sixteenth century, under the pontificate of Paul III., that the first attempts were made for a revival of the Dominican Inquisition, and even then the governments of Ferrara, Venice, and Tuscany, as well as the population of Milan, Naples, and even of Rome, made a long and generous stand against it, nor ever did that fatal institution so thrive in that country as it did in the more congenial soil of Spain. For the sake of truth be it allowed, the Italians have been been, in fact, in all times, of all nations in Europe, the least guilty of blood-shedding in religious feuds.

"Oh! among the horrible rancours," exclaims the eloquent Manzoni, "that divided Italians from Italians, this, at least, is not known. The passions that have made enemies of us, did not, at least, abide behind the veil of the sanctuary. It is but too true we find in every page of our annals enmities sent down from generation to generation for wretched interests, and vengeance preferred to our own safety. We find in them at every step two parts of a nation fiercely disputing for the supremacy, and for advantages which, at the end, for a great lesson, remained to neither. We find our ancestors wasting their forces in obstinate attempts to make slaves of such as might have been ardent and faithful friends; we read in them a frightful series of deplorable combats, but none at least like those of Cappel, Jarnac, and Prague. True, from this unfortunate land much blood will rise in judgment, but very little that has been spilt for the sake of religion; little, I say, when compared with what stained the other parts of Europe. The furies and calamities of other nations give us the sad advantage of calling that blood but little; but the blood of a single man shed by the hand of his brother is too much for all ages and countries." \*

It was not then from a Florentine monastery, nor even from the Roman Court of Clement VII., that Catherine needed

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\* Manzoni, della Morale Cattolica, cap. iii.

to derive her first lessons of religious intolerance. But the atrocities that fell under her eyes at the court of Francis, did not always spring from a religious source. Sebastiano Montecuccoli, a knight from Ferrara, was quartered alive as convicted of having poisoned the Dauphin, whose sudden death took place at Lyons in August, 1586. An avowal of his pretended guilt was wrenched from him by the infliction of torture. In his incoherent disclosures he named Antonio de Leyva and other lieutenants of Charles V. as the instigators of the murder. The general impression at the time, however, and the testimony of the physicians, was, that the poor wretch had suffered unjustly, and that the prince died "by the visitation of God." It was only after more than a century, idly conjectured that Catherine, then in her seventeenth year, had by that crime removed the only obstacle to the future exaltation of her husband. M. Albèri deemed it useless to refute this accusation, which even the French reject as a calumny.

During that period the future arbitress of the destinies of France was far from being an object of envy. Placed between the Duchess of Etampes, mistress of Francis, and Diane de Poitiers, her own husband's old favourite,\* deprived of all natural friends, because the jealousy of the French ministers had from her first arrival sent back all her Italian suite, she was, until the death of Francis I. in 1547, and again, till the fatal tournament of 1559, to which Henry II.† fell a victim, the most insignificant person at court.

That twenty years of wounded feminine pride, the insolence of worthless minions, the neglect and contempt she had to endure, may have exasperated Catherine's highly susceptible soul, we can easily conceive, and we equally understand that the long school of dissimulation in which her situation trained her, and the example of a court, in all ages renowned for intrigue, must have more powerfully contributed to teach her the arts of a crooked and darkling policy, than what the French call the "native acuteness of the countrymen of Machiavelli."

Catherine, at the opening of her long and tempestuous career (observes her defender), found her own and her young children's safety, no less than the peace and security of France, endangered by the factions of two families of the royal blood—the Guises and the Bourbons, whose power and ambition had gradually increased under the government of her indolent and imbecile husband, and

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\* She was still the reigning beauty when she died in his 60th year.

† "Diana, cum jam inclinata esset ætate, philtis et magicis, ut creditar, artibus, adeo sibi animum Henrici devinxit, ut is nunquam alienata voluntate ad exitum usque in amore illo constanter perseveraverit."—*De Thou*. l. iii. Henry wore Diana's colours at the tournament, where he fell by the hand of Montgomery.

which knew now no limits after his death. The queen-mother, unable to resist the pretensions of the two rival houses, and, on account of the preponderance of the Guises at the time, being scarcely allowed any choice, yielded to these last, and called them to the head of her government. The Bourbons, who did not find in their own resources the means of attacking the new coalition, espoused the cause of the Huguenots, with whom (asserts M. Albèri upon the rather questionable authority of Davila) their interests bound them rather than true religious sympathy, and urged them to make a stand for their liberty of conscience.

That neither the Condé nor the Bourbons, nor, on the other side, the fanatical Guises, felt warmly attached to the religious tenets for which they lavished the best blood of France, and that both parties availed themselves of the zeal of deluded bigots to promote their own worldly advantages, the course of events sufficiently demonstrated. But the opinion of Davila, who mentions the Admiral Coligni as being the first author of that rebellious counsel by which religion was made subservient to political views, is, we think, neither well-founded on facts, nor consistent with the subsequent conduct of that old hero, nor can we approve M. Albèri for having, even for a moment, countenanced it.

Meanwhile blood was for the first time treacherously spilt by the Catholic party, at Amboise in 1560; and however that tragical deed may be pretended to have been provoked by the secret preparations, or by the menacing attitude of the Protestants, there is no doubt that, in civil contentions, all the infamy falls on him that strikes the first blow, and who is the last to lay down the sword.

In this first act of violence Catherine had no part. She had already conceived serious alarms at the overbearing ascendancy of the Guises, and could have no interest in the utter annihilation of the party that alone could still counterbalance them. She is represented by her biographer, as actively employed in defeating the violent schemes of these her dangerous allies, warning, through the organ of the Duchess of Montpensier, the Princes of Condé and Navarre of impending dangers, and finally proposing the interview of Poissy, which, as it is always the case in religious controversies, had no better effect than to administer new subjects of discord to those incensed spirits.

Meanwhile, Philip II. of Spain, whose lieutenants were soon to turn the Netherlands into a vast burning pile, threatened an invasion of France; Pius IV. offered men and subsidies for the total extinction of heresy; the Inquisitors and Jesuits of all countries accused the queen-mother of lukewarmness in the defence of the faith. That Catherine was hitherto really abhorrent from

persecution, and always willing to put forward new schemes of reconciliation, seems incontrovertibly to result from the following letter to the pope, quoted from the Bethune manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, vol. 8476:—

... "Considerant donc, très-saint Père, combien est grand le nombre de ceux qui se sont séparés de l'Eglise Romaine, il est impossible de les réduire ni par la lois ni par les armes : des nobles, des magistrats attirent la foule à cette croyance par leur exemple. Heureusement, dans cet éloignement pour Rome, il ne s'est élevé aucune opinion monstrueuse. anabaptiste ou antitrinitaire, toutes reconnaissent les douze symboles apostoliques ; que si on pouvait les accorder, ce serait le meilleur moyen de fondre les deux Eglises. Pour arriver à ce resultat, n'était-il pas utile de multiplier les conférences, de demander des predications de paix et de charité ? Il faut aussi éviter que par une obstination malheureuse on sépare encore ceux qui tiennent à l'Eglise Catholique. Je vous proposerai aussi, très-saint Père, de *supprimer le culte des images*, de ne plus conférer le baptême que par l'eau et la parole ; la communion serait donnée sous deux espèces, on *chanterait les psaumes en langue vulgaire*, à ceux qui viendraient pour s'approcher à la Sainte-Table ; enfin on abolirait la fête du Saint-Sacrement, parce que cette fête est de tous les jours et de tous les temps, etc. etc."\*

In the same time, l'Hospital, her chancellor, wrote to the Calvinists at Geneva, praising, in the king's name, the purity of their motives, and the rectitude of their principles, exhorting them, in the same time, to moderate "la malice d'aucuns prédicans et dogmatisans, la plupart envoyés de vous ou de principaux ministres de votre ville, les quels, abusant du nom, titre et pureté de la religion dont ils se disent bien professés, sèment és esprits de nos sujets une damnable désobéissance tant par les libelles et les diffamations, que par les prêches qu'ils ont établi."

Meanwhile hostilities broke out in every part of the kingdom, Francis, duke of Guise, having again given the signal by his massacre of Vassy. Spain and Savoy on the one side, England and Germany on the other, advanced to the support of their allies. Blood was shed with various fortune at Rouen, Dreux and Orleans, until the principal leaders of both factions being either dead or prisoners, and the Duke of Guise having fallen by the hand of an assassin, the queen was enabled to sign the peace of Amboise, March 19th, 1563. Having thus restored peace to the kingdom, on tolerably equal terms,† she abdicated her regency in favour of Charles IX., then scarcely fourteen years old.

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\* A most excellent and sensible epistle, and it would have preserved Rome had it been conceded.

† "The free exercise of the new worship was allowed in any place but at Paris and its jurisdiction, where, however no one should be molested on account of his religion. The king received both Catholics and Protestants under his protection, considering them all as true and loyal subjects," &c. &c.—*V. Edict et Déclaration faite par le Roy Charles IX.* Paris, 1563. [Printed by Jean Damien.]

War was rekindled soon after, and the chivalry of France displayed on the fields of Jarnac and Montcontour a valour that would have been better employed in a more generous contest. The two parties, wearied out with long exertions, came to a second definitive accord at St. Germain, August 8th, 1570.

The king, Catherine, and the Cardinal of Lorraine received, before and after the stipulation of that treaty, the most severe reprimands from Pius V. and Philip II., both now warmly bent on a universal establishment of the Inquisition, and on the utter extermination of Protestantism. The pope, incessantly returned to his favourite maxim, that "*nullo modo, nullisque de causis, hostibus Dei parcendum est,*" and that the enemies of true religion were to be fought against "*ad internecionem usque.*"

The proposed marriage of the king with a daughter of Maximilian II. of Germany, of one of her sons with Elizabeth of England, and finally, of the young king of Navarre with Margaret of Valois her daughter, are alleged by M. Albèri as evident proofs of the good faith of Catherine during that reconciliation. The death of Joan of Albret, Henry of Navarre's mother, which has often been considered as the work of Catherine, is by him attributed to natural causes, on the authorities of Davila, of the President de Thou,\* of Cayet's "*Chronologie novenaire,*" dated 1572, and finally, of Voltaire himself, who has said in his *Henriade*, ch. ii.:—

"Je ne suis point injuste, et je ne pretens pas  
A Médicis encore imputer son trépas."

Meanwhile Charles IX. held serious consultations with Louis of Nassau and the Admiral Coligny, for an intended invasion of Belgium, and opened new negotiations for an alliance with England and Germany.† All these demonstrations, not only of a sincere wish for the continuation of peace, but even of evident partiality in favour of the Protestant insurgents of Flanders, have never been called in question by the most bitter detractors of Catherine, but they have been hitherto almost unanimously turned to her greater disparagement, as so many treasonable snares, by which the royal party wished to lay asleep every suspicion in the mind of the Huguenots and allure them altogether into Paris,

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\* "*Corpore tamen dissecto, abscessus in latere sinistro repertus est ex nimia fatigatione contractus quo eam periisse retulerant medici, scripto de ea re publicato.*"—*Thuanus*, lib. lxi.

† In 1569 the French, in league with Spain and the Pope, had attempted to hurl Elizabeth of England from her throne; in the summer of 1572 they entered into a league with this very queen to wrest the Netherlands from Spain."—See *Rank's Hist. of the Popes*, B. v. § 5. He however derives from these facts other consequences than M. Albèri's, and by no means favourable to the fame of Catherine.

where they might be easily butchered at one stroke. A simultaneous massacre of all the Protestants in the kingdom is said to have been resolved upon at the famous interview of Bayonne, in June, 1565. Catherine, who had refused to meet Philip II. of Spain, when invited by him the year before to a congress in Nantz, to provide for a universal eradication of heresy, now, in her turn, proposed a *rendez-vous* with that monarch, who sent in his stead his queen, Isabel of France (Catherine's daughter), and his plenipotentiary, the Duke of Alva.\* From the meeting of Bayonne to St. Bartholomew's eve, an interval of seven years elapsed, during which the court seemed often determined, apparently at least, to bring about a reaction in favour of Protestantism.

How far this show of amicable dispositions is to be deemed sincere, or what inconceivably dark and deep premeditation of crime it may have served to palliate, is the main point of controversy on which the fame of Catherine essentially depends. From the solution of this problem alone, it must result whether her tolerant and conciliatory spirit and superiority of genius placed her far above the ferocious bigotry of her age, or whether indeed her policy was of so fiendish a nature as to be matched by no other act of mortal perfidiousness.

The above quoted letters to Rome and Geneva seem a sufficient evidence that she entertained no implacable animosity against the Protestant innovators; and if we must give her any credit for political foresight, she cannot have been blind to the fact, that however civil insubordination might have been the natural consequence of religious rebellion on the part of the Huguenots, yet the greatest dangers were to be apprehended from the designing Catholic leaders, if she delivered their adversaries, as an easy prey, into their hands. A prudent and dexterous impartiality would then have been no less the most humane than the safest line of conduct that remained for her to pursue; and by this earnest desire, by this deeply-felt necessity of counterpoising the two rival factions, she seems to have been consistently actuated, even long before she is believed by her accusers to have bent her soul on her definitive coup-d'état. The obvious contradiction implied by the different charges brought against her seemed to have struck a good number of modern writers, who did not hesitate to express

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\* "The alliance between the French and the Spaniards, which was contracted at Bayonne in 1565, and the terms there agreed upon, have been the subjects of much discussion. Of all that has been said about them, thus much only is certain, that the Duke of Alva exhorted the Queen of France to get rid of the leaders of the Huguenots by fair means or foul, and for ever."—*Ranko*, B. v. § 5, loc. cit. The queen's answer, or her determinations on these suggestions, remained then a secret.

their belief that to the unfeminine ferocity that characterized her nature, Catherine added all the fickleness and volatility of her sex, and that by shifting her plans so as to accommodate them to circumstances, she involved herself in a maze of difficulties, from which she could only free herself by a deed of despair. The testimonials to which M. Albèri has recourse to prove the earnestness and sincerity of Catherine in her inclination towards the Protestants are drawn from some documents collected by the French historian, M. Capefigue, in the Spanish archives at Simancas, and what he brought himself into light from the *Archivio Mediceo*.

M. Capefigue produced a series of letters from the Spanish embassy at Paris to Philip II., dated 1571, 1572, by which the alarmed ministers give an account of the new feelings prevalent at court in favour of the Huguenots and of the preparatives for an invasion both of Flanders and Spain.

The Tuscan papers, drawn from the Medicean archives, contain the correspondence between the Duke Cosimo I. and his legates at Paris. It appears that the court of France offered not only to gratify him, in sanctioning his titles to the crown of Tuscany, but even to aid him in his conquest of Corsica, and to bestow honours and estates on his relations in France, provided he would consent secretly to succour the Flemish insurgents. It appears that as the duke, who, surrounded as he was by the forces of Spain, dreaded the vengeance of Philip II., refused to enter into her views, and, on the contrary, sent important subsidies to the Spanish monarch for his wars of Flanders, Catherine loaded him with the most violent reproaches, while the duke refused to yield himself to equal overtures on the part of England, and received cordial thanks from Spain for his loyalty and devotion. These letters, bearing date of July and October, 1572, have a visible tendency to demonstrate that if there was a secret understanding between Catherine and Philip of Spain, their simulation must have been carried far beyond the limits of discretion, and even where it would have been uncalled for and dangerous. As a last and conclusive proof of this assertion, M. Albèri adds that the court of France had in fact already granted some aids to the Orange party in Flanders, though only under semblance of volunteers and fugitives, and that several engagements had already taken place, when, towards the beginning of July (1572) the Seigneur de Genlis crossed the frontier with 4000 men, hastening to the rescue of the fortress of Mons, which was then closely besieged by the Duke of Alva. This expedition proved however unsuccessful; Genlis was surprised on the 12th, and completely routed by a Spanish detachment. The court of France interceded for the release of the prisoners.



Petrucchi, the Tuscan ambassador, thus writes to his duke, of the date of July 23 :

" Questi consiglieri hanno oggi tenuto parlamento per il riscatto dei gentiluomini che sono rimasti prigionieri nella rotta di Gianlis, e non so come il re si possa accordare a questa domanda senza dar grandissima ombra al re Cattolico, e tuttavia ne fa ogni maggiore istanza."\*

And again, on the 20th of August :

" È comparso qui un gentiluomo Borgognone mandato dal Duca d' Alva, con espressa commissione d' intendere la volontà del re poi ch'è nelle lettere di S. M. a quel duca si vede una cosa, e nel detto di Gianlis se ne conosce un'altra."†

The last letter is dated Aug. 23d. The Admiral Coligny, it will be remembered, was shot at on the morning of the 22d.

" Il gentiluomo del Duca d' Alva ha significato jeri a queste MM., che si sentono e in Guascogna e altrove nuovi ordini di far soldati, e che questo bisogna che si dismetta o che altrimenti il duca è forzato a pensare a casi suoi d' altra maniera ; e pare ancora che voglia di nuovo la volontà di questo re sopra il caso di Gianlis, perchè il detto di quel prigioniero non concorda con ciò che S. M. ha scritto a quel duca ; e si dice che questa nuova risposta si domanda a S. M. Crist. d'ordine del re Cattolico."‡

The papers seem to M. Albèri to destroy every probability of any good understanding existing between the two courts of Spain and France, on the very eve of that bloody catastrophe which was supposed to have been matured ever since the first meeting of Catherine with the Duke of Alva in 1565. Indeed Catherine has been partly absolved from that deed of darkness even by Professor Ranke, to whom has never been imputed any partiality to her memory.

" It is indeed certain," he says, " that Catherine de' Medici, while she entered with zeal and cordiality into the policy and plans of the dominant party, which favoured her views, at least in so far as they appeared calculated to advance her youngest son, Alençon, to the throne

\* " The councillors have to day deliberated about the ransom of the gentlemen made prisoners at the defeat of Genlis, nor do I know how the king can grant this request, without giving the greatest suspicion to the Catholic king ; and yet he shows great interest in the matter."

† " A Burgundian gentleman has arrived to day, a messenger from the Duke of Alva, with an express order to hear the king's mind, as his majesty's letters are far from agreeing with the words of Genlis."

‡ " The gentleman of the Duke of Alva has declared to their majesties that orders for levying troops are heard of in Gascony and elsewhere, but this must not be ; or else the duke will take different measures for himself. It appears also that he asks again the king's intentions on that affair of Genlis, because the words of that prisoner are not in accordance with what his majesty wrote to the duke ; and I hear that this new demand is made by the order of the Catholic king to his most Christian majesty."

of England, yet had every thing in preparation to carry into execution a contrary stroke of policy. She used every art to draw the Huguenots into Paris; numerous as they were, they here found themselves surrounded and held in check by a far larger population, which was in a state of military organization and fanatical excitement. She had previously given the pope tolerably clear intimations what her intentions were; but had she still hesitated, the circumstances which occurred at this moment must have decided her line of conduct at once. The Huguenots won over the king, and appeared to supplant her influence over him. This personal danger put an end to all delay. With that resistless and magical power, which she possessed over her children, she re-awakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son. It cost her but one word to rouse the populace to arms, and that word she spoke."

Catherine, therefore, by the confession of an honest and enlightened Protestant, may have previously felt that she had the means, may even, perhaps, have contemplated the necessity, of appealing to popular fanaticism; she may, in a moment of jealous misgiving, have come to the fatal resolution; but it cannot be proved that she dwelt on and cherished her crime with all the perseverance of a septennial premeditation. Nor were perhaps the circumstances alluded to by M. Ranke of such a nature as to decide her to the deed. That the submissiveness of the king and the queen's authority continued still unabated, sufficiently appears from the testimonials of the Venetian and Tuscan ambassadors, as quoted by M. Albèri;\* and indeed we should wish to ask of M. Ranke how a mother, who thought her authority insufficient to alienate her son's mind from the Huguenots' friendship, could then so easily hope to induce him to deliver them over to a general execution? M. Albèri next wishes to prove that if she had no necessity, or indeed no interest, neither had she any wish to speak that word; but that even if the signal of the massacre was given by her, she was urged to it against her judgment and will by the two all-powerful agents, to which all the evil is, from its origin, to be attributed, the vindictiveness and ambition of the Guise's faction, and the unrelenting inveteracy of the people.

Of the bloody-minded disposition of the French, and more especially of the Parisian populace, he gives us but too long and painful a series of evidences. In a copious extract from a "Journal of the year 1562," found among the manuscripts of the Royal Library at Paris, he gives us the particulars of the almost

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\* "Quanto alle resoluzioni si riporta in tutto alla madre . . . niun figliuolo fu mai più obbediente di lui."—*Relat. of the Ambass. Correro.*

"Sia di necessità intertenersi la regina e in quella far fondamento per ch'è in affetto lei è il maestro di bottega."—*Lett. Ambass. Petrucci.*

daily murders, by stabbing and hanging, and drowning and burning; the pillaging and razing of houses; the breaking open of cemeteries to unbury and scatter the relics of the dead, and similar horrors committed by day and night, in open defiance of the law and its ministers, almost under the king's eyes, and in spite of his armed interference. He dwells on the stubborn reluctance of the Parliament to sanction Catherine's conciliatory decrees, and the frequent occurrences in which she found herself even obliged to resort to coercive measures to bend them to her will. He enumerates the many complicated circumstances that had contributed to increase and envenom that blind Catholic rancor since the peace of 1570. The constant incitements from the Roman and Spanish governments, and the contagious example of fierce persecutions in Flanders, the fiery discourses of the Jesuits and missionaries, the hate-breathing admonitions of the Sorbonne, the frequent recurrence of storms and inundations which were taken as so many hints of the vengeance of Heaven for that unnatural alliance between a Catholic court and the excommunicated heretics—the solemn and somewhat appalling appearance of the Huguenots, as they marched into Paris, in arms, and the marks of the unbounded favour they enjoyed at court, and their bold and haughty look of martial assurance, and the unusual ceremonies adopted for the celebration of the nuptials of Margaret of France and Henry of Navarre, on the 18th of August, and the just but fatal repugnance of this king and his suite to hear a mass, when the murmuring of the incensed multitude accompanied them all the way from Notre Dame to the Louvre.

Only four days after that inauspicious wedding the Admiral Coligny was wounded by Maurevel. Nearly all historians agree on casting on Henry of Guise all the blame of that first aggression. The king and his mother seem to have been so powerfully affected by it, that few ever dared to entertain a belief that the most consummate hypocrisy could ever so perfectly assume the appearance of genuine feeling.

It is not difficult to perceive that such a premature and unsuccessful attempt could have no better result than to disperse in a fright the Huguenots whom, it is said, it had cost the court so much pain to unite and reassure, and thereby render the intended massacre wholly impracticable, or at least warn them of the danger and put them on their guard.

Be it as it may, the rashness of Guise, who besides his anxiety of avenging his father's death, saw the rapid decrease of his importance at court, hurried all things for the worst. On the one side the Parisian rabble, excited by that scanty foretaste of blood, was raging and storming under the very walls of the palace, on

the other the Huguenots broke forth into loud complaints and menaces. The hour of slaughter had struck. On the morrow a council was hastily convoked out of the king's presence, and only presided over by Catherine. The queen (here M. Albèri quotes the *Memoires du Marechal de Tavannes*, an enraged Catholic) was wavering between different thoughts. She was to choose between a civil war or a sudden execution. Had it been in her power to give up the perpetrators of the attempt against Coligny, certainly she would not have obeyed the necessity of the present moment, but the Duke of Guise was too far above her reach: the vicissitudes of the war of the League proved long afterwards how much the court had reason to dread his popularity. Necessity suggested the death of the admiral and his principal partisans. Tavannes and the queen interceded for Condé and Navarre. The Duke of Guise was charged with the execution. Catherine said (so M. Ranke concludes the above quoted remarks) "that she only wished for the death of six men, and the charge of their death alone would she take upon her conscience. The number of the victims was fifty thousand."

It would be impossible for us to follow the long train of arguments brought forward by M. Albèri, with a view to extenuate, or, as he flatters himself, to annihilate Catherine's guilt in that tremendous transaction. We must refer our readers to the book itself, with a frank avowal that our own persuasion, if not entirely altered, has been, at least, forcibly shaken. It has been the lot of that fatal woman never to have her conduct rationally and impartially judged. The Protestants could hardly be expected to relate with calmness and equity an event that had so suddenly and so finally blasted their hopes of success in France; and the Catholics, in the exultation of their lamentable victory, in their obvious protestations of gratitude, exaggerated the skill and heroism of a queen who had, perhaps in spite of herself, done so much for their cause; and when a long lapse of years and the all-absorbing importance of politics had damped the enthusiasm of religious opinions, criticism found the annals of her reign involved in such a maze of contradiction and exaggeration that no human effort could any longer succeed fully to extricate.

The letters of the Venetian, Tuscan, and Roman ambassadors, those among M. Albèri's documents which seem to us most likely to excite the reader's curiosity, seem to determine beyond all doubts that Coligny fell a victim to the vengeance of Guise;\*

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\* "Questa tragedia" (the assassination of the Duke of Guise at Blois) è molto relativa a quella dell' ammiraglio di Coligni. Poichè chi così cupidamente cercò la morte di lui; chi la tramò con insidie . . . . . questo stesso è dato nella regna nel medesimo modo."—Lett. of Cavriana, Tuscan legate, etc.

that had he been killed on the spot, the utter discouragement of his followers might have rendered any further effusion of blood unnecessary,\* and that, as the words of M. Ranke imply, popular passions widely overshot the mark to which the court would have carried their fell execution.

And if so much can, at so great a distance, and under so many unfavourable circumstances, be historically demonstrated, "what becomes," we must ask with M. Albèri, "what becomes of that *crime Italien* spoken of by Mezerai and Lacreteille—of that ungenerous accusation of two historians, who, penetrated, as it seems, with all the infamy of that hideous carnage, sedulously attempt to throw upon the name of another country a crime, of which, had not even the first thought been, as it was, entirely French, the execution alone, which was undoubtedly the work of French hands, would be sufficient to stigmatize that nation for ever, and hush on their lips any allusion so painful to national reminiscences."

Truly the Italians have given to the world terrible examples of popular resentment in the "Sicilian vespers," and "Veronese massacres;" but the dagger was in these events aimed at the breast of an insolent and overbearing foreign soldiery, whilst the horrors of St. Bartholomew's eve stand unrivalled by any people but the French themselves, who in the night of September 2, 1792, without the instigation of a foreign queen, or of foreign priests or pope, outdid, by a wide interval, all their former exploits.

During all the rest of her life, Catherine caused her sons Charles IX. and soon afterwards Henry III. to follow that same system of policy by which she perceived that their crown and their very existence could best be secured. The disaster of St. Bartholomew's eve having broken that equilibrium that she had ever laboured to establish between the two contending factions, she found herself, as she must have easily foreseen, utterly at the mercy of the Guises and of their allies of Rome and Spain. She left nothing unattempted to reassure the courage of the disheartened Huguenots, and to soften the impression that the tidings of that horrid event had made at the Protestant courts.† She favoured

\* "Se l' archibugiata ammazzava subito l' ammiraglio non mi risolvo a credere che si fosse fatto tanto a un pezzo."—Salviati, Nunzio Apost. Lett. Aug. 24.

† "Ripeto che se l' ammiraglio moriva subito non si ammazzava altri, ma non essendo morto, e dubitandosi di qualche gran male, fu deliberato di buttar la vergogna da banda e di farlo ammazzare insieme con li altri e quella notte medesima la cosa fu mandata in esecuzione."—Salviati, Lett. without a date.

† "Il nostro segretario Albertani ha ritratto da Giancalcazzo Fregoso (allora tornato di Germania) che nella sua gita d' Alemagna ha disposto a modo la materia che si assicura della conclusione fra li principi d' Alemagna e questa Corona . . . Ritorrerà forse dal Palatino e dal Duca di Sassonia ancora, tal chè le cose s' accomoderanno a suo giudicio, il che non piacerà punto al re Cattolico."—Corrisp. dell' Alamanni, Dec. 1572.

the flight of the King of Navarre\* when she thought the Huguenots fainted in war for the want of a leader, and is said to have suggested to him the propriety of an open recantation of the Catholic tenets, to which he was believed to have been converted during the first terrors of the massacre. The peace of August, 1573, and that of May, 1576, were, in the opinion of her panegyrists, the result of her indefatigable exertions, and unequalled abilities. But the advantage that the Catholics had gained from that fatal coup-d'état which Catherine, it was said, was so earnestly bent upon bringing about, gave them an ascendancy and inspired them with a boldness that foiled her most prudent contrivances. Soon the court appeared lukewarm and partial in the eyes of the insatiable multitude; new conspiracies for reproducing the dark scenes of the night of the twenty-fourth of August could not be repressed by the court without considerable difficulty.† All the zeal and severity of Sixtus V. himself could not satisfy them, and serious deliberations were held at Paris as to the expediency of hurling him from the chair of St. Peter.‡ The Duke of Guise, in his heart almost an infidel, and the members of his family, had sufficient hypocrisy to take advantage of the turbulent fanaticism of the people. Long time since that house had given unequivocal hints of aspiring to the throne, to which their direct descent from Charlemagne was supposed to give them a title. They gave the universal discontent union and scope, and the *Holy League* was organized all over the kingdom. Against that formidable association Henry III. had no other means of resistance than to follow his mother's advice, which was to appear to countenance the League with his royal support, and to espouse their cause as his own. This stratagem saved the state for a few years; but the artful and designing Guises soon made the people aware of the insincerity of the court, and the first attempt of Henry III. to emancipate himself from that unworthy thralldom brought about the day of the Barricades, the exaltation of Guise, and the king's flight from his capital.

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\* "Non manca chi dubiti che la Regina Madre artificiosamente abbia fatto partire il Re di Navarra di Corte . . . ora piu che mai spera la quietà del Regno."—Corrisp. dell' Alamanni. Feb. 11, 1575.

† Le cose di qua sono ancor tanto tenere che oggi in Parigi s' era dato ordine di far nuova sollevazione contro gli Ugonotti e senza il rimedio dato subito dal Duca di Nevers e dal moresciallo di Tavennes, in assenza del Re forse seguiva.—Lett. de Alamanni, Tus. Ambass. Nov. 20, 1572.

‡ "Dieu nous a delivré d'un mechant pape et politique, s'il eut vecu plus longtems, on eut été bien étonné d'ouir prêcher dans Paris contre le Pape, mais il l'eut fallu faire."—Memoir de la Ligue.

"Il traversait si visiblement la Ligue, que les Espagnols le menacèrent de protester contre lui, et de pourvoir par d'autres voies à la conservation de l'Eglise."—Maimbourg, Hist. de la Reforme.

Henry, resorting to extreme remedies against extreme evils, convoked the States at Blois, and there, against the advice of his wary mother, who, even in that extremity, proposed more moderate measures,\* rid himself by an assassination of his dangerous competitor.

After the murder of the Duke of Guise, the queen advised her son to break loose altogether from the league's fetters, by a definite resolution, and to join the King of Navarre. The result of this measure, which cost Henry III. his life, but which prepared the final pacification of France under Henry IV., Catherine was not destined to witness. She died at Blois, January 5, 1589, thirteen days after the murder of Guise, and seven months before the assassination of Henry III. by Jacques Clement.

Such was (to enter into M. Albèri's views) Catherine de' Medici, whose grand and terrific figure rises above the crowd of minor actors in the long drama of the French Reformation and of the League, by the virtue of a lofty intelligence, and of a sovereign will, commanding the course of events, by which the others suffered themselves to be blindly and passively driven. Serene among the passions of an age of confusion,—secure among incessant scenes of peril and strife,—active, vigilant, indefatigable, she knew how to turn to her purpose the very designs of her adversaries. Her mission, for the space of thirty years, was to preserve her children's heritage from the designs of her rebellious vassals, and from the encroachments of envious neighbours. That mission she accomplished. Perhaps, in her eagerness to obtain her end, she was not always scrupulous about the choice of her means. Perhaps, with her anxiety about the peace and security of France and the rights and privileges of the crown, she mingled personal views of an unbounded and jealous ambition. She has been, perhaps not unjustly, accused of attaching some belief to supernatural agents, and dealing in superstitious practices of divination and sorcery. She has been reproached with cunning, simulation, and perfidy; but she possessed even less of those arts than her position demanded, even less than could protect her against her numerous and not less astute, though more powerful enemies. She is said to have stained her hands with private and public murders, but none has ever been sufficiently proved against her, and she unquestionably manifested, in more than one instance, her abhorrence of useless effusion of blood.

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\* La regina madre non ha saputo cosa alcuna di questa impresa se non dopo il fatto, ma fra essa e il Re erano bene passati propositi sopra il modo di liberarsi della tirannide del Duca di Guisa, ed il parer della Regina era che il Re si conducesse a Lione, e quivi lo facesse prigioniero."—Lett. from Oratio Rucellai, Blois, Dec. 24, 1588. Arch. Medic.

Had Catherine de' Medici been gifted with a less crafty, less resolute, less ambitious character, Catholic ferocity would have prevailed in her kingdom, and the fair days of Henry IV. and of the edict of Nantes would never have dawned upon France; nor would then Philip of Spain, sure of the support of the Guises, have been so easily arrested by the rebels of Flanders; nor, perhaps, was Protestantism quite safe even in the heart of England and Germany.

We have hitherto scarcely uttered any opinion as to the merits of M. Albèri's performance. We have simply given a summary view of the arguments brought forward by him in corroboration of his assumption, leaving it with our readers to form their own estimate of the subject. We will only venture so far as to observe that the Italian, and especially Tuscan ambassadors, although surprised by us, in their privacy with their wary and unprejudiced cabinets, were still likely to look with admiration and partiality towards a queen that reflected so much lustre on the name of their country, and to give the most favourable version of her actions and motives. Truly, as we have said, her best friends have, by their indiscreet encomiums, proved most fatal to her memory. Still we can not in every circumstance agree with M. Albèri, who seems to take every word in the documents he has brought into light as proofs of incontrovertible evidence. Of the fine, rich, high-flowing historical style, and of the truly masterly language made use of in the work, we can with more safety express our unqualified approbation; and we confess we have been often amused by some of the illustrations in his valuable appendix. Still, even in that mass of interesting historical materials we thought we could recognize something like juvenile exuberance. The long account of Mary Stuart's long wanderings and trial, the heroic death of the preux Chevalier Bayard, and other equally entertaining episodes of the great romance of the age, do not actually belong to, nor have they the power to throw much light upon, the life of Catherine. If M. Albèri wishes his name to stand high as an historian, and it is evident he does from his immense efforts to attain correct views of his subject, he must remember that all these adjuncts weaken the force of the main design and the high keeping of one grand unity of action.

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ART. VIII.—1. *Life of Washington*. By Jared Sparks. Boston, 1839.

2. *Life and Writings of Washington*. 12 vols. By Jared Sparks. Boston, 1839.

THE materials from which the life before us has been composed are of a very extensive character, consisting of MSS. at Mount Vernon, the birthplace of Washington, named after the conqueror of Porto Bello; public documents in London, Paris, and the United States; and private papers of the revolutionary chiefs. Washington himself left more than 200 folio volumes, over which the author has consumed ten years. Judicious selection out of such a mass of materials was especially needed, and we think has been discreetly used. A most unfair advantage, however, has been taken of the author by one of those pests of literature who seize on the labour of a life and convert the hived store of years to their own advantage. The author has published the *Life and Writings of Washington* in twelve volumes, and on the instant of its appearance an edition in two volumes, with the author's name, was published, to rob him of his just emolument. If a better spirit than this does not soon pervade the literary world, we shall cease to see any works, the production of high labour and research, and our era will be noted by posterity simply for its flippancy and superficiality.

George Washington, the subject of the memoir before us, was the great grandson of John Washington, who emigrated to America and who was sixth in descent from Lawrence Washington, of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire. The manor of Sulgrave was conferred on Lawrence Washington in 1538. He appears to have been of Gray's Inn, and for some time mayor of Northampton. His grandson of the same name had several children, two of whom, John and Lawrence Washington, emigrated to Virginia about 1657. This latter appears to have been a member of the University of Oxford. He and his brother John became opulent planters in Virginia. John, in whose line the subject of the present memoir is involved, rose to the rank of colonel from his services against the Indians. He had two sons, Lawrence and John. The elder of the two, Lawrence, had three sons, John, Augustine, and Mildred. Augustine, the second son, was twice married, and George Washington was the eldest son by the the second marriage. He was born on the 22nd of February, 1732. The father of Washington died at the early age of 49. Each of his sons inherited from him a separate plantation. Any estimate of the consideration of the Washington family, from their position as land-holders in a count v where acres are no evidence of

wealth, would, of course, be erroneous; but the father of Washington appears to have left his numerous children in a comfortable state of circumstances. The mother of Washington was left in charge of a numerous family. Washington, the eldest of five, was only eleven years of age when his father died. He received but slender advantages from education, since America at this period afforded little instruction worthy the name. He left school at sixteen, with some knowledge of geometry, trigonometry, and surveying, for which pursuits he always evinced a decided partiality. After quitting school he resided for some time with his half-brother, Lawrence, at Mount Vernon, where he became acquainted with Lord Fairfax, who had established himself in Virginia. Lawrence Washington had married into that family. Lord Fairfax, having a high opinion of George, commissioned him to survey his enormous estates, and the task was executed by him at sixteen to the entire satisfaction of his employer. In this survey Washington had his first interview with the Indians. At nineteen he obtained, through the Fairfax interest, the post of adjutant-general, with the rank of major in the militia of the country of Virginia. The pay was 150*l.* per annum. Scarcely, however, was he placed in the service, when the health of Lawrence Washington declining, George, from fraternal attachment, accompanied him to Barbadoes, where the physicians had ordered him for the sake of a warmer atmosphere. No relief being experienced, Lawrence determined to try Bermuda, and despatched George home for his wife. Ultimately finding no relief, he returned to Mount Vernon, and died at thirty-four years of age, leaving a wife and infant daughter. This event increased the sphere of George's duties, who, though the youngest executor, through his intimate acquaintance with his brother's affairs, had the principal management. But all these private matters he did not allow to interfere with public duties. Governor Dinwiddie had arrived in Virginia; the whole colony was portioned out into four grand divisions. Major Washington received the northern, and instituted a capital system of training and inspection with uniform manœuvring and discipline. Washington was now twenty-one.

At this period a dispute occurred between the French and English about land that virtually belonged to neither, and Washington was despatched by Governor Dinwiddie as commissioner, to confer with the officer who commanded the French forces. This officer intimated that he should not retire from the position he had taken up on the contested land, and that the Governor of Canada, the Marquis Duquesne, had given him instructions to that effect. Washington kept a bright look out while at the

French fort, and transmitted a plan of it to the British Government. His journey back to Williamsburg, where the governor then resided, was attended with much difficulty and danger. The governor immediately took measures to repel invasion. Washington's memoir of the French plans and intentions was considered, both in America and England, as a highly valuable document in illustration of French policy. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the six companies raised on this occasion, but the chief command was entrusted to Colonel Joshua Fry, an Englishman by birth, educated at Oxford, and highly esteemed for many excellent qualities. Colonial troops from New York and North Carolina were ordered to join them, commanded by officers with royal commissions. Washington, at the head of three companies, proceeded to meet the French, but soon learning that a small party in advance of him had been surprised, prepared for an engagement. He soon discovered that a small force of about fifty men were close at hand, a smart skirmish ensued, in which Jumonville, the French officer, fell, and nearly his whole detachment were either killed or made prisoners. It appeared afterwards that Jumonville was the bearer of a summons, but as he took no means to apprise Washington of this circumstance, he suffered the consequence of his own imprudence, if, indeed, the summons was not a mere feint.

Colonel Fry dying suddenly at Will's-creek on his way to join the army, the chief command devolved on Washington, who, anticipating a speedy attack as soon as the intelligence of the affair with Jumonville transpired, entrenched himself at a spot which he named Fort Necessity. He was here invested by a superior French force, and was compelled to capitulate, but did so with all the honours of war, drums beating and colours flying. Washington and his troops, however, received the thanks of the governor and council. This was Washington's first campaign, and though a stripling he had shown in it the powers of a veteran. A rigid disciplinarian, and yet beloved by his troops among circumstances of great danger, discontent, and difficulty. Early in the spring of 1754, General Braddock landed in Virginia with two regiments of the line; and though Washington had even resigned his commission from disgust at the governor's measures, he accepted, at the request of the general, the office of his aide-de-camp, in which he was to retain his former rank. Braddock advanced into the interior, and the place for general rendezvous was Will's-creek. Here the general found all his contractors for horses and waggons had failed in their engagements. The celebrated Franklin, then postmaster-general of the provinces, remedied this difficulty to some extent. The general, encountering with all kinds of diffi-

culties, advanced upon the French position at Fort Duquesne. Washington was seized with a violent fever on the march, and the general ordered him into the rear, with a solemn pledge that he should be brought up in front of the line before they reached the French fort. He continued thus two weeks, and only overtook the general the evening before the battle of the Monongahela. The issue of this fatal conflict is well known. It is an epitome of almost all American battles, where any effort to form into platoons and columns, which Braddock attempted, is a most fatal error. His troops were literally butchered by an invisible foe. Braddock himself received a mortal wound, but behaved throughout the entire engagement, as did also his officers, with heroic though useless bravery. Washington was not one to shun danger, and when the two other aides-de-camp were disabled, had the painful but honourable duty of executing alone the orders of the general. He rode in every direction, in the thickest of the fight, but escaped unhurt. "By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence," said he in a letter to his brother, "I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet I escaped unhurt although death was levelling my companions on every side of me." Out of eighty-six officers engaged in the battle twenty-four were killed and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates were 714. The enemy lost but forty. Their whole force amounted to only 850, out of which 600 were Indians. A lesson from which British officers might have profited on more than one occasion during the war. The enemy fought in deep ravines and the bullets of the British passed over them. Braddock dying of his wounds, was transported first on a tumbril, then on horseback, and at last carried by his men. He died on the fourth day from the battle, and was buried near Washington's ill-omened Fort Necessity. Had the general followed the advice of Washington and employed the Indians, who offered their services, which he strongly urged the general to accept, the issue might have been very different, and the consequences have led to events of a wholly distinct character. But, proud of a military skill as yet untried in America, the general refused to avail himself of these invaluable scouts. The Indians were rudely expelled, and that circumstance probably cost Braddock his life. An anecdote of an Indian chief, though such anecdotes are rather suspicious, appears to possess a greater air of *vrai-semblance*, being somewhat confirmed by Washington's letter to his brother, than many of similar character.

"Fifteen years after the battle of the Monongahela, Dr. Craik and Washington were travelling on an expedition to the western country

with a party of woodmen for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio rivers a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged chief. This person made known to them by the interpreter, that hearing Colonel Washington was in that region he had come a long way to meet him, adding that during the battle of the Monongahela he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and immediately ceased to fire at him. He was now come to pay homage to the man who was the particular favourite of heaven and who could never die in battle."

So well satisfied however were the members of the legislature of Virginia that all had been done that gallantry could effect, that three hundred pounds were granted by them to Colonel Washington, and proportionate sums to the officers and privates "for their gallant behaviour and losses" at the battle of the Monongahela. The governor, in a letter to the British ministry, spoke of Colonel Washington "as a man of great merit and resolution," adding "I am convinced if General Braddock had survived he would have recommended him to the royal favour which I beg your interest in recommending." Had this timely hint been taken the American Revolution might never have ensued, and "certainly," says our author, "no royal favour to Washington ever crossed the Atlantic." Washington now received the entire command of the newly organized force. At this period of his life he appears to have been liable to attacks from Venus as well as Mars, but from his peculiar modesty to have avoided declaring himself to any of the fascinating charmers of New York. Various disagreeable circumstances occurred over this part of Washington's career; but in spite of contradictory orders, and an Indian attack, he still persevered in his arduous duties; but the efforts were too much for his health, and his medical adviser insisted on his temporary resignation of his command. He accordingly retired to Mount Vernon, where he was confined four months in consequence of a violent fever. He resumed his command March 1st, 1758. The British ministry at this period planned an attack on Fort Duquesne, and General Forbes was ordered to take the command. Colonel Washington remained commander-in-chief of the Virginian troops, which were ordered out to assist in the attack. The French on the approach of the British evacuated Fort Duquesne, which received the name of Fort Pitt, in honour of that minister by whom the expedition against it had been concerted. Washington received an address at the close of the campaign from his officers, expressing their high estimation of

his numerous excellent qualities. Five years had now passed of Washington's life in the manner described, and prepared him for scenes of wider developement of purpose and action, should such occasions be ministered.

At this period he paid his addresses to Mrs. Martha Custis, to whom he was married on January 4th, 1759. She was three months younger than himself, and, judging from her portrait, which accompanies the present volume, a lady of considerable personal attractions. At the time of her marriage with Washington she had two children—a son and daughter—the former six, the latter four years of age. Mr. Custis had bequeathed large landed estates in New Kent County, and 45,000*l.* sterling in money. One-third part of this property she held in her own right, the other two-thirds being assigned to the children. This union lasted forty years, and Mrs. Washington appears, from her many excellent qualities, to have commanded esteem in private life, and high respect in all public situations. During the last campaign, Washington had been elected one of the burgesses in Virginia from Frederic County. His career as a senator is distinguished by practical wisdom, without, however, much power in wordy expression. When thanks had been voted to him for the distinguished services he had performed during the period we have just enumerated, he was totally unable to express his acknowledgment, and the speaker saved him further embarrassment by saying, “Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty equals your valour, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.” From this period till the beginning of the Revolution, fifteen years, Washington was constantly a member of the House of Burgesses, being returned by a large majority every election. He appears to have exercised himself in his favourite agricultural pursuits, and to have retired to Mount Vernon to enact the country gentleman. His favourite field sports were fox-hunting and fowling. But stormy periods, of which the Stamp Act was the precursor, were coming on, and roused him from his sylvan sports. He espoused, at the commencement of the Revolution, the notions of Henry Randolph, Lee, and other popular leaders. But the repeal of the Stamp Act was unfortunately not followed out by other conciliatory measures. The attempt on the part of some ill-advised members of the British government to infringe an integral principle of the constitution, in the view Americans took of it, that no subject could be taxed except by himself or his representatives, was unfortunately carried out in the colonies. Duties were laid accordingly on various articles, which excited strong sensations among the high-spirited Americans. Strictly speaking, it would certainly appear that, treating the question in

the light that the American interests had no representation in the British House of Lords and Commons, the colonists were justified in their opposition. But it was urged, had the representation of America by delegates sent to England been determined on in that stage of the proceedings, such a course would have been justifiable. It matters, however, we believe, but triflingly the cause of dispute: all colonists, from Corcyra downwards, have invariably, when convenient, invented some plea to get rid of the influence of the mother country. The actual loss to England was more than compensated by valuable East Indian possessions, and the expense of government, which is a far more costly thing in England than America, would have produced to England but small pecuniary advantages, if any, from the holding of these provinces. Their subsistence in their present form is impossible; and though extensively occupied in mercantile transactions, the merchants of the United States, New York especially, have shown themselves so little affected by the great leading laws of honourable acquittance of their obligations, that the American trade has sustained a blow that it will take nearly another century to recover. But enough is said on the painful subject of the shuffling and evasions of Jonathan. John Bull will, in the aggregate, be found his only friend, and possibly may soon be called on to defend Jonathan against himself. But we must recur to our narrative. The duties on goods excited universal discontent. Washington recommended arms as the "dernier resort;" but before they had recourse to this, to try the exclusive principle on British goods. The burgesses met, and denied the power of the British Parliament to impose taxes contrary to the constitution of the colonies. The Governor, Lord Botetourt, dissolved the assembly in consequence of this resolution. This dissolution had only the effect, however, of a reproduction of the same house. Many arguments were of course adduced at the time, of which the following brief summary may not be deemed unnecessary. The parties opposed to the right of taxation claimed Locke, Selden, and Puffendorf as authorities on their side. They also urged that Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights presuppose a community of representation, and that no man shall be taxed but by himself or a competent representative. The counties palatine of Chester and Durham were adduced as favouring this hypothesis, having their own parliaments until bleuded with the general representation. The marches of Wales possessed the same privileges, and even to this day Berwick upon Tweed has enjoyed the especial privilege of being a peculiar object of legislative provision, being included by name in all acts connected with the United Kingdom. The common argument, that an act of parliament can do

anything, was met by showing what it could not do. It could not make itself executive, nor interfere with the prerogative. It could not take away property from the private individual. The Lords could not reject money bills, nor the Commons (quere in the recent privilege question?) erect themselves into a court of justice; nor could the parliament of England then tax Ireland.

Such were the points then argued; but, as we have previously said, though eager to devise plausible excuses for throwing off subjection to the mother country, the secret at the bottom of their movements was the interest of the colony, which was considerably interfered with by the distant government of England. Lord Botetourt dying, the Earl of Dunmore succeeded him as governor of Virginia. He was compelled to resort to the same principle of prorogations until the 4th of March, 1773. But that assembly formed a committee of correspondence, and recommended the same to other legislative bodies, as a bond of union in any case of necessity. The next session, May, 1774, was accompanied with still stronger measures. After the assembly had been convened, news arrived that parliament had closed the port of Boston, and inflicted various other restrictions on the inhabitants, which were to commence on the 1st of June. The assembly immediately passed an order for a general fast, imploring the Divine interposition to avert the horrors of anarchy, and to give them a fitting spirit to assert their just rights by all proper means. The governor immediately dissolved the assembly. Washington writes in his Diary, that he "went to church" on the 1st, "and fasted all day." The delegates, however, eighty-nine in number, formed themselves into an association, and ordered the committee of correspondence to communicate with the committees of the other colonies on the expediency of appointing deputies to meet at a general congress. A town meeting had, in the meanwhile, taken place at Boston, in which it was agreed to enter into no commercial intercourse with Great Britain, either by imports or exports. Washington, at a meeting of the deputies, strongly opposed this last as a violation of honour, since the debts of the American merchants to the British would be uncanceled. America occupied then precisely the same position as America has since taken, but not with the honour that then distinguished her noblest sons. Washington, in a letter to Mr. Brian Fairfax, dated July 20, explains his own reasons for thinking that any further petitioning of the British Parliament would be an useless measure:—

"If I were in any doubt as to the right which the parliament of Great Britain had to tax us without our consent, I should most heartily coin-



cide with your opinion, that to petition and petition only is the proper method to apply for relief; because we should then be asking a favour and not claiming a right, which by the law of nature and of our constitution we are, in my opinion, indubitably entitled to. I should even think it criminal to go further than this under such an idea, but I have none such. I think the parliament of Great Britain have no more right to put their hands into my pocket without my consent, than I have to put my hands into yours: and this being already urged to them in a firm but decent manner by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect anything from their justice?"—p. 117.

The convention met at Williamsburg and appointed seven delegates to the general congress, Washington being one. The first congress met at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. The papers drawn up by Congress on that occasion even elicited an eulogium from Chatham. The pacific tone of Congress may be gathered from their address to the people of England. "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts but calumnies." Such might have been the sentiments of many, probably believed by Washington to be his own, but we trace over even his career great jealousy of British officers and the "pas" in rank conceded with some reluctance. When Congress was over, Washington retired to his farm, and as independent companies were forming all around him, and a leader would be required also, all eyes became fixed on Washington. The second Virginian convention met at Richmond on the 20th March, 1775. Preparations for resistance to the British arms were immediately instituted. On the 10th May, 1775, the second Congress assembled. The king had treated their petition to him with silent neglect, and vigorous preparations were strenuously employed to enforce the views of Lord North's cabinet. After much consideration, Washington was appointed by Congress leader of the continental army. His moderation of character may be seen in his address to the Congress on their allowance of 500 dollars a month to him as general. "I beg leave to assure Congress that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it; I will keep an exact account of my expenses, those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire." It may be safely added of Washington, that he was of that class who have greatness "thrust upon them." For though fully able "to achieve it," he would never have extended his hand to take it, from that inbred modesty, the true constituent of greatness, which he possessed. He was appointed by Congress commander in chief of all the forces then raised, or that should be

raised in the united colonies for the defence of American liberty. Washington proceeded in consequence to take the command of the army at that time at Boston. We cannot agree in the notion entertained by the author of the life before us, that General Gage acted wrong in refusing to recognize in Washington a person of equal rank with himself. Gage was the British commanding officer, and Washington was unquestionably, according to all military ideas, not authorized to treat with him, as being a rebel to the king, and in fact derived his authority from a body not acknowledged by his country, the Congress, and had he acted otherwise, he would have allowed the validity of the American local government, which was the question on which they were to wage battle. Washington had great difficulty during the early part of the campaign in keeping his forces together, but was by great exertions successful. Mrs. Washington passed the winter with her husband in the camp, and returned in the summer to Mount Vernon. A letter of Washington to his superintendent, Mr. Lund Washington, at Mount Vernon, reflects high credit on his prudence and thoughtful benevolence, even while wielding the destinies of a great nation.

"Let the hospitality of the house with respect to the poor be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness, and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity to the amount of £40 or 50 a year, when you think it well bestowed; what I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing, the greatest economy and frugality, as I suppose you know that that I do not get a farthing for my services here more than my expenses. It becomes necessary therefore for me to be saving at home."—p. 154.

General Gage had been superseded by General Howe in the command of Boston. Washington made preparations for a general attack, but Howe had received instructions from his government to evacuate Boston and make for a southern port. His own views varied from the government policy, but yet he did not choose to risk the responsibility of a general engagement in opposition to his instructions.

He accordingly prepared to evacuate the town, which he did without any injury, under a tacit engagement that the king's troops were to embark unmolested. This, being equally Washington's policy, since it was evident that by the evacuation the American cause gained immensely in popular report, was readily assented to by the republican chief, who was scarcely in efficient

force, though greatly superior in numbers, to make a successful attack. Medals were struck on the occasion, containing a head of Washington, and on the reverse the British fleet in full sail from the town. General Howe, as Washington suspected, simply quitted Boston to seize on New York. Washington received, while in front of New York, the declaration of independence from Congress. It was read in front of the line, and heartily received. This was July 9, 1776. Lord Howe arrived with proposals from the British government, and joined his brother at Staten Island, unfortunately after the declaration. But as the proposals simply contained a general amnesty, and nothing more, his tardy arrival was of little consequence. General Howe was soon reinforced, as he anticipated before he quitted Boston, at New York, and possessed an effective force of 24,000 men. His fleet was numerous and well equipped for service, and furnished with all kinds of military stores. Washington had only 20,537 men in all, and a large mass of his troops not in a state fit for service. The battle of Long Island ensued, on which we have simply to observe, that the loss sustained by Washington on that occasion appears to have proceeded from a want of a better concerted plan. His troops were attacked in front and rear, and though they defended themselves bravely, their position being turned, was of course fatal. As to the retreat, that is allowed by all parties to have been admirably conducted; but it is difficult to conceive how General Howe could have been so blind as to allow it, even in his haste to take up fresh positions, since he had it in his power to have put an end to the war apparently by the complete extermination of the republican force. We can conceive the policy of Washington in declining a general engagement, but it is hard to imagine how the British general should have permitted him to escape it. He effected a retreat, however, with all his ammunition and nine thousand men, into New York. He was however soon compelled to evacuate that city. A panic among his troops ensued on the arrival of the British, and Washington drew all his forces together in a strong position on the heights of Harlem. General Howe, though he received honours from his sovereign, wanted, like better commanders frequently, the talent to improve advantages. He wrote to England for fresh reinforcements, and stated that the information he had received of the willingness on the part of the Americans to volunteer in the British army, was not borne out by facts. The British ministry never supported him, nor Cornwallis, nor Clinton, as they ought to have done, and general after general requested to be recalled by reason of their inefficient supplies from home. But with respect to General Howe, he had, independent of any aid from

England, victory in his hands, but a victory that could only be achieved by bold and decided measures. After this, General Howe gained fresh advantages at Chatterton Hill, from which he ought to have attacked the enemy's camp. The capture of Fort Washington, where the Americans sustained in killed and prisoners a loss of nearly 2000 men followed; Fort Lee was next evacuated by them, and Washington was forced to retreat before the British troops. A free pardon at this time, issued by General Howe, produced great effect, many wealthy persons availing themselves of it; but Washington was undismayed by even the increased difficulties that now surrounded him. The Congress conferred on him almost absolute powers, and he used them well for the interests he supported. Compelled to cross the Delaware, he awaited quietly the opportunities that time should afford him. At Trenton he succeeded in surprising three regiments of Hessians and a troop of British light horse. His prisoners amounted to 1000 men. The issue of this campaign terminated favourably for America, since he succeeded in dislodging the British forces from almost all their posts in the Jerseys. He had relieved Philadelphia and recovered New Jersey. But General Howe now determined to check his progress, and the battle of Brandywine, where the forces drew pretty close on an equality, showed (though Marshall urges the contrary opinion) that he was still capable of doing so. The battle of German Town, where Washington attempted a surprise, was an equal failure. At this period, Lord North's conciliatory bills were drafted and sent out to America. Washington expressed his opinion of them in the following terms:

"Nothing short of independence it appears to me can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British nation were unprovoked, and have been so great and so many that they can never be forgotten. Besides the feuds, the jealousies, the animosities that would ever attend a union with them; besides the importance, the advantages which we should derive from an unrestricted commerce; our fidelity as a people; our gratitude, our character, as men, are opposed to a coalition with them as subjects but in case of the last extremity. Were we easily to accede to terms of dependence, no nation upon future occasions, let the oppressions of Britain be ever so flagrant and unjust, would interpose for our relief; or at most they would do it with a cautious reluctance, and upon conditions most probably that would be hard, if not dishonourable to us."

The commissioners to carry out these provisions remained for some time in America, but finding all attempts at conciliation useless, retreated in despair. The King of France recognized the independence of the United States,—a most shameful violation on

his part of the laws of European nations,—a foul treason to the interests of monarchy. Equal in treachery to the espousal of the cause of Corcyra by Athens, and attended with evil consequences too justly merited to the monarchical institutions of that country. The British had now taken Philadelphia; but the necessary arrangements to form a descent on the French West Indian settlements prevented General Clinton, who had assumed the command on the departure for England of Sir W. Howe, from remaining there, and he proceeded to New York. He marched out with an available force of simply 10,000 effective troops. Washington followed him with a much larger body. After a trifling battle, Sir H. Clinton succeeded in reaching New York, but, from desertion and other causes, with the loss of 1200 men. Many incursions were made at this time on New Jersey by the British, and in spite of one of the noblest monuments of modern oratory extant, Lord Chatham's speech, the Indians were called in to extend the horrors of war by the tomahawk and the scalping knife. A most ill-judged measure; which contributed immensely to the British unpopularity. Their devastations at Cherry Valley and Wyoming, ennobled by the muse of Campbell, excited universal detestation. Sir H. Clinton, by the instructions of his government, remained in New York, sending forth occasionally skirmishing parties. Washington confined himself to attempts at regaining several positions which had been taken from the Americans, and were reserved as outposts, in which he was successful. Clinton tried to bring him to a general engagement, but Washington maintained himself in a strong position, and bided his time. When reinforced, Clinton made an attempt on South Carolina. Washington also received assistance from France, consisting of eight ships of the line, two frigates, and five thousand troops. This was called the first division; a second was detained for want of transports, but was then at Brest ready to sail. But it never did sail, and remained there under close blockade. The naval superiority of the British enabled them also to keep the French ships perfectly close to harbour at Newport, and the French general Rochambeau was compelled to remain on the spot to take care of his ships. At this time Arnold commanded at West Point, and maintained all the strong positions in the highlands. This general conceived the notion that it would be to his interest to join the British, and he engaged in a system of refined treachery, by which he intended to place all the strong posts in their hands. He had been publicly reprimanded by Washington, and was unquestionably an embarrassed man. He accordingly entered into a secret correspondence with Major André, Adjutant-General of the British army. Arnold had obtained his command at West

Point purely with a view to deliver it into the hands of the enemy. Arnold and André had accordingly an interview on shore, André quitting the *Vulture* sloop-of-war for that object. Arnold here detailed the exact state of things at West Point, the strength of the garrison and works, and the proceedings of a secret council of war. André wished to return to the *Vulture*, but this not being practicable, Arnold furnished him with a pass as John Anderson. André was seized, although disguised, when riding towards New York, searched, and papers from Arnold, containing the information just stated, were found on his person. After his arrest he wrote to Washington, revealing his real name and character. Arnold in the meantime, to whom the officer who had arrested André had written stating the fact, immediately mounted a horse standing at the door, rode to the river, entered his barge, and ordered the men to row down the river. At King's Ferry he held up a white handkerchief, and by this means passed as a flag-boat without interruption. He proceeded instantly to the *Vulture*, which was still at anchor in the river where André had quitted her. The case of Major André was considered by Washington as not one of ordinary warfare, and accordingly André was sentenced to death as a spy. Clinton used all possible efforts to save him. The circumstances attending the last moments of André evinced a fine and noble spirit, and to this day his death is regarded as the strongest instance of severity exercised by Washington. As to the right of Washington to occupy the post he did, there always must be doubts, but conceding that, André suffered justly. At this period the British general conceived the notion of transferring the seat of war to the Chesapeake, and possibly Pennsylvania. It was presumed that Cornwallis would be able to make his way through North Carolina, and General Philips with 2000 men was sent to co-operate with Arnold in Virginia. During this portion of the campaign Washington's own possessions were visited by the enemy. Sir H. Clinton however had not calculated on the arrival of the Count de Grasse, who reinforced Lafayette with 3000 men. Cornwallis had taken possession of York Town and Gloucester, expecting aid from Sir H. Clinton. Here he was immediately invested, and after a strong siege, surrendered to the superior force opposed to him. 7000 men laid down their arms to Washington, 500 were killed in the siege. The American loss in killed and wounded amounted to 300. Were such things written of any modern general as are of the rash Burgoyne and Cornwallis, the wonderment would be, that the one should return home and write plays as coolly as if nothing had happened to the British arms of deep and foul dishonour through him, and that the other should ever have received a fresh command, and been enabled, as the

conqueror of Tippoos, to efface the taint of York Town. It must be however remembered that Clinton charged Cornwallis with blame, and Cornwallis Clinton. Blame lay between them certainly, and a tamer surrender, with so inconsiderable a loss under the circumstances, never disgraced the British arms. The surrender of the lieutenant-general of the British forces in America was regarded as ominous of a speedy termination of the war. It was so felt, and the spirit that led the Prætorian guards to become arbiters of empire, and in one instance *salesmen*, induced many of Washington's officers to offer him the sovereign power. To the organ of the communication, a colonel in the army, Washington replied as follows :—

"Sir—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence, and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of the matter will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army than I do; and as far as my powers and influence in a constitutional way extend, they shall be employed to the utmost of my abilities to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate as from yourself or any one else a sentiment of the like nature.

"I am, &c. &c.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

In this view of his character, contrasting also the future President with our ambitious Protector, his character is resplendently lustrous. The uncrowned brow of Washington, though we are no friends to American views, we freely own a glorious spectacle. But moderation and modesty were his distinguishing characteristics. Sir H. Clinton had been superseded by Sir Guy Carleton. This general, acting on the instructions of his government, stated that negotiations for a general peace had commenced at Paris, in which America would be included. After a short period, Sir Guy Carleton communicated the receipt of official communication that the treaty of peace was signed, and the British forces then evacuated New York.

With the termination of the war, Washington had also bid adieu to all his companions in arms; we extract the following description of this event from *Marshall's Life* :—

"This affecting interview took place on the 4th December, at noon, the principal officers of the army assembled at Frances's Tavern, soon after which their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." Having drunk, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand. General Knox being nearest, turned to him. Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand, and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving then, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus Hook, the whole company followed in meek and solemn procession with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and waving his hat, bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the said affectionate compliment, and after the barge had left them returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled."—*Marshall's Life*, Second Edition, vol. ii. p. 57.

He then proceeded to meet Congress, amid the blessings of the nation. Public addresses of all kinds were presented to him from the several legislatures of the States. When arrived at Annapolis, the seat of Congress, he informed the president that he was ready to resign into his hands the commission he had held for the service of his country.

"At the close of his address on this occasion, he said, 'Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate adieu to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.'

He then advanced, and gave his commission into the hands of the president, who replied to his address. The ceremony being ended, he withdrew from the assembly divested of his official character and sustaining no other rank than that of a private citizen.

Comparing that scene with the retirement of Sylla, how does Washington rise by the contrast!

Having now completed the military portion of Washington's character, most painful to an Englishman to record, since in strife, save against ourselves, we have our fair share of success, we have



only to review his quiet exercise of civil and domestic duties. He retired to Mount Vernon, and there this mightier than Cincinnatus amused himself with rustic pursuits, and seemed to consider his brilliant public career ended. The epithet of "Cunctator," had been conferred on him by his countrymen, and it was well deserved, for he had done more by delay than action. This policy pursued with any foreign powers must prove successful. A country must either at once be conquered under such circumstances, or it will by simply reposing its energies, and even faintly using them at intervals, destroy all opposing force. Washington rested from his labours like the sun at his setting, and glorious indeed to the remotest hour of his existence, as calmly beautiful though not so lustrously grand, was the course of the agriculturist warrior. Pecuniary compensation for his invaluable unmatched exertions he declined, and his feelings on retiring from military duties are beautifully depicted in the following letters to his idol, La Fayette:—

"At length I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac; and under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am so-lacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame, the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all, and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life with a heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order for my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

Having preserved, he afterwards set about beautifying the land he had saved, and his suggestions led to the survey of the Potomac and James Rivers with a view to internal navigation, which should connect them with the western waters. A company was immediately formed, and that company assigned him fifty shares in the former, and one-hundred in the latter. At his death he bequeathed the fifty shares in the Potomac company for the purpose of founding an university in the district of Columbia, and the one-hundred in James, to an institution then called Liberty Hall Academy, but now Washington College. The attachment of one of the greatest warriors of the last century, and unquestionably of the mightiest in this, to collegiate institutions, is a somewhat remarkable coincidence. Washington was Chancellor of William and Mary

College, Wellington is (may he long continue such !) the beloved and revered Chancellor of Oxford:—

"Cedant arma togæ, cedat laurea linguæ."

Many a quiet deed of Washington of a charitable nature has escaped commemoration, few indeed were the schemes to benefit mankind to which he did not lend aid and attentive consideration. The Countess of Huntingdon had formed a scheme for civilizing and christianizing the North American Indians. Descended from Earl Ferrers, who was in the female line connected with a remote branch of the Washington family, she claimed Washington as a kinsman, and imparted to him her project. It was in the first instance to effect missionary settlements where emigrants might assemble on wild lands and exert themselves to benefit the wandering tribes. Policy led to the rejection of the scheme, but Washington offered to let settlers occupy his lands, and to render them available to her ladyship's purposes. Like Scott, Washington took great delight in planting; the beauty of his grounds, the just intermixture of trees, shrubs, and evergreens, rare varieties of fruits and flowers were subjects on which he shewed intense interest, as his diary evinces. Pruning afforded him the same pleasure as it did the northern minstrel. But retirement, tranquil retirement, was with him nearly impossible, for visitors from all parts of the globe were constantly at Mount Vernon. The unsettled constitution of Congress at this period of his life, now fifty-four, must also have given him some uneasiness. Washington became appointed at this time one of the delegates to settle existing differences. He was at first unwilling to accept the office, wishing to make his retirement from public life final, but the entreaties of his friends prevailed over his own personal feelings. To be fully prepared to meet the convention, he had analyzed nearly all the ancient confederacies, the Lycian, Amphictyonic, Achæan, Helvetic, Belgic, and Germanic. He sought to detect all possible evil in the constitution of the United States, and to infuse good from any channel which the experience of ages might suggest. A somewhat different notion of republicanism to that which modern advocates for this system press forward, who think themselves fooled of the *past*, whereas they should read *present*. Washington's first visit on arriving at Philadelphia was to Franklin, President of that state. All the states were represented in the convention, Rhode Island excepted, and Washington was unanimously elected President. The result of their deliberations was the consolidation of the United States—a most difficult piece of legislation, since thirteen states had to be consulted and to assent to it, all varying in interests, wealth, and habits. Franklin said of it, "I consent to this constitution, because I expect no better and because I am sure it is not bad. The opinions I have of its

errors I sacrifice to the public good." Washington also thus expresses himself:—

"It appears to me little short of a miracle, that the delegates from so many states, different from each other in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government so little liable to well founded objections. Nor am I yet such an enthusiastic, partial, or indiscriminating admirer of it as not to perceive that it is tinctured with some real though not radical defects."—p. 403.

Each state convention transmitted to Congress a testimonial of its consent, signed by all its members. One day was appointed for the people to choose electors of a President, and another for the electors to meet and name the first President. Public sentiment was instantly directed to one and one only. Hints were thrown out to Washington that could not be misunderstood as to the general sentiments. To a member of congress he wrote his own thoughts on the subject in the following words.

"Should the contingency you suggest take place, and should my unfeigned reluctance to accept the office be overcome by a deference to the reasons and opinions of my friends, might I not, after the declarations I have made, (and Heaven knows they were made in the sincerity of my heart,) in the judgment of the impartial world and posterity be chargeable with levity and inconsistency, if not with rashness and ambition? Nay, further, would there not be some apparent foundation for the two former charges? Now, justice to myself and tranquillity of conscience require that I should act a part, if not above imputation, at least capable of vindication. Nor will you conceive me to be too solicitous for reputation. Though I prize as I ought the good opinion of my fellow citizens, yet as I know myself I would not seek or retain *popularity at the expense of one social duty or moral virtue*. While doing what my conscience informed me was right as respected my God, my country, and myself, I could despise all the party clamour and unjust censure, which might be expected from some, whose personal enmity might be occasioned by their hostility to the government. I am conscious that I fear alone to give any real occasion for obloquy, and that I do not dread to meet with unmerited reproach. And certain I am, whensoever I shall be convinced, the good of my country requires my reputation to be put to the risk, regard for my own fame will not come in competition with an object of so much magnitude. If I declined the task, it would be upon quite another principle. Notwithstanding my advanced season of life, my increasing fondness for agricultural amusements, and my growing love of retirement, augment and confirm my decided predilection for the character of a private citizen, yet it would be no one of these motives, nor the hazard to which my former reputation might be exposed, nor the terror of encountering new fatigues and troubles, that would deter me from an acceptance, but a belief that some other person, who had less pretence and less inclination to be excused, could execute all the duties full as satisfactorily as myself."

His scruples yielded to the general acclamation, and George

Washington, then fifty-seven years of age, was chosen, as Mr. Sparks rightly says, "probably without one dissentient voice in the whole nation, the first President of the United States."

He took upon him the severe duties of the presidency with decided reluctance, and simply from a sense of duty yielded to the voice of the nation. Jefferson was appointed by him to the state department; or, as we should term it, foreign secretary; Hamilton to the treasury, and Henry Knox secretary of war. Randolph was attorney-general, and Jay chief justice. All appointments of a subordinate character were filled up with more regard to the fitness of the individual for the office, than to any interest which might be made on his behalf. Washington travelled throughout the States to inspect their trading and agricultural interests, in order that he might not be unduly swayed by reports unfounded on fact. He recommended, in his speech to Congress, laws for naturalizing foreigners; a uniformity in the currency, weights and measures; the encouragement of agriculture, commerce and manufactures; the promotion of science and literature, and an effective system for the support of public credit. The national debt of America was of two kinds, foreign and domestic. The foreign debt amounted to twelve millions of dollars. The domestic to forty-two millions. The States also, for works of defence and other matters, had individually contracted debts to the amount of twenty-six millions. It was proposed by the secretary to treat all these as one debt and to fund them. All persons were of one opinion with respect to the foreign debts, but on the other two there existed considerable difference of sentiment. The funding system was adopted, and there is no doubt that it received the sanction of Washington both in his private judgment and public capacity. War with the Indians, of a most expensive and protracted character, soon became inevitable, but was undertaken with deep regret by Washington. A national bank, somewhat famous in modern days, not to use a worse epithet, was commenced, and taxes were laid on ardent spirits distilled in the States. In all the above measures Hamilton is to be looked upon as the great mover, since they were nearly all opposed by Jefferson. Between him and Hamilton differences of a nature wholly irreconcilable soon occurred. The next great measure was the regulation of the number of electors to each member of congress, and after some discussion, and one bill being thrown out on the authority of Washington alone, it was fixed at the ratio of one member to 33,000 electors. These measures being achieved, Washington's first presidency of four years terminated. But the unsettled state of the public mind induced Jefferson, Hamilton, and Randolph, all to concur in representations to Washington of the immense importance of his re-election. He had prepared

a farewell address, and obviously designed to quit office for ever. He accepted it however in consequence of the judgment of his friends, who united in one common sentiment as to the expediency of his retention of office. War ensued at this period between France and England. America decided on a strict neutrality. But for this measure, probably, however it may be branded by the democrats, the political existence of America had terminated, save as matter of history. Hence arose the two great parties of America, the Federalists and the Democrats. The French ambassador at this time, Mr. Genet, fitted out privateers under the American flag for reprisals upon England, a circumstance which drew down the remonstrance of Great Britain. These proceedings were forcibly suppressed by the President. Genet lost all command over himself, accused the President of usurping the powers of Congress, and talked of an appeal to the people. Particulars of all these matters were drawn up and forwarded to the French government, with a request that they would recall their ambassador. Genet however was the cause of the formation of associations, the curse of any land—democratic societies, in imitation of the Jacobin clubs of France. Their object and influence are thus described by Washington.

“That these societies were instituted by the artful and designing members (many of their body, there is no doubt, mean well, but know little of the real plan), purposely to sow among the people the seeds of jealousy and distrust of the government, by destroying all confidence in the administration of it, and that these doctrines have been budding and blowing ever since, is not new to any one who is acquainted with the character of their leaders and has been attentive to their manœuvres. Can any thing be more absurd, more arrogant, or more pernicious to the peace of society, than for self-created bodies [Read this, Precursors and Repealers !], forming themselves into permanent censors, and, under the shade of night, in a conclave resolving that acts of Congress, which have undergone the most deliberate and solemn discussion by the representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose, and bringing with them from the different parts of the Union the sense of their constituents, endeavouring, as far as the nature of the thing will admit, to form their will into laws for the government of the whole ; I say, under these circumstances, for a self-created body (for no one denies the right of the people to meet occasionally to petition for or remonstrate against any act of the legislature), to declare that *this act* is unconstitutional, and *that act* is pregnant with mischiefs, and that all, who vote contrary to their dogmas, are actuated by selfish motives, or under foreign influence, nay, are traitors to their country ? Is such a stretch of arrogant presumption to be reconciled with laudable motives, especially when we see the same set of men endeavouring to destroy all confidence in the administration, by arraigning all its acts, without knowing on what ground or with what information it proceeds ?”

Our author, though a republican, does not appear to hold the

democratic party in high estimation. We extract, for the benefit of Mr. O'Connell, his description of this pest of nations.

"Demagogues are the natural fruit of republics, and the fabled Upas could not be more poisonous or desolating to the soil from which it springs. Envious of his superiors, panting for honors which he is conscious he can never deserve, endowed with no higher faculties than cunning and an impudent hardihood, reckless of consequences, and grovelling alike in spirit and motive, the demagogue seeks first to cajole the people, then to corrupt, and last of all to betray and ruin them. When he has brought down the high to a level with himself, and depressed the low till they are pliant to his will, his work is achieved. The treachery of a Catiline or Borgia may be detected by a fortunate accident and crushed in its infancy; but the demagogue, under his panoply of falsehood and chicanery, may gradually sap the foundations of social order, and his country may be left with no other recompense for the ruin he has wrought, and the misery he has caused, than the poor consolation of execrating his name."

The British cruisers also, as well as the French, at this period were considered as violating the neutrality observed by America, in seizing vessels bound to any French port and sending them to some convenient port where the cargoes might be purchased. This laid the foundation for the American navy, and a system of maritime defence became absolutely necessary. An ambassador, Mr. Jay, was despatched at this period to arrange all existing differences with Great Britain, and active preparations for war were carried on, to be ready in the event of the failure of the negotiation. Great Britain had, since the establishment of the constitution, sent an envoy to the United States. Mr. Jay negotiated the treaty, and it arrived in America in March, 1795. Washington, after a minute examination, determined on its acceptance. The constitution provided that all treaties should be ratified by the senate and the president. He summoned that body in consequence, and laid before them the draft. Violent discussions ensued on the subject, but the treaty was assented to by a constitutional majority, and Washington signed it as president; and to the ratification on the part of the senate, which made one exception only, assent was given by the British government. The great points urged by the opponents of the treaty, and reported by them to have been neglected, were, the imprisonment of seamen, neutral rights, and colonial trade, which, as our author says, "have never yet been settled, and are never likely to be settled satisfactorily while England maintains the ascendancy she now holds on the ocean." But popular excitement was not yet at an end. When the treaty was presented to Congress as ratified by the British government, a large majority of the members requested the president to lay before the house

the instructions of Mr. Jay, and the other memoranda connected with this proceeding. Washington knew that by the constitution the power to form treaties rested simply in the chief magistrate and the senate, and he considered this attempt of the representatives as an encroachment on that power. However suspicion might dog his conduct, Washington determined on doing his constitutional duty, and he refused to furnish the required documents. He gave, however, reasons for his refusal, and powerful and energetic were his remonstrances. He said the power of making treaties rested exclusively in the president, with the consent of the senate; that, as a member of convention, he knew this was the impression of the founders of the constitution; this construction, he urged, had hitherto been embraced by the representatives, and also that resistance to a novel principle in the state was equally the duty of the president and every well-wisher to the constitution. He further pointed out the vacillating policy that must result from the change, and the want of confidence in the ratification of treaties that must ensue. After violent debates, a majority of the representatives passed the treaty. The termination of Washington's second presidency now approached, and though earnest remonstrances were made that he would still continue his public services, he was now fully determined to retire from public life. His farewell address was published six months before his term of office had expired. It is regarded by Americans as unrivalled in soundness of views, wisdom of policy, and benevolence of intention. If the composition is to be ascribed to Hamilton, there can be no doubt that the strong sense it embodied is to be traced to the clear mind of Washington. It was incorporated into the laws of most of the States, both from affection to the author and admiration of its contents. His last words to congress were as follows:

"The situation in which I now stand for the last time in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced; and I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler and Sovereign Arbiter of nations that His providential care may still be extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may still be preserved; and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

His administration has never been equalled by succeeding presidents. Credit was restored, the national debt secured, and means for its ultimate payment provided; commerce prodigiously increased; tonnage in American ports doubled; imports and exports both augmented; a larger revenue produced than had

been calculated on; the Indian War terminated; foreign treaties, all honourable and advantageous to American interests, ratified. Even the election of his successor, Adams, a federalist, like himself, proved the magic of the name and measures of Washington. He retired to his beloved Mount Vernon, but he was not even then to bid adieu, even at sixty-five, to the arduous duties that unquestionable ability entails on its possessor, he was fated to die—

“ Like a warrior taking his rest,  
With his martial cloak around him.”

An open rupture with France appeared at hand. France herself being in a state of revolution, and disposed to violate wantonly every moral, social, religious, and political principle. The instant war appeared necessary all eyes were turned on Washington. Hamilton immediately wrote to him to apprise him of the sacrifice that he would again be compelled to make, and a letter from the president Adams intimated to him their intentions: “ We must have your name if you will permit us to use it. There will be more efficiency in it than in many an army.” Before receiving any reply, the president had nominated him commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. It was unanimously confirmed on the 3rd July, 1798. From this time to the close of existence, Washington busied himself in military matters, and in supplying from his veteran experience information to his raw recruits. France, however, never seriously contemplated the invasion of America from the instant she saw the nation bestirring herself. Buonaparte then came into power, and settled all matters with America amicably.

This adjustment of differences, however, Washington never lived to witness, dying in command of the army destined to operate against her ancient allies. On the 12th Dec. 1799, he had ridden round to his farms as usual, and returned late in the afternoon, wet and cold from the rain and sleet. The waters had penetrated through his clothing to his neck. A sore throat and hoarseness on the next day soon gave evidence that he had taken cold. He did not seem to apprehend any danger, passed the evening with his family, and after some pleasant converse retired to bed. He was seized in the night with ague, and on Saturday, the 14th, his breath and speech became impaired. One of his overseers bled him at his request, and a messenger was sent to his friend, Dr. Craik, who lived ten miles off. Dr. Craik and two other physicians arrived on that day. Their united efforts proved useless. Towards evening he said to Dr. Craik, “ I die hard, but I am not afraid to die. I believed from my first attack that I should not survive it. My breath cannot last long.” He thanked the physicians for their kindness, and re-



quested them to give themselves no further trouble, but to let him die quietly. He kept sinking gradually, and almost the instant before dissolution felt his own pulse. His countenance then underwent a change. His hand dropped from his wrist, and he expired. His country paid to his memory, all that then remained to her of her Washington—every possible tribute of gratitude and affection. France, then a republic also, paid due honours to the republican chief; and England, as far as the example of Lord Bridport, then commanding the fleet, may be given in proof, tendered a sincerer tribute still, by lowering her flag half-mast on the news of Washington's decease. He had commanded during life the applause of many distinguished men, Fox and Erskine may be adduced among others. The former said of him, "Notwithstanding his extraordinary talent and exalted integrity, it must be considered as singularly fortunate, that he should have experienced a lot which so seldom falls to the portion of humanity, and have passed through such a variety of scenes without stain and without reproach. It must indeed create astonishment that placed in circumstances so critical, and filling for a series of years a station so conspicuous, his character should never have been called in question;—that he should, in no one instance, have been accused either of improper insolence or of mean submission in his transactions with foreign nations. To him it was reserved to run the race of glory without experiencing the smallest interruption to the brilliancy of his career."

Erskine wrote to Washington as follows:

"I have taken the liberty to introduce your august and immortal name in a short sentence, which will be found in the book I send you. I have a large acquaintance among the most valuable and exalted class of men; but you are the only human being for whom I have felt an awful reverence. I sincerely pray God to grant a long and serene evening to a life so gloriously devoted to the universal happiness of the world."

Washington certainly combined materials that wonderfully fitted him for the position he had to occupy. As a leader he appears calm, calculating, brave as his own sword, yet free from the general accompaniment of personal bravery—reckless hardihood. It is possible that all this might not have told in a wider scene of action, and his mind certainly does not seem to have possessed so much reach as many men of inferior note have shewn; but nature had well mixed ingredients in her cauldron when he was formed, and, taken in a whole, his powers must be considered large. As a writer, his style is greatly defective in succinctness and elegance, and coherence of sentences; but a fine broad line of common sense and judicious reasoning is discernible throughout all he

wrote. There are strong affinities of character and disposition between him and Scott; yet was he neither imaginative nor loyal, like that distinguished writer. Still, in the gentle placidity of their natures, there is a wondrous resemblance. They did not think alike on many subjects, save on the immutable forms of moral law, on which they were both agreed, and of which they were punctually observant. Probably the Bard of Cavaliers might not have considered this comparison complimentary, but a resemblance there is both in habits and intellect and piety. On this latter point we think it fitting to say a few words. Washington never appears, in the latter years of his life, to have taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, though a constant attendant at church, and always advocating the cause of religion. We are inclined to think that he was rather a latitudinarian in his religious notions; since it is difficult to conceive a churchman, when dying, not outwardly testifying his faith, and uttering prayers for his soul. Possibly the character of Washington led him to much internal musing and inward untraced supplication of God. His character possessed great moral goodness, his life was free from reproach, and his external devotions were constant. Still it is difficult to reconcile such a death with the holy and ennobling hopes of Christianity. Something of such a system, if held deep at the heart, must have evinced itself. We do not say this reproachfully over the warrior's bier, but to us it would have been most satisfactory, and to the world more strongly evidential of a firm indwelling hope, had there been even a slight development of the holy bodements of futurity. Still, in the duties of his public station, in his charity to the poor, in the constant ascription of all his successes to the Divine Being, in the offices of son, husband, and brother, in his warm and generous friendship to his military associates, and especially La Fayette, in his love to his country, there are no points of reproach, but in all these offices he appears to merit the highest commendation. "Non omnia possumus omnes."

In this combination of qualities is to be found the power of Washington. On him we conclude our remarks, in the language of his latest biographer:

"It is the harmonious union of the intellectual and moral powers, rather than the splendour of any one trait which constitutes the grandeur of his character. If the title of great man ought to be reserved for him who cannot be charged with an indiscretion or a vice, who spent his life in establishing the independence, the glory, and durable prosperity of his country, who succeeded in all that he undertook, and whose successes were never won at the expense of honour, justice, integrity, or by the sacrifice of a single principle, this title will not be denied to Washington."

The laborious and accurate work, to which the life we have reviewed, is prefixed, we are happy to learn, has been extremely successful in America. It is stereotyped, and more than 6,000 complete sets have been already sold. It is still selling with considerable briskness in the Southern and Western States where literature permeates with slower course than in those bordering on the Atlantic, by reason of the distance from Boston, the place of publication, and the difficulties of conveyance. In the remaining eleven volumes Mr. Sparks has adopted an arrangement of his multifarious materials into five parts; the first embracing official letters relating to the French War, and private correspondence before the American Revolution, from 1754 to 1775, two volumes; second, correspondence and miscellaneous papers relating to the American Revolution, from June 1775 to 1783, six volumes; third, private letters from the time Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the army to his first presidency, from 1783 to 1789, one volume; fourth, letters official and private from the beginning of his presidency to the end of his life, from 1789 to 1794, two volumes; fifth, speeches and messages to Congress, proclamations and addresses, one volume; laborious indices follow. If Washington has not found a Homer to give to actual exploits ideal glory, he has at least obtained a faithful and affectionate biographer, who has given him to the world as he was, and few are the spirits that could have so well withstood its scrutiny, or have less needed fiction to embellish them. Whether we look on the private correspondence or the public documents of Washington, he appears (reserving the question of his allegiance to the British Crown) to merit equally the position he attained. To his biographer it must have been deeply gratifying to trace in his writings "no line which, dying, he might wish to blot;" in his actions no moral intemperance, to be extenuated or defended by the force of circumstances; but a singular faultlessness, a wondrous freedom from all the vices that have stained, degraded, and dimmed the lustre of many a belted chief, many a crowned king, and many a mitred sovereign.

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# CRITICAL SKETCHES

OF RECENT CONTINENTAL PUBLICATIONS.

ART. IX.—*Les Barbares, Byzance et Rome*, par Christian Müller, Dr. (Barbarians, Byzantium and Rome, by Dr. Müller.) Geneva. 1839.

THE work before us contains a most ingenious and beautiful statement of the oriental origin of the German nation. It is written in a spirit of fair inquiry, and well calculated, from the multiplicity of topics embraced in it, to reward amply the time consumed on the interesting work. By various singular stages of induction the author contrives to establish abundantly the Indo-Germanic origin. Language, mythology, common rites, customs, and etymons, are all called to his aid, and when adduced are generally conclusive. The word *German* he conceives to be of Roman origin, from *Germanus*, brother, and to have relation to the wild and careless freedom of the early tribes who, in independent clanship, acknowledged no superior. His etymon of Wehrman, or Herman, from which the Roman name Arminius is derived, together with the Persian Irman, implying a brother in arms, are all evident marks of common origin in some primitive tongue. He is here quite at issue with the celebrated Lipsius, who derived the word *Germanus* from *gerra*, war, war-man. Equally singular and striking, it must be owned, is the analogy between *runah*, the Arabic for *magic*, and *Runes*. But though apparent traces exist of tribes springing near the ancient Getæ and the Goths being one and the same nation, yet does the character of the people vary extremely, for the Goths, however we may feel inclined to the contrary opinion, from the early misapplication of the words Goth and Barbarian as synonymous, certainly did not injure, to any extent, the monuments of ancient Rome, if we give credit to Orosius. Theodoric the Goth, Boethius and Cassiodorus, we well know, used their united efforts to teach Gothic and Latin, and Byzantine habits naturally induced Theodoric to infuse some portion of Greek science and literature among his people; and while the Goths occupied Italy it was very differently circumstanced to what it afterwards became under the sole sway of the cultivated but effeminate Byzantines. In effect, the mythology of the Goths must have possessed great influence over the passions of a barbarous age—and how cold does the semi-philosophic legend of Greece look by its side! The Goth and the Greek had each his superstition, but the striking boldness of outline of the first, in all its pure orientalism, ere men philosophized on the ancient legend, or Socrates and Plato had ennobled mythology by making it speak out with more than the words of the maddened Pythoness, with some infusion of the super-sensuous, must have had wondrous charms for the wild and singular people among whom it had flourished in their own clime, and been transplanted thence in their settlement in the land of the conquered stranger. Valda, the Valkyrs, Elfs, Undines, Dwarfs, Giants, Odin, Thor, the Intermediate State, the mysterious Hölle, the abode of Balder, all these were sung before Theodoric and his chiefs and the bold Goths preferred the rough minstrelsy of the Scald, embodying, as it did, their earliest associations, to the more polished tones of a music, however fine, still less free than the wild and bold descant that the harp of the north

rung forth. The most celebrated version of the Bible also, it must be remembered, the most glorious literary monument of the time, the version of *Ulfilas*,\* owes its origin to this people, and the rise of the chivalrous ballad may be traced probably to the court of Theodoric long before the Troubadour had poured forth his blended Paganism and Christianity, as we trace them in the *Fabliaux* of Le Grand. The Frank and the Saxon occupied certainly, at this period, an inferior position to the Goth. Yet does the whole spirit of the British Church of that age partake of the independence that characterized the Goth. The Anglo-Saxon Church certainly manifested an anxious desire to proselyte all surrounding nations to its faith, and to maintain this perfect independence of Rome, which only tardily canonized these early diffusers of the Word from this very circumstance. Anglo-Saxon convents produced the celebrated Boniface, the venerable Bede, the learned Alcuin, and many others. Boniface, though unjust to Virgilius, who was, like Galileo, too philosophical for his age, was unquestionably a great character, a man of a single object, to which he sacrificed himself in the issue. Our readers may possibly thank us for transcribing the form of the baptismal confession of his period, which is curious:—"Ik forsacho diabole end allum diabolgelde end allum diabolos werkum end wordum, Thunach ende Woden ende Saxnote, end allum then unholdum the hira genatas sint." "I renounce the devil and all devil's money, and all devil's works and words, Thunder and Woden and Saxonism and all devilries." This form, which is still nearly intelligible, though of the seventh century, to the British student, retains a strong affinity to our present language. Anglo-Saxon has not, however, stronger affinities with English, as at present spoken, than German possesses with respect to Sanscrit, the Zend and Greek. In taking German, it must be remembered we seize on a language of the widest possible separation from the great common type of languages in Asia, and if the analogy hold here, it is scarcely necessary to observe that it will be greatly more observable in those languages of apparently easier affinity, and later separation from the common fatherland, at the first glance.

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\* *Ulfilas* took the ancient alphabet and the Runic letters for this version, and by this means succeeded in getting his work into a shape in which the Goths could read it. By the translation he made an immense step towards the civilization of his people. It is the noblest monument of the Teuton extant, and the first writing of the middle ages. The university of Upsal preserves the fragments of a precious MS. which in the thirty years' war was carried by the Swedish soldiers into Bohemia. It is on purple parchment, with gold and silver letters, and has received the appellation of the *Codex Argenteus*. It is bound in silver, set with precious stones. Another MS. of this translation existed in the Wolfenbuttel library, the *Codex Carolinus*. We are indebted to the indefatigable researches of the celebrated Angelo Maio, when Ambrosian librarian, and now guardian over the treasures of the Vatican, for the identification of these MSS. with the labours of *Ulfilas*. The resuscitator of Cicero discovered a MS. in perfect preservation under the name of *Ulfilas*, containing entire books of the version in question, an epistle of St. Paul, and fragments of the Old Testament, taken from Ezra and Nehemiah. Who will give up in despair all hope of the lost treatise "*de Gloria*" extant in the time of Petrarch, the defective decads of Livy, or even elder MSS. of the Scriptures than the present, while these discoveries are making in our own time, while the mummy pits remain unexhausted, and Herculaneum and Pompeii still buried under that crust of ages, that science continues daily to penetrate?

Sanscrit and German—Bhrater, Bruder; Hrti, Hertz; Lobhi, Liebe; Nama, Name; Tura, Thür; Bhara, Bahre; Sam, Zusammen; Sevara, Schwur.

Zend and German—Hechle, Eichel; Frem, Freund; Heso, Heiss; Jare, Jahr; Geie, Geist; Dogde, Tochter, Daughter (A).

Between the German and Greek the analogy becomes yet closer, as we should naturally expect from the later subsistence of that tongue, and also from the intercourse of the Greek with all countries, which has evidently been far greater than is generally supposed, and on which a most interesting paper might be framed.

Greek and German—*λύχος*, licht; *πατήρ*, Vater; *σμιρίζω*, schmierem; *φάυλος*, faul; *ἑλη*, Helle; *κίστη*, Kiste; *κηρυσσω*, Ich kreische; *χαρ*, Heer; *κρωζω*, Ich krächze; *κλαγγη*, Klang.

In these powerful instances the native force of the German is never lost, and though we contend against the authority of Tacitus, who gives to them the honour of being indigenous to their land, we still argue that they retained more vividly their oriental originality than other tribes from the same common stock. Tacitus of course was not enabled to judge them save from very loose grounds of conviction to the philologist. His words, "Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos nullis aliis aliarum nationum connubiis infectos propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse," are confirmed by very weak physical arguments. The German language evidently possessed some of its present roots, which are cited by Pliny, even in the first century. Ulfilas, in his version of the four Gospels, gives us a fair specimen of the Gothic branch of this tongue, which bears an extraordinary affinity to the modern German.

GOthic.

Alter unsar thu in himmam,  
Werthnai namo thain.  
Cimai thin dinassus thains, &c.

GERMAN.

Vater unser du im Himmel  
Geweiht sey Name dein.  
Komm zu uns Reich dein, &c.

The language and nation fell together. Gothic was spoken even in the ninth century, and all traces have since been lost save in the Crimea and Basque provinces. Anglo-Saxon fell with its cognate language, and on this head we cannot but regret that so little attention has been paid by us to this interesting study, even in the bare connection with our own annals. The parruck, the croft, the lease, the summer-lease, the ox-lease, the mead, the warth, the plash, the hanging, the linch acre, as a distinguished modern scholar remarks, still mark the ancient affinity with our present language. Anglo-Saxon shares the fate of all oriental languages, which are not in fashion at our universities, and the only recent attempts at orientalism evidently do not tend to produce more than a low kind of smattering, to give a moderate fitness for judicial respectability in India. To fix scholarship examinations, as has been recently done in Greek and Hebrew, is the sure method to obtain no student good for anything in either, since either pursuit is quite adequate to occupy the attention *per se* of a youth of seventeen. The Anglo-Saxon of the fifth century offers, in the following extract from the Lord's Prayer, a very close analogy to our own language:

“ Faeder ure thu the eart on heofenum,  
Si thin nama gehalgot.  
Tho be cume thin rice.”

While upon the subject of Anglo-Saxon, to which we regret we cannot afford more space in the present number, we have to direct the attention of our readers to a recent work on the “Progress and Present State of Anglo-Saxon Literature in England,” by Potheram, published by Lumley. Our present limits do not enable us to do more than to recommend it, as furnishing a complete analysis of the subject, indicating to the uninitiated in Anglo-Saxon the correct sources of information, and pointing out, even to the learned in that tongue, many points which they might neglect to notice or pass by in the course of rapid investigation. It is also without any portion of that extreme self-sufficiency which so peculiarly characterises the lucubrations of one gentleman on that subject, exhibiting superior accuracy, and the best test of genuine acquirement—modest pretensions.

After this period, the Latin being used for devotional purposes, gradually produced a disuse of the northern languages; and those modelled on it, or who admitted this dialect most largely into their own tongue, became the circulating medium of the world. But German stood aloof from all admixture in its original purity, and it awaited only the powers of Lessing or Goethe, or similar masters of their own tongue, to throw before the world its yet untried powers, and to exhibit the wondrous gems that lay rough in the quarry until worked into brightness by men of hardihood, equal to the material elaborated. Yet around this language hangs still the Runic spell. The German can say nothing, can think out nothing as other nations do, and he aims at what his people did of yore ere his Runes became letters. Words fail to convey his meaning, and he would fain unite in his style symbols of mysterious bodement as the Runes. Giant in conception, his ideas are as vast as that Runic inscription carved by the Danish king, now extant, occupying a space of ninety feet. Yet were it doing him foul injustice not to grant him, even when unsuccessful, the praise of the luckless charioteer of old:

“Magnis tamen excidit ausis.”

His work is yet to be cut out for him, and his giant strength limited to the possible; and what may not be his influence on civilization. If the effeminate sunk before him, who dwelt in the gay palaces of Byzantium, who shall stay him save by a manliness of spirit equal to his own. And though the German mind will never approach the unattainable elegance of the Greek, yet it will closely resemble its own glorious Gothic, which though defective in many points, is yet unequalled and amply mates by rival excellences even the purity of the school of Athens. We may have much of Byzantine extravagance, much of the monstrous, much of the unattainable attempted, but still shall we see the grand, the glorious, the dimly-shadowed but pure outlines of graceful tracery, the vague, the vast, the infinite, and in these glories who will more exult and strive to emulate them than that nation, both the love and imitation of the Ger-

mans, kindred in Saxon spirit, kindred in common manliness, kindred in all the noblest affections of the heart, aping no merit that it does not possess, and claiming the high vantage-ground of leading Europe in arts, in science, and religion.

ART. X.—*Catholska Ligan och Huguenotterna. Historisk Tidsskildring*, af ABB. CRONHOLM. Lund, 1839. pp. viii. 510. 8vo. (The Catholic League and the Huguenots, an Historical Sketch, by Cronholm.)

CRONHOLM is a young and very promising Swedish author, already distinguished for his "*Wäringarne*" and "*Forn-Nordiska Minnen*." His situation of additional assistant-lecturer on history in the university of Lund, has naturally tended to preserve the direction of his mind to historical researches.

The work before us is full of merit. It is terse, energetic, and laboriously worked out. The best sources have been indefatigably made use of, and a satisfactory completeness pervades the whole. But in this, as in his other productions, we recognize the annalist, rather than the historian. We have none of those philosophical views of the causes and bearings of historical facts, without which history falls back into a *journal des événements*. We find no grouping, no painting, no *chiaro oscuro*. A uniform monotony, and a short stiff style of composition, inform us indeed of what happened, but without either lighting up our understanding, so that we see and grasp the whole historical horizon, or affecting our passions, so that we quickly individualize and eagerly follow the characters brought before us. Towards the close of his work, indeed, the author seems to have warmed a little with his subject, and we read this portion with greater pleasure and interest. As we have nothing in English on the whole so complete, we shall give one or two extracts of passages likely to interest our countrymen. Thus the following description of the Huguenots, under Henry II., during the residence of the young Mary Stuart at the French court, is clear and instructive:

"If we turn to the interior of France we shall discover, it is true, the seeds of inward ferment and warlike movements, but still as yet neither remarkable nor developed, nor possessing that character of force and bitterness which was gradually produced by persecution and opposition. In Paris the mass, the immense majority of the inhabitants, were Catholic. Such men of science and members of the parliament as thought differently from the Church, for the most part disinclined to embrace the whole system of the Reformation, wishing in general only the abolition of abuses, and in so far as these abuses regarded the State rather than the Church, their opposers bore the name of Politici. Next to Paris, the Reformed were strongest in Meaux and in Orleans. In Burgundy the Reformation had penetrated only to the eastern border. Lyonnais was warmly attached to Catholicism. The castles of the nobles along the banks of the Rhone had been thrown open to the doctrines of the Genevan priests; so also were the cities at the foot of the Alps. Provence was as orthodox as Spain. The Holy Virgin and the saints had still their zealous worshippers, and spiritual brotherhoods excited the fanaticism of the masses as a shield against



all attempts to introduce dangerous novelties. In Languedoc were still found some recollections of the Albigenes. Many of the noblesse, enraged at the multitude of the estates of the nobles which had been bequeathed to churches and cloisters, supported the Reformation. The nobility were also not disinclined to oppose the royal authority, which was exalted on the fragments of the abolished feudal rights. The court was wanton and debauched; the reformed provincial nobility endeavoured therefore to create a contrast thereto in their own life and morals. Brittany was Catholic; Anjou was so in a less degree; Normandy was divided between the two churches, and Picardy was acted upon by Flanders, where the new doctrines had been extended together with civil liberty. The country masses were under the influence of the Catholic priesthood; the lower burgesses in the towns, partaking in the changeless uniformity of their habits and occupations, and with a circle of ideas, the more obstinately defended as it was limited to a very small range, were reckoned among the hottest defenders of the Catholic Church. No municipal rights were threatened by a government attached to the old belief; very different was the case in the Netherlands, where the cities embraced the Reformation, which they defended in conjunction with their civil freedom. The guilds in the French towns had their patron saints and their religious festivals, and their manners consecrated and upheld a religious persuasion undoubtedly in many things confined to superstitious traditions, but which in this petrified form so much the more obstinately opposed every attempt at improvement. The higher burgesses had weight and influence through the considerable sums they paid to the public taxes, and through divers rights which they still retained, and which they extended during the existence of the League; such, for instance, as being freed from foreign garrisons, themselves electing their president (the *Prevot des Marchands* was the only civil officer named by the king), their forming a citizen-guard, and their right to barricade the streets and shut the gates of their town even against the king himself. We may easily see the very great consequence gained by the burgesses of Paris, from the information communicated to them by Henry II., respecting his campaigns. Marseilles, Toulouse, and Lyons, had almost the same privileges.\* But when whole corporations, towns and provinces, both from persuasion and self-interest, embraced the principles of the Catholic Church, the numbers friendly to the Reformation could only have constituted a trifling minority. Nor were they reckoned to be more than the seventieth part, or, according to another statement, the hundredth part, of the population of France.† No outward advantages were promised by apostacy; only an inward longing and the force of religious persuasion could increase the members of a Church threatened with confiscations and death at the stake."‡

The second chapter, which commences at the death of Francis II., contains several valuable passages. One in particular, on *France and the Council of Trent*, we would willingly extract. But its length forbids us. We prefer giving a description of the battle of Jarnac and the death of the great Condé.

"The reformed troops had reckoned upon avoiding a battle, under the protection of the towns of which they were in possession. But success in this was only possible on one condition, that they should not be surprised before their separate corps had united. This union however never took place, in consequence of the delay of the troops for which Coligni had been waiting for three hours. At a brook near Bassac, Coligni was attacked by the Catholics,

\* *Capefigue*, Hist. de la Ligue, t. iii. p. 22—30.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Cronholm*, pp. 14, 15.

who at first were stoutly opposed, but at last, headed by Brissac, forced the passage. La Noue, who has immortalized himself as a warrior and a tactician, was here taken prisoner. He had shared in the battle, notwithstanding a fever had been for four days upon him; it was with difficulty he escaped the bloody sentence of Montpensier, who had said to his prisoner, 'My friend! the trial of yourself and your friends is over. Attend now to your soul.' La Noue's deliverer was Martigni. In the mean time Coligni had driven back the enemy, and fortified himself behind another stream, where he was also protected by a morass. In this position he requested and received support from Condé. The evening before the prince had fallen with his horse, and carried his arm in a sling. When he met Coligni, one of his legs were broken by a blow from an unruly horse. Nevertheless the prince was undaunted, and enlivened his soldiers with the following short speech:—'Forward, nobles of France! This is the battle we have desired so long! Remember in what a situation Louis of Bourbon partakes in this contest for Christ and for his country!' On his banner was inscribed, 'Doux le peril pour Christ et le pais.' The Catholic forces had attacked Dandelot, who was posted by a village in the neighbourhood, but the defence was gallant, and they were driven back. Their whole force was now assembled, and against this two battalions of cavalry could not hold their ground. Coligni made the first charge, and the Prince of Condé the other. At first nothing could withstand the violence of their attack, but the corps stationed near the morass was thrown into confusion by the foreign cavalry. Further opposition was impossible against such superior numbers. Portant, the slayer of Charri, fell from his horse and was taken prisoner; he was recognized and cut down on the spot. Stuart, who had wounded Montmorency on the field of St. Denis, was also taken prisoner, and died of dagger-stabs. Several other Protestant nobles shared the same fate. The Prince of Condé fought with his usual bravery, but it was impossible to contend against so many. His horse fell under him, but he still had defenders. The nobles of his camp gathered round him, and exerted themselves to the utmost to save or free the prince. In this dauntless band was la Vergne, already an old man, surrounded by his sons and nephews, all young men, to the number of twenty-five. Fifteen of these, besides la Vergne, fell fighting sword in hand. The rest were taken prisoners, and the prince's sauvegarde was gone. Condé, who had sunk upon his knees, now fought till he had strength to fight no longer; he then stretched out his glove to Tisson, Lord of Argence, whose life he once had saved, and gave himself as his prisoner; Argence assured him that no danger threatened his life. But a Gascon nobleman, Montesquion, captain of the Swiss Guard, shot the prince through the head dead upon the spot. Condé had foreboded this result, as soon as he saw that Montesquion was there. The Duke of Anjou gave free vent to his joy at his enemy's death" . . . "which gave the battle of Jarnac a distinction it did not otherwise merit, as the loss did not amount to more than four hundred men, nor had the victory any important results."\*

The third chapter, which closes with the death of Charles IX., is full of important passages. The sketch of Coligni is eminently successful. But we must hasten to the next chapter, from which we borrow the following account of the excommunication of the Bourbon princes:

"The Guises had more success in Rome. Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. Both were declared rebels and apostates, protectors and chiefs of the heretics, and worthy of the punishment

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\* *Cronholm*, p. 141—3.

appointed by the canon law against heresy, besides losing their principalities and lands, with all the rights attached thereto. They had forfeited their claims to the inheritance of the throne of France, and the Pope released their vassals from the oath of allegiance they had taken to them. The French parliament declared this bull to be a violation of the sovereign rights of the princes and kingdom of France. The latter also protested, and caused their protest to be fixed upon the gates of the Vatican, the most frequented churches in Rome, and opposite the statues of Pasquin and Mortorio. They appealed to the court of the peers of France from Sixtus, 'soi-disant Pape de Rome,' declared that he himself was a heretic, which they would prove at a free council; and asserted that he was still a heretic and anti-Christ, in case he should refuse to submit to its decision. The kings of the olden time had known how to tame 'la témérité de tels galans, comme est ce prétendu Pape Sixte,' whenever they had dared to go beyond their rightful powers. The king will revenge the injustice he has suffered, and in hope to obtain satisfaction he turns to all Christian princes, kings and towns, whom this insult equally concerns.

"Another defence, written by a French jurist, named Hotmann, contained bitter attacks against the Pope, who was called by several disgraceful nicknames. An anathema from Rome, and a defence so unmeasured, removed all thoughts of a peaceful reconciliation. Sixtus V. however was just; he could not refuse his esteem to great qualities wherever they were found. 'Only one man and one woman were worthy to govern,' said he, 'if they were not heretics.' He afterwards named them, Henry of Navarre and Elizabeth of England."\*

One good quality of this work is, that it abounds with extracts from contemporaneous writers and scarce tracts and pamphlets. The last chapter especially, which carries us down to the edict of Nantes, derives additional interest from this source.

**ART. XI.—Minnesinger.** *Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölften, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts; aus allen bekannten Handschriften und früheren Drucken gesammelt und berichtigt, mit den Lesarten derselben, Geschichte des Lebens der Dichter und ihrer Werke, Sangweisen der Lieder, Reimverzeichnisse der Anfaenge, und Abbildungen sämtlicher Handschriften.* Von Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen. Vier Theile, 4to. (Minnesingers. German Song-Writers of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries; collected and corrected from all known Manuscripts and former Editions, with the various Readings: the History of the Lives of the Poets and of their Works, the Tunes of the Songs, the first lines arranged according to the Rhymes, and Fac-Similies from each of the Manuscripts. By Frederick von der Hagen. Four volumes, 4to.) Leipzig. 1838.

THIS truly national work, so long looked for by all lovers of ancient German literature, has at length appeared in a form equally honourable to the editor and publisher. In the present age of shilling parts and steel engravings, it is matter of congratulation to meet with four goodly

quarto volumes, embodying the lyrical treasures of three centuries, rich in poetical feeling and expression, from the prince to the peasant. The labours of Beneke, the Grimms, Lachmann, the editor of the work before us, Graff, Wackenagel, Haupt, Hoffmann, Massmann, Schmeller, and others, who have devoted themselves to their patriotic studies with quiet but untiring enthusiasm, together with their rich stores of multifarious learning, have gradually formed a numerous and constantly increasing circle of readers, who take a lively interest in the by-gone literature of their country. The critical editions which have appeared within the last years, have established the laws of Middle German (*mittelhochdeutsch*), and traced the historical progress of the language in many of its gradual changes and subtle varieties of dialects. When we look upon what has been done by our neighbours, we cannot but reflect with regret that so much remains to be done by ourselves. We by no means undervalue the merits of those scholars who have recently distinguished themselves by their honourable attempts to direct public attention to the language of our ancestors; yet a vast field remains still unexplored. To say nothing of the Anglo-Saxon, the laws and structure of which rest by no means on so sure a basis as were desirable, the breaking up of that language into middle English, the influence of the Danish, particularly in the northern counties, which is observable in the common language of the peasantry even of the present day, and the gradual process of the formation of our modern language, remain still to be investigated. We have, it is true, some works on the dialects; but hardly one composed by an author of the necessary philological acquirements, or in a philosophical spirit; and the language of our writers from Chaucer to Spenser, has attracted hardly any attention. Let us hope that the taste for our ancient literature which is now spreading, may call forth scholars, gifted with knowledge and critical powers, which may enable them to throw light upon a subject in which elucidation is so desirable.

But to return to our Minnesingers. These volumes contain the lyrical productions of nearly two hundred poets: of one hundred and sixty-nine, the indefatigable editor has given us the lives in 753 quarto pages of double columns, a work of immense difficulty and labour. This list contains names of all ranks—the Emperor Henry, the young King Conrad (the last Minnesinger of the lofty race of the Hohenstauffen, who was beheaded at Naples), and a long range of dukes, counts, margraves, knights, and other nobles. Nor is it to be assumed that these poems were written by the court poets, and given to the world under the names of the sovereigns or princes whom they served. "The proudest and hardest mind has its youth, its spring of poetry and love;" and, in the general spirit of those fair and lofty-minded times, lyrical poetry formed as essential a part of education as chivalry itself, although both were learned more from living example than from school discipline.

Thus, Ulrich of Lichtenstein, as page, was taught the art of poesy as well as the science of arms, by Duke Henry of Austria; and if the poets of those times could neither read nor write, they could hear and speak the better. We know that Richard Cœur de Lion, whose name history

and tradition invested in poetic colours, like his favourite Blondel, wrote verses; and even Charles of Anjou, the gloomy executioner of the last Hohenstauffen, has left us a tender song, as if in proof of a better Charles within him.

The term *Minnesingers*, in its narrower signification, is employed to denote the lyrical poets of the chivalrous middle ages; but it is likewise employed in a more extensive meaning to include all those who have written in strophic measures. Taken thus it will even include some of the narrative poets; nor is the German epic, or heroic song, so far removed from lyric measure as its more ancient predecessors of Greece or Rome, and some of the more simple epic measures, such as the stanza of the *Nibelungenlied*, were often adopted by lyric poets. The present work, intended as a complete collection of all that has been composed in the lyric measure or strophe, includes besides the pure lyrical compositions, spiritual and profane songs; in short, all that in the various directions alluded to above can be included in this description, with the exception of such narrative poems as are not composed in strophic rhymes. The editor has limited himself in point of time to the period comprised between the first beginning of the twelfth, through the rich development of German lyric poetry during the thirteenth, to the termination of the *Minnesingers* in the fourteenth century.

During this period the princes and nobles, as we have seen, took the lead in singing the praise of "God and of their Lady;" but in this last-named century, the citizens in the towns (and in some places, as in Switzerland, even the peasants) attained greater influence, and the corporate master-singers (*Meistersänger*) gradually rose into existence and renown. They first followed the example and adopted the measures of their chivalrous predecessors; but the difference of position and of circumstances soon produced a deviation from the ancient forms, and with the forms the spirit likewise died away. With the more general diffusion of literature and the changes of society, the master-singers gradually declined; and if we mistake not, it was in the spring of the present year that the four surviving members of this ancient corporation bequeathed their relics to the *Liedertafel* of Ulm. The art of printing has given another direction to lyrical poetry; yet, perhaps, the *Liedertafel* (literally, song tables), which are so numerous throughout Germany, may be considered as a weak reflection of the traditional national feeling.

In point of fact, they may be compared with our madrigal societies, &c.; we believe, however, it is necessary in some of these to compose a song to be admitted as a member. Occasionally several of these unions form one larger society, including all the *Liedertafels* of a district or province; and we read in the paper of song-singing feasts, in which several hundreds assemble. These are, of course, not to be confounded with the great musical festivals, in which instrumental music forms the chief attraction.

The principal materials from which the present work is composed are to be found in the celebrated *Manessian manuscript*, containing from fourteen to fifteen hundred lyrical compositions, by about one hundred

and forty poets. It takes its name from Rudger von Manessa, a counsellor of the city of Zurich, who formed this collection at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the fame of the Minnesingers was drawing to a close. In the year 1607 it was at Heidelberg, and afterwards, most probably during the thirty years' war, when the German manuscripts were carried off to the Vatican, it was brought to Paris, where it still remains. After the occupation of the French capital by the allied armies, it was already in the hands of General Gneisenau, but was given back, under a promise that it should be exchanged for other manuscripts. In 1823, M. Von der Hagen was sent to Paris by the King of Prussia (the munificent patron of the present work, to whom it is very properly dedicated), in order to compare the manuscript with Bodmer's previous publication. He was at the same time empowered by the city of Breslau to offer in exchange very valuable old French and Netherlandish manuscripts; but the French government, notwithstanding the stipulation with General Gneisenau, refused to part with it, so that its illuminated portraits and initials remain an object of idle curiosity to the gaping visitors of the Parisian Library, and of deep regret to the German literati. The collation proved that Bodmer had not only left some insignificant parts unprinted, as he has asserted; for at least one-seventh, and that by no means the least valuable parts, is now given for the first time to the public. Bodmer's edition was found to be in other respects very inexact; and the editor has taken the trouble of publishing a list of errata, contained in all former editions of various parts of the different manuscripts. Professor Rassmann, at the request of M. Von der Hagen, and Dr. Koller of Zurich, independently of both, collated the Manessian manuscript, a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the work. With respect to the other manuscripts of Weingart, Heidelberg, Jena, Vienna, &c., and the numerous contributions of friends from all parts of Germany, who, with the characteristic generosity that distinguishes the eminent men who stand foremost in the prosecution of the historical development of their national literature, vied with each other in assisting the editor in his arduous undertaking, we must refer our readers to the Preface to the first volume. The *Ancient Melodies*, with a dissertation by Professor Fischer, will be welcomed by all lovers of ancient music. The rhymed classification of the first lines of each strophe is a very valuable addition, as the Minnesingers were very strict in attending to the prosody of the language.

This short and imperfect account is merely intended to make our readers acquainted with the contents of a work which is indispensable to every German scholar, who does not limit his investigations to the study of more modern German literature. We shall probably ere long review it at greater length; but at present we cannot devote more space to the subject. The universal approbation with which the work has been received in Germany, is the best proof of the manner in which the editor has executed his task.

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ART. XII.—*Godofredi Hermanni oratio in quartis secularibus Artis Typographicæ.* (Oration in honour of the fourth Centenary Anniversary of the Invention of Printing. Delivered in the Hall of the University of Leipsic, on the 25th of June, 1840, by Godfrey Hermann.) Leipzig.

THE Gutenberg Jubilee, which was on the point of celebration as the article in our last Number went to press, has been celebrated from Christiana to Strassburg and Basle with becoming splendour. A few rubs have taken place; the Literaten of Leipzig (the term gentlemen of the press hardly expresses this new-coined German word) were angry that the printers would not allow them to deliver an oration in the market-place, and withdrew in sullen dignity from all participation in the festivities; but except this trifling difference, and the difficulties which the Berlin committee experienced in arranging the Program for their celebration (which is to take place in the course of the present month), every thing has gone off very pleasantly. The speech of Professor Hermann, however, has excited in many quarters an unpleasant feeling, which was the more painful in consequence of the high respect for his attainments as a scholar, and the manly independence of his personal character. We shall, therefore, make a few extracts from it, to put our readers in possession of the opinions of this eminent person. They are by no means flattering to the present state of things, but we think that his complaints of the position of the German Gelehrten, are not altogether ill-founded. The very opening is inauspicious. It is not to be wondered at, that the invention of printing, "which, like a torch, was destined to diffuse light, should sometimes be accompanied with smoke, or cause a conflagration. For great things have the faculty of injuring, which is the test of power (?), and what is not feared, is despised."

After lauding the invention of writing, in comparison with that of printing, he gives the following characteristics of the present period:

"The principal object of the age is to turn every thing to present profit. The education of boys and youths is hastened, that they may learn as much as possible (and much of what they learn is useless), in as short a time as possible, acquiring only so much knowledge as is necessary to carry on the common affairs of life. But they are as sparing and circumspect in the cultivation of true learning, as they are lavish and profuse in what is deemed of more consequence. For, although in some few cases, letters are encouraged with a just liberality, not on account of their usefulness to the state, but for their own sake; yet in general the condition of the learned is such, that they cannot devote themselves to their avocations, because they hardly enjoy the necessaries of life. And yet we see their slender income not only not increased, but diminished and cut down. Thus many of them pine away miserably in labour and care, whilst wretches, worthy of capital punishment, are not only munificently provided for in wholesome dwellings, but find themselves well off, and laugh at the clemency which they will afterwards abuse, to the detriment of good citizens."

We suppose that these strong expressions allude to the questionable

tenderness and humanity displayed in the discussions on criminal law at some of the recent Landtags.

"Admirable humanity of the age! which is liberal to the profligate, but sparing in those things which form the soul and vital spirit of the state." This neglect of the learned, he continues, is of pernicious influence on the book trade. None but books of ephemeral interest are published; those which require long study and labour do not find a publisher. He concludes this part of his oration with some severe remarks on the critics, whom he pronounces to be "venal, and of the number of those frivolous writers, who, even if they would, are unable to decide what books are good, and what are bad." He blames equally the demand for the liberty of the press, and the timid spirit which pervades the censors.

But does it not stand to reason that the severity with which the thoughts are restrained, must excite that desire for a free press which is now so ardent throughout Germany? We confess that, although the subject is attended with great difficulties, owing to the peculiar composition and connexion of the German states, we do not despair of success, as many of the German governments show a praiseworthy liberality, and a sincere wish for the welfare of their subjects.

The tone is very different from that usually employed on such occasions, but the sentiments of such a man as Hermann are always entitled to serious and respectful attention.

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ART. XIII.—*Völkerschau auf Reisen von Theodor Mundt.* (Travelling Sketches in different Countries, by Theodore Mundt.) Stuttgart, 1840.

WE have read this little volume with more pleasure than any of M. Mundt's former works. The preface, or rather dedication, is, indeed, somewhat redolent of mawkish sensibility, and we really imagined it was addressed to some loved fair one, till we were undeceived by the conclusion, which we translate for the edification of the reader.

"But thou knowest, better than myself, what I wish and strive after, for in my life thou livest, and thy life constantly fires me on to fairest deeds. Accept then these scattered sketches of popular life, as the necessary steps to more connected poetic deeds, and dear *Kumpen* and *Wanderbursch*, where I have succeeded, let me read in thine eyes thy praise, the only praise that I desire."

This is indeed sad stuff, and the style is in general too florid. But as we read on, we found ourselves interested in the contents. Omitting his sketches in France, although containing several topics of interest, we pass immediately to the most valuable part of the book, the details respecting the so called free city of Cracow.

By the treaty of Vienna the city was declared free, independent, and strictly neutral, and she was richly and generously portioned, for the year 1815 was a year of generosity; "all its pockets were full of



national happiness and liberty. Words and ideas were called into existence, which afterwards had an unpleasant sound." England and France signed the treaty, the other three great powers assumed the gracious title of protectors, but it is Austria that really rules over it.

"Instead of being the first protecting power, Austria has become the first and only coercive power of Cracow. Of the other two, Russia perhaps interferes occasionally in secret, but with its usual prudence it throws the brunt of public ill-will on the shoulders of its imperial neighbour, reaping in secret for itself the advantages of their common policy. Prussia behaved with mildness, and it was regretted that she did not take a more active part."

After alluding to the debate in the French Chambers, "and when was French policy any thing more than a debate," M. Mundt mentions in more respectful terms the good will displayed by England.

"Should an English resident be appointed at Cracow, the Austrian policy would be reduced to no little perplexity, and that power would then receive a wholesome lesson, reminding her that she is a *German* power, and that her devotion to Russia ought never to seduce her to risk the honour of the German name."—pp. 131, 132.

But leaving for a while the gloomy theme of politics, let us turn for a moment to one of the great departed—the hero Kosciuzko. Omitting the biographical notices, as known to most of our readers, we will introduce them to his monument, the hill of Kosciuzko.

"The method, peculiar to the Slavonic nations, of erecting a hill to the memory of their great men, deserves, in many respects, the preference above our statues, on which our age has squandered so much pious coquetry and sentimental beggary. (This hit at the Germans is by no means undeserved.) These natural monuments have not only a duration that defies the elements, and every variety of taste and form, but they are more truly national, inasmuch as they annex in the most simple manner the memory of a great man to popular tradition. The people themselves undertake the work of the artist. . . . In the erection of the Kosciuzko monument, the whole nation co-operated in the most affecting manner. As soon as the work was resolved upon, at the proposal of Vincent Monkolski, the President of the Civil and Military Tribunal, all, without deference of rank or sex, hastened to offer their assistance. Ladies of noble birth took the spade in their tender hands, and the poor journeyman worked by the side of the proud countess, weeping for her country. Mothers led their ungrown children to take part in the last honours rendered to him, whom all Poles look upon as their father. Old and young, the senator, the warrior, and the peasant, dug together; and even a magnanimous foe, the late Emperor Alexandria of Russia, with those noble feelings that distinguished him, sent a considerable subscription. Thus the Mogila Kosciuzko gradually arose, the earth was sent from all the different provinces, nay, it is said even from America, where Kosciuzko began his martial career, and from Solothurn, in Switzerland, which had been the last asylum of the dying hero. The hill crowns the mountain of Bronislawa, so called after the daughter of one of the ancient Polish kings. The name is well suited to this patriotic monument, for it signifies the defender of renown."—pp. 138—140.

The 11th of September, the anniversary of the day on which the constitution, 1818, was proclaimed, is still observed as a day of festivity. The speeches of the ambassadors "would not, at the present time, be allowed in either of the protecting states, nor be printed in any in which

the censorship exists." In consequence of the changes in 1833, which were such that hardly a trace of its original liberty remained, the senate of Cracow proposed that the celebration of the anniversary should be abolished, but it was officially announced that it should be continued with all possible demonstrations of joy.

A public procession, which becomes less numerous every year, a grand parade without spectators; a ball, which was put off, because there was reason to fear there would be no dancers; an illumination to empty streets, were the festivities which our author witnessed. A fire-work, however, proved an irresistible temptation, and commanded a respectable crowd. The ball, too, was given on the succeeding day; the police went to the shops of the merchants and tradesmen with subscription lists, and as the proceeds were to be devoted to the relief of the sufferers by the recent inundation, one hundred and thirty persons, of whom, however, only a few attended, subscribed. The people revenged themselves by a satire, giving a poetical description of the sickness and death of the free state of Cracow. The dissection is performed with professional gravity, and the political history of the city interwoven in the medical dissertations. The result of the consultation was, that the deceased departed this life in consequence of the exertions of the many physicians who undertook her cure. Of this satire many copies were in circulation in manuscript.

M. Mundt gives us in detail an account of the gradual curtailment of the privileges of the Senate, and as the subject is likely to come again before Parliament, either through Sir Stratford Canning or Mr. Ellis, we think that his book might be translated with advantage.

ART. XIV.—*Opere complete del Cujacio, con un nuovo metodo Distribuite et Ristampate.* In 13 vols. in 8vo. grande, dai Fratelli Giuchetti di Prato. (Cujacius's works complete, newly arranged and reprinted.) Florence.

IN this country, save to members of the legal profession, the name of *Cujacius*, a man of gigantic information, is scarce known. Italy furnishes us with a reprint of his entire works in 13 vols. They contain a complete course, embracing the whole of the ancient Roman law. Salvius Julianus, Ulpian, Scævola, Justinian (Pandects, Institutes and New Code), together with the Feudal Law, the Decretals of Gregory, and the cases, private practice, and opinions of Cujacius himself. One of the cases given, "*Si quadrupes pauperiem fecisse dicatur*," might furnish ample matter for discussion to our special pleaders at the present period, as well as labour for our critics, on the sense of the word *pauperies*. But in charity to both we define *pauperies* in the words of Cujacius: "*Pauperies est, si quadrupes hominem aut quadrupedem occiderit vel vulneraverit. Pauperies est damnum sine injuria facientis datum.*" The reprint of a work of this character, filled with much ancient learning, reflects great credit on the publishers; and it is obvious to all that profit cannot be their motive, but simply the supply of a desideratum in literature.

ART. XV.—*Nuovo Dizionario dei Sinonimi della Lingua Italiana di Nicolo Tommaseo.* (New Dictionary of Synonyms of the Italian Language.) Vol. I. Imp. 8vo. Florence. 1840.

THIS work, which enjoys the patronage and especial favour of the Grand Duke Leopold II., who has granted the editor fresh literary privileges, is of great utility in drawing those necessary distinctions which remove from language much of its perplexity and difficulty. These works do not necessarily spring, as is imagined by some, from the superior need which moderns have of exactitude of expression, from their progress in the varied sciences, since as early as the time of Aristotle there was evidently felt, as is manifest from the writings of that philosopher, a necessity for close diction between affinities. It is a branch of study that we are pleased to see is becoming fashionable in this country. We extract, by way of specimen of the work, the following :—

“Marino, Marittimo. *Marino* ch'è nel mare, del mare; *marittimo* ch'è presso al mare, che riguarda le cose di mare. Dei marinì, sale marino, acque marine; città marittime, diritto marittimo.

“Marito, Sposo.

“*Marito* riguarda l'unione corporea (Mas). *Sposo* (qui non si tratta delle sponzalizie precedenti alle nozze), il vincolo sociale (Spondeo). *Marito* risponde a moglie, come uomo a donna, *sposo* a sposa, come congiunto a congiunta. *Sposo* e perciò parola più gentile (in our language it is quite the reverse), ed esprime l'unione d'uguali; *marito* l'autorità del maschio sulla femmina. Al marito s'appartengono più specialmente i diritti e i doveri; allo *sposo* gli affetti. Gli uomini dimenticano prima d'essere sposi che d'esser mariti.”

ART. XVI.—1. *La Storia Fiorentina dai Tempi Etruschi fino all' Epoca attuale, scritta da Giunio Carbone.* (History of Florence, from the Etruscan to the present period, by Giunio Carbone.) 6 vols. 4to. Florence. 1840.

2. *Istorie Fiorentine scritte da Giovanni Cavalcanti, con Annotazione.* Vol. Due. (History of Florence, by Giovanni Cavalcanti, with Notes.) Florence. 1839.

3. *Documenti di Storia Italiana, da Giuseppe Molini.* (Documents of Italian History, by Giuseppe Molini.) Florence. 1839.

THE first of the works at the head of this brief sketch was announced for publication in 1837. Few states have been so graced by historical writers as Florence. The present writer, however, takes up her history from the conquered province of Etruria to modern times. The influence of Etruria on Rome, which was mighty though not acknowledged by the Romans, who adopted all her mysticism. Etrurian rites obviously pervaded her entire worship. Rome fell, Etruria remained, still preserving her distinctiveness. Even under the feudal system she maintained it still, and when Fiesole fell, Florence rose. Matilda fostered Florence into an independent state, and she now forms an imperium in imperio, not Austrian, though ruled by Austria, and cherishing the appellation of Toscana, which she will never alter for Tedesca. Few histories can be

made more interesting, if deeply probed, and Signor Giunio Carbone has bestowed years upon the question. The second work introduces to our notice the history of Florence by the celebrated Giovanni Cavalcanti, from whom Machiavelli borrowed to no small extent. The work has remained inedited in Tuscany. Lami had promised to publish it, deeming it a work of the highest importance to illustrate the period it described. Germany, ever watchful Germany, had expressed a similar feeling. There is appended to this edition a "Treatise on Politics" by the same Giovanni Cavalcanti, full of facts and circumstances illustrative of the period, and also a series of documents as yet unpublished, extracted from private and public libraries.

" Godi, Firenze, poi che se' sì grande  
Che per mare, e per terra batti l'ali,  
E per lo 'nferno il tuo nome si spande."

The third work before us is the result of the author's labours over 1200 Vol. Fol. MS., relating principally to the political relations of France, and the other European states, from the reign of Charles VI. to Louis XIV. A chronicle of Pisa of the 12th century is also inserted. The documents in question consist of the letters of popes, kings, princes, ministers, generals; and Francesco Vettori, to whom we have alluded in the article of Ranke, is given at full length, in his narrative of the sacking of Rome by Bourbon's forces. It is scarcely necessary to add that even Sismondi might derive fresh stores from such a plenteous source.

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ART. XVII.—1. *Opere Architettoniche di Raffaello Sanzio. Firenze.* (Architectural Works of Raphael.) Florence.

2. *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti dei Secoli 14, 15, 16, 17. Del Dott. Giovanni Gaye. Tom. 1. Firenze, 1839.* (Description of Artists of the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries. Florence, 1839.)

3. *Il Sepulcro dei Volunni scoperto in Perugia, nel Febbrajo del 1840. Perugia.* (The Tomb of the Volunni discovered in Perugia, in the February of 1840. Perugia.)

THE first of the works before us is intended to exhibit Raphael in his architectural might. Raphael in England is viewed simply as a painter. But as a sculptor and architect and an archæologist his merits were of the highest order. To illustrate the splendid architectural designs of Raphael in the Palazzo Pandolfini Uguccione, and Stoppani, his design for the church of St. Peter, the Vatican, &c., is the object of the present work. The Italians live in the past, since in the present they *have no political life*. The second of the works at the head of this article forms a valuable pendant to the Documenti di Storia Italiana, and Le Storie Fiorentine del Cavalcanti, of which we have already treated. The third contains an account of a recently discovered monument at the Monastery of St. Lucia. The seven beautiful urns, and bas reliefs and inscriptions are given, together with a collection of all Perugian, Etruscan, and Roman inscriptions of the epoch of the tomb.

ART. XVIII.—*Storia dei Papi da San Pietro a Gregorio XVI.* (History of the Popes, from St. Peter to Gregory XVI.) Turin, 1840.

THIS compendium, which embraces an immense sweep in two small volumes, is obviously written to maintain the untenable position of the Pope's infallibility. There is a most atrocious instance of Romanist unfairness in the very motto: "In cielo, e per conseguenza in terra, v'è un solo legislatore, un giudice solo, che può salvare e può perdere." S. Giacomo, Ep. Cattolica, iv. 12. "*In heaven, and by consequence in earth,* there is one only legislator, one only judge, who can save and destroy." But St. James does not use the words "in heaven, and by consequence in earth," this is entirely foisted in the text for the purpose of his book by Signor Henron. The passage in St. James says simply, "There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy." This lawgiver is evidently God from the context, since, at the tenth verse we have, "Humble yourselves under the mighty hand of the Lord, and he shall lift you up." To ascribe this passage to the Pope, or any mortal, is the height of blasphemy, and proves both the ignorance and presumption of the author, to whom we recommend to learn to make accurate quotations before he occupies the ground already partially covered by one distinguished historian, and certainly, whatever be their defects, by men of some learning, in his predecessors, Artaud, Hurter, and Voigt.

ART. XIX.—*Monumenti del Genio Letterario d'ogni Nazione.* (Monuments of the Literary Talent of all Nations.) 24 Vols. 8vo. Florence, 1840.

THERE exists at Florence an Editing Society, of which Eugenio Albèri, whose work on Catherine de' Medici we have noticed in the present Number, is the founder. This society has sent out a notice to the world of its intention to publish the voluminous work before us, as a tribute from Italy to the intelligent of every place and nation. We extract their address: "Venite cittadini del mondo; venite, noi vi salutiamo fratelli; noi vi diamo riconoscenza, ed amore perchè avete giovato all'universo." Italians are different from us, "The cold in clime are cold in blood;" and we therefore abstain from any comment on this fine peroration, and we have only to thank our southern brethren for their ardent invitation. The first volume in the series is the Bible, according to the received Romanist version, which is not the Bible, any more than it is the Breviary. Greek and Latin poets and orators are to follow. The Greek and Latin Fathers next, of course, an abridgement. Early poetry, the Edda, Ossian? and the Nibelungenlied. The Cid Romances, and the Lays of the Troubadours and popular songs; Oriental, Slavonian, Chinese, Arabic, Persian and Indian poetry. The elder Italian poets, prose, tragic, and comic writers. Spanish, French, English, and German literature follows next, embracing the tragic, comic, and romantic writers of these nations. The work of a life is before the Florentine Editorial Society, and to them, when their work is done, we shall exclaim in their own language, "noi vi diamo riconoscenza ed amore perchè avete giovato all'universo."

## MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

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### ITALY.

Only four new operas have been produced in Italy during the past spring and summer. They were—*Cristina di Scozia*, by Nini, produced at Genoa, (which was more successful than any new opera has been for some time.) *Lini*, by Pedrotti, at Verona, proved a failure; and the same may be said of *La Modesta*, composed by Lillo, and brought out at the "Teatro Pergola" at Florence. The remaining opera, by Giulio Alary, entitled *Rosmonda*, met with somewhat equivocal success.

The four great theatres in Italy, the Fenice in Venice, the Scala in Milan, the San Carlo in Naples, and the Apollo in Rome, have been chiefly engaged in the representation of Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy*, and *Roberto d'Evereux*.

The compositions of Donizetti continue far more attractive throughout Italy than those of any other composer, however vastly superior. No less than thirteen of his operas have been produced at thirty-four theatres in Italy, during the last three months. *Gemma di Vergy* was produced at eight distinct theatres. The next composers whose works have been chiefly performed in Italy, have been Bellini and Rossini. Four operas, composed by the former, were produced at 14 theatres; his *Beatrice di Tenda*, at 6; while seven of Rossini's operas were performed at 12 theatres, *Giuglielmo Tell* proving the most attractive. Four of Mercadante's, and the same number of Luigi Ricci's operas, were also produced during the same period.

**NAPLES.**—The Teatro Fondo has been engaged for the production of comedies, while the Teatro Nuova opened with Coppola's *Nina*, and Bellini's *Puritani*; in both of these operas, and in Mercadante's *Giuramento*, which was afterwards produced, Giovanni David excited the utmost enthusiasm. The San Carlo has engaged an efficient winter company, consisting of Pixis, Maray, Gruiz, and a host of talent. The "Maestri Compositori" engaged, are Pacini and Lillo.

**GENOA.**—The season at the Carlo Felice commenced with Nicolai's *Templario*, which, with the aid of a new grand opera by Nini, entitled *Cristina di Scozia*, continued throughout the whole season. The Maestro Nini has proved himself, by this opera, worthy to be placed in the second rank of composers. The composer's prima donna (Marietta Spinach), and tenor Salvi, were, of course, called forth to receive the usual boisterous compliment.

**MILAN.**—The season at La Scala has not been attended with the production of any novelty, although the company has been exceedingly powerful and effective. The opera of *Odda di Bernater*, by Lillo, which has been so frequently before the English public, as *Agnes Bernauer*, *The Secret Tribunal*, and under various other titles, was performed for a few nights. Rossini's *Nuova Moïse*, and Speranza's *Due Figaro*, were afterwards produced with more success.

Miss Kemble's singing has greatly improved, and her voice is very powerful. Raumer says, "People, nevertheless, complain that her voice is not strong

enough for the Scala; but where is the human voice that can, for any length of time, fill so vast a space, and rise above such an orchestra, and such a clamour of tongues. All that with us is most extravagant in this respect is a mere trifle, in comparison with what is here the order of the day."

**FLORENCE.**—In this town no less than seven theatres have been open. At the Teatro Pergola, under Lanari's management, Bellini's *Sonnambula* and Rossini's *William Tell* were rendered highly attractive by the valuable aid of Ivanoff, Taccani, Bertolini, and Ronconi. A new opera by Gulio Alary of Milan, a Frenchman by birth, and entitled *Rosamonda*, has been produced with considerable effect, but although the composer was called forward it has not had a long run. At the Teatro Cocomero Ricci's *Esposi*, and a new opera by Lillo, entitled *La Modista*, have been the recent favourites. The new musical journal, *Revista Musicale*, has ceased.

**VERONA.**—A new opera by Carlo Pedrotti, and entitled *Lina*, was produced at the Filarmonico Theatre, but as there were no striking beauties in the whole performance, it was soon withdrawn for Ricci's *Prigione di Edimburgo*. Pedrotti, who is but 24 years of age, has another opera, *Clara del Mainland*, nearly ready.

**VENICE.**—Our fair countrywoman, Miss Mary Shaw, has been delighting the Venetians at the "Teatro alla Fenice" by her performance of Arsac, in Rossini's *Semiramide*, and Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy*. The new opera of *Ida*, expressly composed for this theatre by Nini, was also produced, but after a few representations it was withdrawn for Donizetti's *Maria Stuarda*.

**ROME.**—The Argentina Theatre has been more successful in the production of its operas than the great Apollo Theatre. Ricci's *Prigione di Edimburgo*, Donizetti's *Elisir*, and Rossini's *Inganno*, have all proved highly attractive, by the aid of the two prima donnas, Secci and Cresci; their voices are both described as very perfect and beautiful. Teresa Cresci is scarcely 20 years of age, and she is besides a distinguished pianist.

**BOLOGNA.**—Mercadante's *Giuramento* has been an attractive feature at the little Contavalli Theatre. Mdlle. Dumont, from Pesth in Hungary, the prima donna, has been delighting the audience. Rossini's *Semiramide* was afterwards produced, but in this delightful opera she was less effective.

**SICILY.**—A new collection of Sicilian airs has been arranged by Signor Molitino, an amateur. He has been at some pains to travel through the island to collect them, and they will shortly be published.

## DENMARK AND NORWAY.

**COPENHAGEN.**—The new Danish opera *Ravnen*, by a native composer, J. P. E. Hartmann, continues to attract great attention. The opera is in three acts, and contains many brilliant passages. A march in Bellini's style, and a song by Jennaro, commencing "*Dort durch die Kirchenfenster klar*," are evidences of the existence of superior musical power in the young composer.

The present King of Denmark is exceedingly fond of music, and has secured the services of Schneider, Marschner, and Hartmann, three very efficient composers.

The progress, or increasing taste, for music in the northern nations may be shown by the fact of the publication of a Musical Journal in the remote town of Bergen, in Norway. This periodical is entitled *Apollo en Samling af Originale Compositiones norske Fieldmelodies, og et udoalg af Udlantets meest yndede musik*, and is edited by Rudolph Willmers.

# RUSSIA.

In the most ancient Russian vocal music there are no lines, but the notes are placed above the words, in two, three, or four rows, according to the number of voices. To avoid confusion, these are written in red and black ink, which alternate regularly for each row. This appears to be a more ancient method of notation than our six-line books in England.

Peter the Great, in 1710, besides the introduction of kettle-drums, hautboys, bassoons, horns, also brought a carillonem named Foerster\* from Silesia, who was furnished with a set of keys and pedal to his carillons, as they do in most of the Dutch towns. Towards the close of his reign the Czar introduced German music through the means of his son-in-law the Duke of Holstein.

# SPAIN.

The Drama is much cultivated in this country. M. Breton de los Herreros, who is the "Scribe" of Spain, has two new pieces in nightly representation. His new comic piece of *Una Vieja* has been a favourite with the public, while his romantic Drama of *Velucto Dolfos*, founded on the murder of Sancho II. before the walls of Zamora, has obtained still greater success. *El Conde Don Julian*, a tragedy having for its object the conquest of Spain by the Moors—the production of a young writer named Principe—produced quite a sensation and furore at Saragossa (the author's birth-place), where he was obliged to make his appearance night after night before the audience, and was sometimes called for more than once in the course of the same evening.

Mercadante's *Elena di Felire* and Donizetti's *Lucretia Borgia* have been highly attractive at Barcelona; the chief favourite at Lisbon has been Donizetti's *Marino Faliero*.

# GERMANY.

VIENNA.—The operatic company has been exceedingly strong in talent, consisting of Mds. Unger, Frezzolini, Rita Gabussi, Luigia Abbadia, Marietta Brambilla, Napoleone Moriani, Catone Lonati, G. Roppa, G. Ronconi, C. Badiali, P. Novelli, G. Frezzolini, A. Benciolini, and G. Visanetti. Ten grand operas have been produced during the summer season commencing at Easter; of these, five were the compositions of the prolific Donizetti—*Lucretia Borgia* was repeated twelve times, *Lucia di Lammermoor* eleven times, *Parisina* eight, and *Gemma di Vergy* four times; of Mercadante's, *Elena di Felire* was produced eight times, and *Il Giuramento* five times; Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda* was repeated eight times, and his *Montecchi et Capuleti* but once; Ricci's *Prigione di Edimburgo* was repeated four times, and Fioravanti's *La Cantatrice villane* five times.

The Drama.—The most attractive dramatic performances have been Raupach's *Miller and his Child*, interspersed with music by Proch, *The Faithless One*, and the *Legacy Hunter* by Nestroy, and a burlesque on the Huguenots, entitled *The Siege of the Eleventh with the Twelfth, or Half-past Eight until a Quarter to Eleven*, by J. Schickh.

BERLIN.—The long-continued mourning for the late king, added to the departure of most of the nobility for the baths, has had considerable influence on both musical and dramatic performances. Mademoiselle Schebert has been prima donna at the Opera; her voice is sweet, yet by no means powerful; as Romeo, in Bellini's *Montecchi et Capuleti*, she was warmly received. Mademoiselle Schültze was the Giulietta, but her recent illness has prevented the

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\* A set of these was erected in the garden of the Imperial Palace, which were played by water.



repetition of the opera. Rossini's *Otello*, and Goethe's *Faust*, with Prince Radziwil's music, have also been successful productions. Herold's *Zampa*, and Bellini's *Norma* and *Puritani*, have been among the most recent performances. Mozart's Requiem was performed at the palace under the direction of Spontini, on the anniversary of the death of the Queen Luise, and received especial marks of favour.

Ernst Raupach is engaged in the translation of Racine's *Athalie*, by the express desire of the King of Prussia, who has also engaged M. Meyerbeer to set the chorusses to music, with a view to the production of this favourite tragedy at the Theatre Royal, Berlin. In this as in numerous other instances the king has shown himself a great patron both to music and the drama.

An exceedingly interesting work, entitled *Die deutschen Volkslieder mit ihren Singweisen*, has been collected and brought out by E. and W. Irmer at Berlin. The fifth part has just appeared, and contains sixty-nine songs published by Plahn in Berlin.

**BRESLAU.**—Mademoiselle Fanny Lutzer has been the leading musical attraction. Her performance in *Robert le Diable*, *Norma*, *Puritani*, and in *Figaro*, called forth the most enthusiastic applause—flowers, wreaths, and the attendant mummeries, were liberally showered upon her. A fair debutante, Mademoiselle Dickmann, is likely to divest her of some of her laurels, being by far the best dramatic performer of the two.

**PRAGUE.**—This city has been very fortunate in securing the talents of a first-rate operatic singer, Madame Hasselt-Barth. This lady possesses a powerful voice, over which she exercises the most perfect control: she sings with great taste and naïveté, and is moreover exceedingly happy in the delineation of dramatic action;—her Donna Anna, in Bellini's *Norma*, Antonina, in Donizetti's *Belisario*, and Giulietta, in Bellini's *Montecchi et Capuletti*, were all perfect performances.

*The Drama.*—The new farce by Nestroy in four acts, entitled *The Legacy Hunter*, recently brought out in Vienna, was introduced to the public in this city, and met with considerable favour. A new piece in two acts by Kaiser, *Dienstbotenwirthschaft*, has also been successful. Saphir's new drama, *Gutenbergs Nachfeier*, is in active preparation.

**LEIPZIG.**—The Italian operatic company, under the direction of Morelli, gave Donizetti's *Belisario* to a small but fashionable audience. This company finding but little encouragement in this musical city, will take their departure for Pesth immediately.

**MUNICH.**—Gluck's *Alceste* has been brought out under the direction of the composer Lachner, and proved eminently successful with Madame Mink as *Alceste*.

1678.—**HAMBURGH.**—The first opera exhibited on a public stage here was *Adam and Eve* by Theile, and *Orontes* the same year. In many of these early operas, sung in the Italian manner, the recitative was in the German language, and the airs generally in Italian—an absurdity practised in England—and, as Burney very properly mentions, for the honour of our nation it was not English audiences alone who tolerated it.

1704.—Handel's Opera of *Almira* was performed. Mattheson, Telemann, and others, contributed to the entertainment of the city of Hamburg, where six operas were sometimes produced in a year. (See the list in Marpurgh's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*.) The Emperors, from the time of Ferdinand II. to Charles VI., seem to have had an invariable partiality for the Italian language and music. Triani, Conti, and the two Bononeinis, were in the service of Leopold and Joseph.

The Musical Society (Musikverein) of Heidelberg have offered a prize of twenty ducats (9*l.* 10*s.*) for the best trio for the pianoforte, violin, and violoncello, consisting of the usual four parts—allegro, adagio, scherzo, and finale; the score music to be sent to the Secretary, A. Schüssler, at Mannheim, before the month of December, 1840. The music score of each is to bear a motto on the title page, but the name of the composer must not be mentioned, except in an accompanying letter bearing the same motto, wherein his name, residence, and profession are set forth.

The new musical annual, *Orpheus*, for 1841, published by Dr. Schmidt, contains several original compositions by Fischhof, Lachner, Meyerbeer, &c.

DRESDEN.—The doors of the Opera House are still closed, but the company, consisting of Schroeder, Deverient, Tichatscheck, Pauli, and Bauer, are expected to assemble in a few days.

The German National-Verein for the advancement of musical science, who recently offered a prize of twenty ducats (9*l.* 10*s.*) for the best score to the 120th psalm, have just decided, that of the thirty-five works sent in, that of F. Hetsch, of Heidelberg, should receive the promised reward. The judges were Dr. Spohr, Dr. Schröder, Reissiger, von Seyfried, Schnyder, von Wartenberg, von Klnck, and Dr. Schilling.

The celebrated musical library of the late Professor Thiebaut, of Heidelberg, has been purchased by the government of Baden. This library contains 1500 volumes of theoretical works,—a collection of the master-pieces of modern and ancient writers,—and a large collection of the national airs of all countries.

A host of talent remains concentrated in Baden and Frankfurt;—Muscheles, Ole Bull, Thalberg, Ghyss, and Miss Clara Novello—the three first-named have excited the greatest enthusiasm in Frankfurt and also in the principal towns on the Rhine.

WEIMAR.—Miss Clara Wieck, the celebrated pianoforte virtuoso, had the honour of performing before the Empress of Russia, the Grand Duchess, and the Princess Maria. Holding the most complete command of her instrument, and combining an exquisite delicacy of touch, she executed some of the finest compositions of Bach, Mendelssohn's Liszt, Thalberg, and Schumann. This distinguished performer will shortly leave for St. Petersburg, whither she has been invited by the Empress. In the meantime, Dr. Robert Schumann, the indefatigable editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, will most probably lead her to the hymenial altar.

The number of musical publications which have appeared in Germany during the second three months of the present year continue in excess of those published during the corresponding period of last year (1839). Of 758 musical compositions, there were—40 Orchestral pieces, 41 for the Violin, 20 Violoncello, 23 Flute, 18 other wind Instruments, 11 for the Guitar, 3 for the Harp, 351 Pianoforte, 10 Organ, 25 Church Hymns, 13 Concerted Pieces, 181 Songs, and eleven works on music, exclusive of musical newspapers, and of seventeen complete operas.

## FRANCE.

PARIS.—The Italian Opera opens this day (October 1st) with Bellini's *Puritani*. The company will consist of MM. Rubini, Lablache, Tamburini, Mario de Candia Mirate, Campagnoli, and Morelli; and of Mesdames Grisi, Persiani, and Albertazzi. Though Madame Viardot (Pauline Garcia) has returned to Paris, she does not appear to have been engaged at the Italian Opera; negotiations have been entered into between her and the Académie Royale de Musique; but the terms required by her are said to be such as to leave little hope of their ending in an engagement. At this latter theatre Mademoiselle

Heinefetter is engaged for three years at the rate of 800*l.* for the first, 1200*l.* for the second, and 1600*l.* for the third.

The stamp duty on music having been repealed throughout France, the proprietors of the several musical journals are petitioning for the remission of the stamp duty on all publications devoted to the "divine art."

Meyerbeer's new opera, *L'Anabaptist*, is to be produced in Paris early next season, Madame Stoltz will perform the principal character. It is in five acts, like *Robert le Diable*. His *Les Huguenots* have been performed upwards of 200 nights. Donizetti has left for Rome.

The Académie Royale has been newly decorated, and the opera of *Joconde*, by Isouard, has been revived at the Opéra Comique for the development of Mademoiselle Anna Thillon's talents. The *Stradella* of Niedermayer has been reduced to three acts.

Berlioz's Funeral Symphony is spoken of as the finest composition that has yet proceeded from his pen. Perhaps the Directors of the London Philharmonic will let the public hear some of this writer's composition next season.

At the Vivienne promenade concerts an overture in F minor, the composition of Mr. H. B. Richards, of the London Royal Academy of Music, has been received with the most enthusiastic applause; when this overture was first performed at the Royal Academy it was very coldly received, a proof that the academicians do not appreciate good music.

#### GREECE.

ATHENS.—The government have voted the sum of 5,000 Augsburg gulden for the establishment of an Italian opera in this city. Bellini's *Norma* and *Sonnambula* have been recently produced with considerable success.

#### AMERICA.

At St. Jago, in the island of Cuba, in South America, Bellini's *Capuletti et Montecchi* and *Norma* have been performed by an Italian company in a very effective manner, but Rossini's *Barbiere de Seviglia* has proved by far the greatest attraction.

#### LONDON.

The opera season has terminated, and the doors of Her Majesty's Theatre are once more closed, we trust never again to open under the same management. With the attraction of the unrivalled Grisi, Persiani, Rubini, Tamburini and Lablache, the theatre was nightly filled, but what were the entertainments set before the public? *Torquato Tasso*, *Beatrice di Tenda* and *Ines de Castro*, with old stock pieces of Donizetti and Bellini, not one of which presented the slightest claims to merit. The only real gain to the musical public was the introduction of Signor Coletti, Mademoiselle De Varney and Signor Ricciardi; the former is decidedly an artist of first-rate ability, and will assuredly meet with that success on the continent which his talents so fully merit. The two latter were equally unfairly treated by those who are unable to distinguish merit from reputation. Mozart's *Don Juan*, and Rossini's *Figaro* and *Barbiere*, were the only revivals really commendable. It is, however, due to the band of this theatre to say, that they have by their unequalled execution succeeded in exciting and refining the public taste for music.

Mons. Fetis, editor of the *Review Musicale*, in one of the letters he addressed to his son during his residence in London, where he came some time ago for the purpose of ascertaining the state of music here, made some sensible remarks upon the mischief occasioned to the art by musical soirées:

"The London season is a sort of fair, or casual assemblage of society; in fact, it does not last more than three months and a half. It is during this short period that every thing must be done. The higher classes of society, who

live for more than two-thirds of the year on their estates or on the continent, come for the remaining time to furnish food for the industry of artists and speculators of all sorts. Then all kinds of professors must gain in a few days wherewithal to defray their whole expenses in that country, in which it is most expensive to live. Then concerts multiply in a manner most incredible. Every one thinks he has a right to have a benefit. Those whose talent is not sufficiently attractive speculate on the talent of others and pay for it. During the last two months nearly eighty concerts of different kinds have been given; sometimes four in one day. Now the greater part of the singers at the Italian Opera are engaged to sing at these concerts, at from 15 to 20 guineas each. If to these be added the musical soirées which are given in private houses, some idea may be formed of the vortex of music, and chiefly bad music, in which one lives during some months. These concerts and soirées, which are in some sort the chief objects of the singers who visit London, are destructive to the proprietor of the King's Theatre, and more especially to good music. As the soirées are always very late, it is impossible to rise early, and the theatrical rehearsals cannot, therefore, begin before noon. At two o'clock the concerts begin, they have hardly reached the finale of the first act, when the fashionable prima donna, the tenor, or the bass, who cannot lose the 20 guineas at which they are engaged, start for the concert, in spite of the entreaties of the conductor. In vain does he employ all his eloquence to show that the piece is not known, and that the representation will be imperfect the next evening. 'Sir, I know my part'. 'Very good, but Mademoiselle — does not know her's!' 'Let her learn it.' 'The band has no acquaintance with the pieces.' 'They must study.' 'But how can they if you go?' 'That is not my affair; I repeat, I know my part, it is all you can exact from me.'

This is a complete picture of the musical transactions going forward in this great metropolis, with this only difference, that every season it becomes worse and worse. The trash which the public are made to endure in the way of vocal music at these concerts, songs, duets or trios, effective enough on the stage probably, but torn from the scene and the dramatis personæ becoming perfectly ineffective, quite unfit for a concert-room, which demands a rather subdued style of singing; these things disgust the educated amateur, and annoy every musical mind. While the sterling music of their own country, the works of Bishop, Webbe, Callcot, Beale, Stevens, Horsley, Elliot, Linley, and a host of talented writers now living, are entirely and carefully secluded from their fair share of public favour by the very parties who ought to be the first to bring them forward. However, this department is now to be taken out of their hands; it has become a determination among the ladies of *haut-ton* to encourage and patronize *English Music*, sung in the best style, by the first artists in the metropolis; and it will soon be seen how much better every society will be pleased with music *they can understand*, than with an enormous expense incurred for the Italian singers, who walk in on opera nights at the eleventh hour, half exhausted, to sing over and over again the worn-out pieces of such feeble writers as *Donizetti, Mercadante, &c.* A note of *Rossini*, who is really a man of genius, we seldom or never hear. Well may he say with an experienced writer, who was extremely well acquainted with the subject upon which he was touching:—

"There is no other such vast tomb as London for swallowing up illustrious names. It is an all-devouring ocean. The celebrity of a man in London sparkles and vanishes like a firework. There are great throngings round him, great invitations, great eulogiums, great exaggerations for a few days, and afterwards a perpetual silence."

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.—Another season of these concerts has closed, and what have the directors done? This question so often asked, must be answered:

they have done *nothing* to attach the musical public to them. It has been justly said, that none but our best friends will venture to give us advice; we entertain the best feelings towards the society, and therefore we speak frankly and openly for their benefit. A strong opposition is erecting its head in the *Societa Armonica*; then there is the *Casino Society* in Leicester Square, and the *Concerts d'Hiver*, where Beethoven's symphonies are played by the same band (with few exceptions) as at the Philharmonic. The countless number of musicians turned loose from the Royal Academy will shortly furnish another formidable band if they are not employed *there*; and the demand for *good vocal music* cannot much longer be waived. Where are the symphonies of *Berlios* and *Kalliwoda*, of *Mehul* and *Keber*? Let them at any rate be tried; if report has spoken of them too highly, let their adverse fate be sealed. We understand new directors have been appointed, and among them some active person we trust, who will see with his own eyes and hear with his own ears, and have manliness enough to cast off the old lady-ishness that has rested like an incubus upon what ought to be, and might be, the finest musical society in Europe; for their means are great, they can afford to be liberal, but they continue (under the baneful influence to which we have adverted) to mismanage and misappropriate; however, reform must come, and if it does not come *gently*, perhaps the pressure from without may induce a healthier state of things. The subscribers and the members will both benefit by such change.

*Covent Garden.*—The fair lessee has opened this theatre nearly one month earlier than usual, with a company exhibiting a long array of talent in comedy, tragedy and burletta. Madame deserves great praise for having catered so well for the public taste. Her opening piece was Shakspeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Madame and Mrs. Nisbett were the merry wives, and Miss Rainforth was "sweet Ann Page," and beautifully she warbled forth the songs allotted her. "I knew a bank," was exquisitely given by Madame and Miss Rainforth, and has on every evening of performance called forth a well-merited encore. The only novelty hitherto produced has been Sheridan Knowles's play of the *Bride of Messina*, in which Mr. Moore, as the deliueator of John di Procida, fully realized all the expectations that had been formed from the talents he displayed last season in *Hamlet* and in Leigh Hunt's "*Legend of Florence*." He combines good declamation with graceful action. Mr. Anderson played Fernando most effectively, and Miss Tree exhibited the utmost tenderness, but she has scarcely sufficient physical power to embody the author's conception of Isoline; if she would also amend the fault of dropping her voice too low and being somewhat too petulant in her manner she would unquestionably be the most perfect actress on the English stage. No small portion of the success of this play must be assigned to the splendour of the scenery and the taste displayed in the dresses and general getting up of the piece. A new musical drama, entitled the *Greek Boy*, will be the next novelty produced.

*Haymarket Theatre.*—The lessee of this theatre, ever mindful of the public taste, has made an invaluable addition to his company in Mr. James Wallack, a performer of known talent, but who has hitherto never been sufficiently appreciated in this country. Mrs. Stirling, a valuable acquisition to this company, has now an opportunity of exhibiting her talents before the public. Mr. David Rees, a son of the facetious Tom Rees, the actor and mimic, is gaining on the town, while bursts of laughter bear testimony to his success. The new play of *Master Clarke*, by Searle, has been received with the most unequivocal marks of success. Like the *Bride of Messina* it will require considerable curtailment. The conclusion is far more satisfactory than Mr. Sheridan Knowles's play at Covent Garden, but the plot is far less interesting, for it contains no soul-stirring scenes; and had the respective parts been allotted to other hands than Mr. Macready and Miss Helen Faucit, *Master Clarke* would

probably have shared the fate that has usually attended Mr. Serle's productions. As it is this play (with judicious pruning) will become an established favourite.

**Drury Lane.**—That an operatic and ballet company could not have been formed at Drury Lane is not to be believed, while Phillips, Templeton, Wilson, Manvers, Allen, Leffler, Franks, Miss Shirreff, Miss Romer, Mrs. Waylett, Mrs. Croft, and a host of singers remain disengaged; nor will it be believed there was any *real* intention of forming such a company when Mr. H. Phillips was offered the paltry sum of 10*l.* per week for three nights. Mr. Eliason will be more in his element as leader of a concert band, and the blame will rest entirely on the managing committee of the Drury Lane proprietors. What will Mr. G. Robins, who complained so loudly and justly of Bunn's mismanagement, say now? What Bunn says of Covent Garden may with more justice be applied to Drury Lane. "The theatre stands where it did, but the days of its glory are altogether passed away." The present state of the two national theatres is this, Drury owes about 230,000*l.*, Covent Garden, 256,496*l.* To pay five per cent. on the debts, Drury should let for 11,500*l.*, and Covent Garden for 12,800*l.* per annum! The theatre opens on the 5th inst. with promenade concerts under the direction of Mr. Eliason and the celebrated P. Musard, of Paris; the known talents of the latter will ensure the performance of good music and an orchestra complete in every department.

**English Opera House.**—The promenade concerts, with all the old favourites, have recommenced their harmonious career at this theatre. The band has received a valuable addition in Monsieur Tolbecque their leader, while the committee have evinced no less judgment in the selection of the following novelties for their opening:—

A Quadrille, entitled *Moments de Folie*, composed expressly by Mr. Balfe for these Concerts.

A new Waltz, by Strauss, entitled *Wiener Gemüth*, and a new Quadrille, *Les Martyrs* (1st Set), by Musard.

**Olympic.**—The doors of this delightful little theatre will be re-opened in a few days under the able management of Mr. Butler, whose merited exertions last season secured him a fair share of public favour. He has engaged as much talent, under existing circumstances, as could be well secured.

The new theatre (*Princess's*) in Oxford Street opens with promenade concerts on 30th September, under the guardianship of Mr. Willey, the late leader at the English Opera House. This speculation will no doubt be warmly supported by the local inhabitants; as well as by the good citizens of London, with whom he has long been an especial favourite.

The *Strand* is open, and that is all that can be said.

The rebuilding of the *Adelphi Theatre* is nearly completed. Mr. Yates has been travelling in the provinces seeking theatrical talent;—he could certainly find more disengaged at home.

**Queen's Theatre.**—This little theatre has been entirely remodelled and beautified—certainly not before it was needed. The taste and skill of Mr. J. C. James, the lessee, has been the means of raising this theatre considerably in public estimation.

In the provinces theatricals have declined to a fearful extent.

The Bath Theatre has ceased to pay for years.

The proprietor of the Liverpool Theatre resigns this season; and the York circuit, confined to Hull, Leeds, and York, barely pays its expenses.

The Norwich manager is forced to close some months in each year. Mr. H. Bennett manages to make Shrewsbury, Coventry, and Worcester pay. Munro does the same at Birmingham, but lost money at Leicester. Be-

verley extracts with difficulty a living from Sunderland and Shields; while Barnett does wretchedly in all his towns save Oxford. Dover, Rochester, and other towns in Kent, do not pay their expenses. Shalders scrambles on at Southampton, Portsmouth, &c., but scarcely lives. Ternan, on the contrary, has done tolerably at Newcastle.

The Birmingham festival promises to be one of the most flourishing that has been given for many years. The most brilliant feature in the festival was Mendelssohn's "*Lobgesang*," or "Hymn of Praise," consisting of an introductory symphony in three movements, followed by a full chorus. It was really beautiful to witness the great Maestri conducting the band, over which he held the most perfect discipline and command; and this was more with the spell of an enchanter, than with any energy of gesture or severity of tone. The playing was magnificent, and the delights and plaudits of the audience enthusiastic in the extreme. Not the least pleasing sight was to see that great composer ascend the orchestra and shake hands with the principal performers, thanking them at the same time for their valuable support. Mendelssohn's concerto in G minor, with its delicious slow movement obligato for violoncello and tenors, was also exquisitely played.

IPSWICH.—Miss M. Brooks of this town, who has taken lessons in singing from first-rate London professors, gave two concerts recently at the new Assembly Rooms, both of which were extremely well attended. Her voice is a pure soprano, of considerable compass and correct intonation. She sang a variety of Italian and English songs, and was loudly encored in Handel's "Let me wander;" also in poor Malibran's plaintive air, "There is no home like my own." Miss Brooks also took a part in some concerted pieces, and sang several duets with Mrs. A. Toulmin.

HULL FESTIVAL.—A musical meeting on a grand scale will take place at Hull, under the direction of Sir George Smart, on the 6th instant, and will be continued for four days. The following artists are engaged:—Mesdames Dorus Gras and Albertazzi; Miss Birch, Miss Hawes, Bennet, Pearsall, Machin, Phillips, and Colletti. Leader, Mr. F. Cramer. As the selection will be made by Sir George Smart, we may confidently look forward for a rich treat. Sir George is almost the only director who is not prejudiced against English compositions.

Miss Vining, daughter of Frederick Vining of Drury Lane Theatre, has been recently playing "Pauline Deschapples," with Charles Kean, in the *Lady of Lyons*, and has performed the characters of *Lady Anne*, *Jane Shore*, *Juliet*, &c. at Brighton. Report speaks highly of her performances, as giving great promise of future excellence. She has just appeared as Julia, in Sheridan Knowles's play, the *Hunchback*, and elicited well deserved plaudits for her beautiful personation of the character, and will doubtless pave the way for a popularity on the London boards.

One of the sweetest and most attractive singers of the present day, Miss Louisa Vinning, who, though scarcely four years of age, is enabled to overcome all the most difficult modulations and chromatic passages of Italian music, with the most apparent ease. She keeps time with her tiny foot so perfectly, as to excite the wonder of her admiring audiences. Her Italian, English, Scotch and Irish melodies she produces in such mellifluous tones, as to call forth the most enthusiastic plaudits.

One of the best works for the study of harmony, which has appeared in this country for many years, is C. Rudolphus's translation of Antoine Reicha's *Treatise on Practical Harmony and Composition*. Reicha is well known to the musician by his celebrated *Cours de Composition musicale*.

*Life of Beethoven, translated from the German of Schindler, with Notes by Ignace Moscheles.*—This celebrated musician was a man of extraordinary capacity; bold, fearless, impetuous, and possessed of the greatest number of original ideas in his art of any writer who ever lived. Coming after two such great composers as Haydn and Mozart, who had enjoyed so long and so properly the public favour, Beethoven, as a reflecting writer, probably thought he had better not attempt competing with them upon their own ground; but strike out a path for himself. Of close study he knew nothing, but seems to have acquired all his powers of composition by continual practice. His symphonies, which are his greatest works, are proofs of the amazing results of this habit. The only fault that can be alleged against them is, that they are too long. This is even the case with the Pastoral Symphony. He studied greatly in the open air. It was on a hot summer's day that Beethoven sat upon a stile in the environs of Vienna, and caught from nature those imitative sounds in the Pastoral Symphony. How admirably do the violins represent the soft fluttering stir of the insects—the hum in the noontide warmth of a summer's day!

His vocal works were not numerous; but *Adelaida*, "*Tremati*," and *Fidelio*, suffice to show what he could have done in this department. M. Schindler's book will be very acceptable to the amateur; he has collected together all the information that intimate friendship with the great composer enabled him to preserve relative to his mode of life and habits of composition. In every way Beethoven was one of the most original men of his time. As a symphonist Mendelssohn seems to follow the nearest in his track. Let us hope he will set about a reform in this class of music, and curtail the movements. We have hardly yet recovered the sitting out of Beethoven's Choral Symphony at the Philharmonic; *an hour and twenty minutes*. This sapient experiment of the directors proved a positive infliction, and was the cause of many subscribers leaving. At Vienna, the birth place of the composer, they never give any of his works entire, but a movement or two. This is the sure way to increase the wish for more. Spohr has tried this change of style in his last symphony; the idea is good. Bach, Handel, Weber, and the modern Italian school, were points of variety capable of still more extension than he has given them.

"*God save the King*."—It has been for some time disputed among musicians to what composer we are indebted for the National Anthem "*God save the King*." Mr. Richard Clark has come into possession of the original manuscript book of Dr. Bull, who left this country in disgust in the year 1613, as Queen Elizabeth did not encourage English composers. This air appears, together with others of Dr. Bull's composition, in his own handwriting, thereby settling his claim as the author of this fine melody. The book was formerly in possession of Dr. Kitchener.

1693.—The invention of *Da Capo* (or the return to the first strain of a song after a second part, generally in a minor key), is ascribed to Scarlatti the elder, who first used it in his opera *La Theodora*, though not in all the songs. Afterwards it became general. Handel used it most unfairly and unsparingly. It is a musical anomaly that ought to be entirely banished. The only thing we can compare it to, is the exhibition of Signor Gagliardi's wax figures, which present us with a little scene of a lady fainting away, being revived by her attendants, and then beginning again, and fainting away once more. John Christopher Bach was the first composer who discarded the *Da Capo* about 1798.

The origin of the word *Symphonia* or *Symphony* has often been disputed among musicians. The following is the opinion of a good judge:—The Padre



Martin. "After lamenting the insufficiency of his materials, and the paucity of early records, the Padre turns to the music of the Babylonian, and he fixes upon the following passage in Daniel, as calling for an explanation of two instruments never before mentioned; 'That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psalter, dulcimo, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship,' &c. These two are the *dulcimer* and *sackbut*. The Latin name (obviously however derived from the Greek) for the former, is *symphonia*, which word has been interpreted in various ways. It would be superfluous to enumerate the different descriptions given of it as an instrument. The Padre discards the opinion entirely, and is inclined to understand *symphonia* as signifying the united music of the instruments previously enumerated. In support of this opinion he quotes a verse from the parable of the *Prodigal Son*, where the same words are used to denote music. '*Et cum veniret et appropinquaret domi, audivit symphoniam et chorum.*' This, in the Syriac version, is translated, '*Audivit vocum concentus multarum*;' and in the Arabic, '*Et audisset voces consonas*;' and this concordance, together with the many different conjectures as to the form of the *symphonia*, as an instrument, the Padre thinks a sufficient reason for concluding that it signified a *concert of instruments or voices*.

"With regard to the *sackbut* (*sambuca*) the same variety of opinion prevails; but the Padre, adhering to that of St. Jerome, and some others of authority, describes it as a wind instrument formed of the root of a tree, and played upon by stops like a flute. The possession of these two instruments, together with the reference of several passages in the sacred writings to the subject, are sufficient proofs of the cultivation of music amongst the Babylonians; and the Padre naturally supposes that as this people were every where celebrated for luxury and splendour, their music partook of the same character; amongst other nations also it was not neglected, and new instruments were invented. The *Phanicians* used one, which was called after their country (*Phœnices*), as also one called *Nawblium*, which was played on at the feasts of Bacchus; and a kind of flute used at funerals, which was about a palm's length, producing a wailing mournful sound, and was called in their own language *Gingre*. The Assyrians were the inventors of the *Triangulum* or *Trigonum*, an instrument of a triangular shape. According also to Juvenal, players on stringed and wind instruments were to be met with in Syria. The Assyrians are likewise said by some ancient writers to have invented the *Pandura* or *Syrinx*.

"The invention of the drum and bells is claimed by the Chinese."—(See *Weston's Adalla of Beyza*.)

*Modern Symphonies*.—Sir John Hawkins, in his work on music, makes the following observations upon this class of composition:—

"The general uproar of a modern symphony or overture neither engages attention, nor interrupts conversation; and many persons, in the total absence of thought, flatter themselves that they are merry. To assist this propensity, and as much as possible to banish reflection, the composers of music seem now to act against a fundamental precept of their art, which teaches that variety and novelty are ever to be studied, by reprobating, as they uniformly do, the use of all the keys with the minor 3d, upon a pretence that they tend to excite melancholy."

Beethoven has taken away the reproach respecting the use of the minor key, but still the point concerning the *total absence of thought*, alluded to by the above musical historian, is to be guarded against by all symphony writers. No composition of this kind should consist of a mere bundle of movements, there should be a sort of story like the Pastoral Symphony. The *Tournament*, for instance, would be a good subject; something to fix and keep people's attention alive must now be studied.

## MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

### GERMANY.

The present number of the German Quarterly Review, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, maintains the reputation this periodical has already so justly acquired. The most interesting articles, are Political Economy, present, past, and future; on the Celebration of the Discovery of Printing, and on Modern Literature.

Moritz Retzsch has been for some time engaged on his Outlines to Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Several of the plates are already finished, and promise to vie with those of his celebrated etchings to "Schiller's Song of the Bell," and Goethe's *Faust*. The introduction and explanatory remarks are from the pen of Professor Ulrici of Halle, whose recent work on Shakspeare's Dramatic Art (*Ueber Shakspeare's Dramatische Kunst*) has been favourably received by the public. The *Tempest* will appear in the course of next month.

The schools of Germany attract the attention of all nations interested in the subject of education. Mr. Dallas Bache has just published a volume containing an account of his visit to Europe, for the purpose of investigating the merits of the different schools, previous to the establishment of Gerard's College at Philadelphia, and Rector Bugge, of the Drontheim Gymnasium, has just published three octavo volumes, under the title *Det offentlige Skolevæsenes Forfatning, i adskillige tyske Stater tilligemed Ideer til en Reorganisation af det offentlige Skolevæsen i Kongeriget Norge* (The Constitution of the Public Schools in different German States, with Ideas for a Reorganization of the Public Schools in the Kingdom of Norway). These books, although valuable, must only be considered in the light of statistical contributions, and we rejoice to find that several Englishmen have recently visited the German schools, to make themselves acquainted with the spirit and working of the system.

The translation of Byron's works by Joseph Emanuel Hilscher, a common soldier in the Austrian army, is mentioned in the German journals in terms of great commendation. The unfortunate author, who published his original poems, full of melancholy and bitter experience, died a victim to the struggle between his consciousness of superior mental powers and his obscure situation in life.

The popularity of Schiller is greater in his native country than ever. Several journals who formerly held up Goethe as the glass of fashion and the mould of form, have deserted their former Coryphæus in favour of his great cotemporary. These two writers are so different, that it is hardly fair to compare them, and we prefer to enjoy each, without an undue and unjust comparison with the other. Wolfgang Menzel, who enjoys such great popularity in England, but who in reality is a most prejudiced writer, has always been one of the most violent antagonists of Goethe. Gustav Schwab, the poet, has just published a new Life of Schiller.

Henrich Steffens and Moritz Arndt have just published autobiographies. That of Arndt, who (after many years of constant opposition to the tremendous power of Napoleon, for which he was obliged to wander an exile) was, in consequence of the reaction after 1815, deprived of his professorship, is

remarkably interesting. After a long lapse of years he has been restored to his position; and the patriotic veteran has just been elected rector of the University of Bonn, to the great satisfaction both of professors and students.

The press teems with books relating to Frederic the Great, as a jubilee offering to his memory, he having died in 1740. There can be no doubt that Lord Brougham, in his *Statesmen of the Time of George the Third*, has not done justice to the merits of this distinguished monarch. His lordship has visited rather too severely his sins against political ascendancy, in which he was not more behindhand than Europe in general. Some alleged instances of Frederic's ingratitude have been publicly contradicted by Professor Preuss, his somewhat too eulogistic biographer. One of the most interesting tributes to his memory, is the *History of Frederic the Great*, written by Kugler, with numerous illustrations by Adolph Menzel, which are remarkably beautiful. The work is published by Weber, of Leipsic.

Professor Mädler, the author of the great map of the moon, has received the appointment of Director of the Observatory at the University of Dorpat.

HEIDELBERG.—The University of this town consists of 40 professors and 21 private tutors. During the last half year 622 students matriculated; of these 195 were Germans, and 427 from other countries, and were thus divided—22 theology, 364 law, 148 medicine, 59 mineralogy, and 29 philology and philosophy.

KÖNIGSBERG.—Captain Bannasch has been giving a series of lectures on navigation, which were well attended.

Raden Salik, the prince of Java, is studying painting at Dresden, and evinces considerable skill and talent in the art.

The King of Prussia has ordered that the "*Life and Writings of Frederick the Second of Prussia*," which the late minister, Von Altenstein, had been instructed to prepare for publication, should be given to Dr. Preuss, who will be assisted by Dr. Schulze. The historical portion of the work will appear in seven volumes quarto.

The Botanical Society at Regensburg, on the celebration of their jubilee, the Society having existed 50 years, elected the celebrated Martius as president of their body; the Crown Prince of Bohemia was also appointed patron to the society. They intend shortly to publish their *Repertorium Botanicum*, of the last 50 years.

The Historisch Theologisch Gesellschaft at Leipzig have been instructed by a gentleman of property to announce a prize of 15*l.* to the best and most satisfactory work, proving the truth or falsehood of the *Chronicon Corbejense*. All works must be sent to Dr. Illgen before 30th June, 1841.

## FRANCE.

A work, entitled *Paris and its Environs*, is now in course of publication in that city. It will consist of 200 numbers. The views are all taken by the Daguerrotype, and are really beautiful. Equal care is taken in the historical and descriptive portion of the work.

Several unpublished letters of J. J. Rousseau have been found in an old castle in Normandy. They are principally on the subject of music, and will shortly be presented to the world through the medium of the press.

## BELGIUM.

Count J. Coghern has been commissioned by King Leopold to offer 2000 francs, 80*l.* for the best work on the History of Belgium, during the reign of the House of Austria, from the marriage of Maximilian I. with Maria of Burgundy, to the abdication of Charles V. The work must be written either in French or Flemish, and sent in before the end of July, 1841.

## ITALY.

The dukedom of Lombardy contains 1,235,480 inhabitants, and 2633 schools, in which 124,328 boys are instructed, and 1929 schools, in which 79,395 girls receive the rudiments of education.

The University of Padua contains 1400 students, and that of Pavia 1500.

It affords us great pleasure to observe that Italy is attempting something like a centralization of all its literary works at a single bookseller's, Vieuksseux, of Florence. This, the only centralization of which that unhappy country is susceptible, may lead to mighty results. It is the unquestionable policy of England to see Italy one independent kingdom, freed equally from its own petty princes and German absolutism. In the monthly series of works published, or in the course of publication, which Vieuksseux puts forth, many of which are included in the above sketches, the following are the most remarkable:—Universal Geography, by Marmocchi, embracing, 1st, the relations of the Earth to the Universe, or Cosmology. 2d. Natural History of the Earth, or Physical Geography. 3d. The divisions of the Human Race into States and Nations.

The next remarkable production is by Eugenio Albèri, containing the narrations of the Venetian Ambassadors to their Senate, extending from 1296 to 1796; it is aided by an Italian literary association, and will be of immense extent. Ranke has availed himself largely of this laborious undertaking.

A Dictionary of Mathematics, pure and mixed, is making its appearance from the same quarter. Surely this must shame our countrymen. We have no work on this extensive subject, so connected with our Naval Empire, save the slight sketch by Barker, and the old Dictionary of Hutton, which is not adapted to the calculi. The French have Montucla, continued by La Lande, a very superior production, and extended to modern analysis; but the English booksellers, who hold the copyright of Hutton, make no effort to improve the work, nor to extend it, nor to bring forth a production suited to the high requisitions of analysis, and to the vast modern improvements in physical or mixed mathematics. Why do not Airy, Peacock or Whewell attempt something that really would be a national benefit? All the foreign and Italian *literary* journals may be obtained at Vieuksseux's. The restriction of the discussion of political topics in Italy seems to have necessarily driven the public mind into the only channel left open to its course.

## SWITZERLAND.

POOR WILLIAM TELL.—The poetical history of the Swiss patriot has dwindled away under the merciless hands of the German critics. His very existence has been denied, and it has been proved by extracts from documents, that no such landvogt as Gessler existed, and that the war had its rise from very different causes from those assigned in the popular tradition. The philosophical faculty of Heidelberg proposed a prize for the best work on the Swiss confederation, and for an investigation into the history of William Tell. Dr. Hauser was the successful competitor. He is of opinion that Tell really existed; that he performed actions which attracted attention in his own little circle, but that he has no claims to poetical importance, nor to be considered as the deliverer of Switzerland. The admirers of Tell, however, have not quitted the field; Mr. Hisely promises us a work, entitled *Guillaume Tell, Examen critique de son Histoire et des esprits qui en contestent l'authenticité*.

## SPAIN.

Though very far behind that of the rest of Europe in fertility and activity, the literature of the Spanish peninsula, at least of Spain itself, is not altogether

in a state of actual torpidity. On the contrary, periodical literature is on the increase, and in a comparatively flourishing condition. Last year there were no fewer than sixteen journals, literary and scientific, in existence; and to them may now be added *La Revista Gaditana* (The Cadiz Review), a monthly publication; *La Espana Maritima*, and *La Mariposa* (The Butterfly), which last appears every week.

Drama and poetry are the branches most cultivated; and among those who have of late distinguished themselves in the former, is Breton de los Herreros, who has been called by some the *scribe* of Spain, on account of his fertility and talent.

*El Pelayo*, an epic poem, in two volumes, by Ruiz de la Vega, is chiefly remarkable for the correctness of its language and versification, and has accordingly been rather coldly received. Novel writing is gaining ground, though very slowly; and though there has as yet been scarcely an attempt at any delineation of manners and society, much less at that development of individual character, feelings, and opinions, which elevates that species above mere narrative of adventure. Among the recent productions of any note, in the shape of the novel, are José Augustin Ochoa's *El Huerfano de Almoguer*, and Miguel Santos Alvarez's *La Proteccion de un Sastre*; after which, the most remarkable is one entitled *Moros y Christianos*, by a young writer who had previously distinguished himself, by a volume of poems, under the assumed title of *El Solitario*. The second volume of Martinez de la Rosa's historical romance, *Isabel de Solis*, has appeared; as also another volume of the same author's philosophical and political work, *El Espiritu del Siglo*.

History may be said to be almost wholly neglected, the chief exception being a volume of memoirs, illustrating the reign of Charles III. and the administrations of Aranda and Floridablanca. One or two historical works, however, have been translated into the language: viz. Coxe's *Memoirs of the Kings of the House of Bourbon*, and Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*. A translation of Sir H. Parnell's work on Finance, has also been made by Victoriano de Eucina y Piedra. Besides these there have been several other recent translations from the popular literature of France and England, including one of Lamartine's poems, by the Marquis of Casa Java. Much also has been done in bringing out new editions of standard and classic Spanish authors, both poets and prose-writers.

Two literary institutions have been established, *El Liceo*, and *El Ateneo Cientifico*; or rather the latter has been re-established and re-organized, after having been broken up for several years. It possesses a library, cabinet of medals, a mineralogical collection, &c.; and lectures are delivered weekly on subjects of science and economy; by which means it has contributed very much to disseminate a taste for information, and to eradicate prejudices and bigotry. The Liceo is conducted with equal spirit, but confines itself more to literature and the fine arts.

Don Francisco de la Cueva, the best Spanish historian of the present day, is busily engaged on a continuation of the *History of Spain*, written by the Jesuite Masden, in 29 volumes. This work will be considerably enlarged and improved, and brought down to the death of Ferdinand VII.

## SWEDEN.

The number of journals published in Sweden at the beginning of 1839 was 87, and of periodicals 14. Thirteen of the former, and seven of the latter, are published at Stockholm. Seven are devoted to politics, four being opposition and three ministerial journals. The *Meiner*, principally supported by Atterbom, and the *Palmblad*, contained an interesting article upon Swedenborg's osthetical views, and an attempt to explain the nature of his visionary theology.

Count Adelssparre, assisted by Tegner, Franzen, Atterbom, and several other esteemed writers, is the founder of a periodical on conservative principles, called *Läsning blandade Amner*, (Readings on Miscellaneous Subjects); it contains some beautiful poems, but has hardly equalled the expectations formed from the known talents of the contributors. In addition to these, 7 journals are published at Gottenburg, 5 at Upsal, and 4 at Lund. J. Thomens has published a work which throws considerable light on the ecclesiastical history of Sweden, under the title of *Skandinaviens Kyrkshäfder ecclesiastical, "Chronicles of Scandinavia."*

The municipality of Reichstag, the town in which Linnæus was born, has bought the estate on which the great naturalist first drew breath, and have decided in laying it out as a botanical garden. M. Heurlin has also engaged to erect a simple monument on the spot.

## DENMARK.

The Danish Society for the right use of the freedom of the Press (*Selskabet for Trykkefrihe dens rette Brug*) was founded in March 1835, for the purpose of publishing prize works on subjects that might interest or instruct the people. In three years the number of subscribers amounted to more than 5000. The society had published eighteen works, besides a weekly popular paper at a low price. Christian Molbech, the author of the Danish Dictionary, has written a Danish History for the Society, in three volumes, under the title *Fortællinger og Skildringer af den Danske Historie* (Tales and Descriptions from Danish History), which effects much more than its modest title promises.

## RUSSIA.

Two new Russian Journals have appeared; the one entitled *Leuchthurm der gegenwärtigen Aufklärung und Cultur*, is supported by contributions from some of the first literary men in Russia. The other is the *Pantheon für Russische und Europäische Dramatik*.

Smirdius, the publisher, has just issued the second volume of his *Lives of the 100 Russian Historians*. The volume contains the biographies of Schichkow, Soyесkin, Kruiow, Panajew, Kamensky, Massalsky, Radeschdin, Weltmann, and Bulgarin.

## GREECE.

Skarlatos Byzantios has just published the first part of his "*Ancient and Modern Greek Dictionary*." He is a very learned scholar, and fully competent to undertake the task of supplying this desideratum. The work will be printed and published by Koromilas, who has become the first printer and bookseller in Greece. Since his visit, in 1834, to the celebrated printing establishment of Didot Freres in Paris, he has printed upwards of 200,000 volumes.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Two societies have been recently formed in London. One for the advancement of Oriental literature, by the publication of various standard works in the original texts, for it is known that the whole literature of Asia, with the exception of China and Tibet, exists in manuscript; copies, therefore, can never be very numerous, and must always be expensive: indeed, ancient manuscripts are rapidly disappearing in the East; and it is to be feared that in another half century the few literary treasures preserved in the libraries of Europe will be the only relics saved from the wreck of Eastern literature.

Every branch of Oriental literature will thus be preserved, and the study will receive a greater impulse when the task of translating has been rendered comparatively easy, by the publication of a sufficient number of original text books. The Society proposes to print the most approved works in the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanscrit, and Zend languages, and in those of India, Tartary, Tibet, China, and the countries that lie between China and Hindustan. A subscription of two guineas per annum will entitle each subscriber to a copy of every work published by the Society. The Earl of Munster has been elected President; Lord Prudhoe, Sir Gore Ouseley, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir George Staunton, and Horace Hayman Wilson, Vice-Presidents; and a committee of twenty-four members, composed of the Professors of Oriental Languages at the different Universities, as well as of distinguished scholars, has been appointed to report as to the value of the works offered to the Society for publication.

The other is entitled the Percy Society, and has been formed for the purpose of publishing old Ballads, Plays, Tracts, &c., connected with the lighter branches of our ancient literature. The Society is flourishing, and promises much amusement at a cheap rate. The following works are in progress, printed uniformly in 8vo.

1. A Collection of Old Ballads anterior to the reign of Charles I.
2. A most pleasant and merie new comedie, intituled a Knack to knowe a Knave. With Kemp's applauded Merriments of the Men of Goteham in bringing the King into Goteham, 1594.
3. Songs of the London Prentices and Trades, during the Reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.
4. A Selection of the Miscellaneous Poems of John Lidgate.
5. "The Complainge of them that ben to late maryed." From a very rare copy from the press of Wynkyn de Worde.
6. A Collection of Christmas Carols, from the 12th to the 15th Century.
7. "The Payne and Sorowe of evyll Marriage." From a copy believed to be unique, printed by Wynkyn de Worde.
8. A Collection of Lyrical Pieces contained in plays of a date prior to the suppression of Theatrical Representations in 1647.
9. "A search for Money: or the lamentable Complaint for the losse of the wandering Knight Monsieur l'Argent" By William Rowley, 1609.
10. A Collection of Jacobite Ballads and Fragments, many of them hitherto unpublished.
11. A Collection of Old English Ballads, from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Edward VI.
12. "A Treatise shewing and declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women now-a-dayes." From a copy printed in the reign of Edward VI.
13. A Collection of Early Ballads relating to Naval Affairs.
14. "Kind-Harts Dream. Containing five Apparitions, with their Invectives against abuses rainging." Printed without date in 1592.
15. The Poetical Works of James I. of Scotland, with a Prelim. Dissertation.
16. "Pleasant Quippes for Upstart newfangled Gentlewomen, 1596."

## LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT.

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER, 1840, INCLUSIVE.

## THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

- Baumgarten-Crusius, D. L., Compendium der christlichen Dogmengeschichte. 8vo. *Leipz.* 12s. 6d.
- Ewald, H., Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes erklärt von etc. Die Psalmen. 8vo. *Götting.* 2d edition, Part II. 7s. 4 parts, 1l. 2s.
- Genoude, de, Exposition du dogme catholique. 8vo. *Paris.* 6s.
- Hase, D. Karl, Theologisch akademische Lehrschriften von etc. Leben Jesu. 8vo. Vol. I. 3d edition. *Leipz.*
- Hefele, Dr. Carl J., Das Sendschreiben des Apostles Barnabas aufs Neue untersucht, und erklärt. 8vo. *Tübingen.* 6s.
- Imitation, l', de la très Sainte Vierge, sur le modèle de l'Imitation de Jésus Christ. Edition enrichies de gravures, lettres ornées, &c. 8vo. *Paris.* 14s.
- James, Dictionnaire de l'écriture sainte, ou Répertoire et concordance de tous les textes de l'ancien et du nouveau Testament. Supplément indispensable à toutes les éditions de la Bible. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s. 6d.
- Johlsen, J. בְּרִייתֵי בִּבְלִישׁ-חֵבְרִישִׁי Biblisch-Hebräisches Wörterbuch, mit Angabe der entsprechenden Synonyme. 8vo. *Frankfurt.* 7s.
- Krabbe, Otto, Ecclesiae Evangelicae Hamburgi Instauratae Historiam exposuit etc. 4to. *Hamburgi.* 7s. 6d.
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But there is another screw loose in the matter. Quiet humour may be an apt surrogate for nimbleness of wit, and purity of feeling for brilliancy of idea: that magical undefinable German GEMÜTH may turn the scale favourably against the redoubtable French *esprit* any day, we are assured. Jung Stilling's autobiography, and other books of that sort which have been uncommonly popular in England, are remarkable instances here; but when instead of mystical young men and old charcoal burners,

village pastors and sensible housewives, statesmen and diplomats,—a Metternich, a Gentz, a Talleyrand, and even such “high persons” as a Francis, an Alexander, and a Frederick William are brought upon the carpet; when, instead of pots and pans, *Säuerkraut* and *Butterbremen*, Berlin “small white” and brown Bavarian, congresses of Vienna and holy alliances are discussed—in this case another power and a mightier one comes into play; there is a CENSORSHIP in Germany: and it appears true beyond reach of exception that a good literature of public memoirs never can flourish under that fatal restriction.

No one can have entered into the historical and biographical literature of Germany with any small spirit of discrimination, without having had frequent occasion to make this remark. It is not that this or the other instance of reticency or false delicacy requires to be pointed out by a minute and curious criticism of detail, but there is a general tone in the whole handling which strikes the free Briton instinctively as something strange. The political institutions of Germany bear the same relation to those of England that Popery does to Protestantism; and the political literature of the two countries is necessarily affected in the same way by the civil institutions as the theological literature of the two religions is by the ecclesiastical. There is in despotic countries a sacredness felt to surround the characters of kings and officers of state, similar to that which separates the ecclesiastic from the layman in countries where Popery is the predominant religion; and this feeling in either case produces the same result; viz. even when there is no formal censorship, a virtual extinction of all freedom of individual remark on the character of persons who are the objects of unconditioned public reverence. No doubt this is becoming and beneficial in many respects; to “speak evil of dignities” habitually, as is the common trick of all free countries, is a double sin, once because of the speaking and again because of the person spoken at; but it is manifest on the other hand, where the follies, frailties and absurdities of persons in high places are not and cannot be freely exposed, any thing like truth of history, much more anything like character and nature in biographical detail, is hopeless. Varnhagen, for instance, in his account of the congress of Vienna, to be presently noticed, tells us that to relieve the monotony of the waltz, the acted charade and the *tableau vivant*, some of the diplomatic wits proposed the problem—who is the most laughable figure at the congress? and that this question should be answered according to the forms of process of the congress, by protocols, notes, statistical tables, committees and other known machinery of diplomats. The proposal was agreed to; folios were blotted, and tape was wasted past reckoning, and the result—*parturiunt*

*montes*—was that the prize of ludicrous externality was after much deliberation allotted to the two individuals who—“*natürlich lassen wir dergleichen Geheimnisse auf sich selbst beruhen.*”—“But these mysteries of course,” says our memoir writer, “must be left in their own obscurity”—and thus the gossip-greedy reader finds himself deceived and disappointed again and again through the volume; till when we begin to count our gains in that sort of merchandise which we had expected specially to find in memoirs (since it can be found nowhere else), we perceive that they are for the most part very small indeed, and that names, names, names—mere names—or things as unsubstantial as Banquo’s kings or Justinus Kerner’s Ritter, are all that we have got for real and natural men that eat and drink, talk, laugh, ride, walk, and sometimes trip and stumble like ourselves. We are informed, for instance, in this same account of the congress of Vienna, that the Emperor Alexander and Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy, were seen daily walking arm in arm on the *Bastei* “in bearing and carriage two of the most beautiful phenomena (*die schönsten Erscheinungen*) that one could set his eyes on.”—What a respectable and very proper generality is this! Why did not the writer tell us how Alexander was dressed; whether he wore on the *Bastei* the same “blue coat and breeches that he used to wear when galloping on a large grey horse on the Prater;” and how beautifully his round smiling face contrasted with the dark military moustachio’d countenance of Eugene? But no man is a hero to his valet-de-chambre; and as all kings and princes are heroes to Varnhagen, it is not surprising that he should abstain from going into such *minute* details as might prove that they also are mortal. Not so, however, with “high persons” (*hohe personen*) beyond the immediate reach of German and Russian influence. If Lord and Lady Castlereagh, like their nation, given to bodily neatness, walk the *Bastei* as “primly rigged as if they were going to a masked ball,” this is sure to be noticed; and with the neat observation appended, “not remarking how much they were remarked.” Varnhagen is indeed by no means deficient in an eye for those apparently insignificant externalities which are the surest index to character; he is only so thoroughly infected with the true German reverence for titled dignities, that he never dares to speak of them in their vulgar capacity as men. Therefore he tells us nothing of “a thin figure with sallow shrunken features, of mild expression with a stiff neck, bending a little forward, and walking badly,”—that struck Dr. Bright particularly among the notables of the congress. But this figure wore a

\* Bright’s Travels in Hungary, 1818. We get no such picturesque particulars from Varnhagen.

German crown; and characteristic as the manner is in some respect of the man (*Kaiser Franz*), Varnhagen's memoirs contain no such notices; throughout the entire work we are constantly cheated of truth, nature and reality, by the vague reverence of loyal and the nice propriety of diplomatic phrase.

For Varnhagen von Ense, we must here observe, is not only a German and a courtier, but also a diplomatist—a sort of small Prussian Gentz—and for this reason also, not the most fit person to write good memoirs of public persons and public things. A memoir writer should be, inwardly, of the most free and gossiping humour, and outwardly, quite uninfluenced by political or other considerations. But Varnhagen is, at this present moment, or has, till very lately, been living in the service of the Prussian government as a diplomatic scribe; the Congress of Vienna is but of yesterday; Gentz, and Frederick William, and Talleyrand, and William Humboldt, and so many other famous persons of that assemblage, only died the other day; Metternich is still alive, and his policy with him is alive also, not in Vienna only, but further North; and in these circumstances, what could a prim, proper, prudent Varnhagen von Ense be expected to do but to bring forth his gather-all of public reminiscences, licked into smoothness by the political *Αγῶνος* that rules the etiquette of the council that sits at Frankfort, and to deal forth his small parcels of politico-personal facts with measured neatness, as a select spirit of the select society of *la crème* at Vienna, with delicate fingers, deals cards? Not, however, that our memorialist has suffered any real bodily violence to be done to his soul in this matter. Not he. He has been in long training—like poet Goethe at Weimar—and by an instinctive sympathy, by an unconscious wisdom of pretty words, says on every doubtful occasion precisely that thing that no wise man in Berlin or Vienna could have better said, being paid 100 dollars for every line. He is the very picked man of proprieties; the beautiful genius of glazed paper, gilt edges, and crow quills. He is the apostle of moderation; the living incarnation of all the decencies; the complete orthodox body of all the respectabilities. And yet he is not a common man in any sense; he is a man of uncommon neatness and tact, and bearing about with him, even when he says the severest things, (as he can do, when kings are not in the case), an air of caudour only to be equalled in the critical writings of Goethe, or in that calm, classical, diplomatic aspect of Prince Metternich, which bewitched Mrs. Trollope into the worship of continental despotism, and before his trip into Italy, metamorphosed, most opportunely, the rough, unmannerly, English Whiggism of Herr von Raumer. He only wants what Metternich

and Goethe also want—a broad gush of jovial human feeling, and a certain rough manliness of character, which, when wisely tempered, never fails to please even amid the most artificial smoothness of a fashionable saloon. He, on all occasions, prefers the manageable regularity of polished weakness, to the occasional eccentricity of rude strength. He makes an idol of Gentz, a man who, notwithstanding his European celebrity, was little better than a skilful stylist; in other respects scarcely a man at all, less than a woman,\* a mere “eunuch of the portfolio.” He sneers in his delicate way (for he has not pith enough to give a muscular Gibbonian sneer) at Jahn, von Gagern, Werner, and other rude and uncourteous, though honest and true developments of manhood. He sins in the same places where his *magnus Apollo*, Goethe, sinned; fingering often where a brave man would strike; painting where an honest man would cut. He is, indeed, a walking cabinet edition of Goethe, in all the externalities of manner and style; elevating neatness almost into sublimity; witching prettiness that it looks like beauty.

Von Ense's memoirs have been much praised—not a little over-praised, we think, in Germany. But there are reasons for this. In the first place, the Germans, though the most systematic book-makers in Europe, know nothing, properly speaking, of style. As a nation they cannot write. They roll on their heavy carriages of heaped erudition, their ponderous gasometers of a flatulent philosophy, like the lumbering motion of some half-created antediluvian megalotherion, through bogs and sea-marshes portentous. Of this they have become of late sensible; and though they will not allow, perhaps, when the question is bluntly put, that as a nation they are most clumsy handlers of their own proper instrument and “national symbol” (as Menzel will have it) the GOOSE-QUILL, yet they betray their secret consciousness of the weak point, by the multitudinous cackling instantly raised round this or that singular individual, whom nature or art may have gifted with the rare talent of saying what he means to say clearly and naturally, without embarrassment. So it has happened with Varnhagen. He can write smoothly and prettily, and intelligibly; he has studied the craft of turning sentences; and straightway with our honest Teutonic critics, there is no end to the noise of general wonderment and laudation. “*Dieser SCHÖNE Styl! dieser VORTREFFLICHE Styl!! diese Klarheit und Reinheit! diese ruhige Würde! diese edle Einfachkeit, die nicht nur an Goethe stets lebhaftig erinnert, sondern Goethe selber lebhaftig ist!*”—And so forth, in a strain that, in England, would appear ludicrous, and even childish. In the second place, Varnhagen

\* He says this himself in a letter to Varnhagen's wife, the celebrated Rahel.



is, and has for a long train of years been, in close connection with the periodical press, and has proved himself a most active and intelligent member of the noble brotherhood of reviewers in Germany. The literary productions of men so situated are generally, and in the nature of things must be, apt to be overpraised in all countries.

We have only one other remark of a preliminary kind to make. We have now before us five considerable volumes, not of *Denkwürdigkeiten* only, but of *Denkwürdigkeiten*, and *Vermischte Schriften*—"Memoirs and Miscellaneous Works." What are these miscellaneous works? The veriest imposition upon the credulity of an unsuspecting public, that we have seen for some time—a very prime specimen of the grand modern art of book-making. One half, or one third of a volume, contains the proper memoirs—the bait by which the public is caught. The rest is a mere bundling together of loose ephemeral criticisms, that if Scott or Coleridge had written them, might have merited posthumous publication in a separate work; but in their present connection can only be regarded either as a piece of most egregious vanity on the part of the writer, or as a vulgar trick of the trade, to swell three volumes into five, and make every dollar count two. We should not have made this observation on Varnhagen's account, had he been a sole offender, but it is a national sin of the German people; they print all that they scribble; they scribble all that should have been riddled out of the brain with shame, instead of being hashed up into a dessert with much pretence: and in that broad brown bowl of beggars' soup—thin and yet muddy—for which you have paid three Prussian dollars currency (a genuine English gull), the Christian student is very lavish of vision who will be eager to search out the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, of German wit and German intellect, which inhabit there.

These remarks concern our German readers more immediately. Our English readers will be more pleased that we proceed to glean from these multifarious pages of contemporary record, such passages as may seem to possess the most permanent and general interest. For this purpose we cannot do better than prefix the general table of contents—of such part of the contents at least as, taken together, form a connected historico-biographical whole.

1. Memoirs of Justus Erich Bollmann.
2. Graf Schlaberndorf.
3. My Young Days, and the Friends of my Youth.
4. The University Halle. 1806-7.
5. Studies and Interruptions. Berlin, 1807.
6. Rahel, 1807.

7. Visit to Jean Paul Richter. Baireuth, 1808.
8. Tübingen, 1808-9.
9. The Battle of Deutsch-Wagram. 1809.
10. The Fête of Prince Schwartzenberg at Paris. 1810.
11. The Court of Napoleon. 1810.
12. Steinfurt. 1810-11.
13. Hoping and Waiting. Prague, 1811-12.
14. Tettenborn.
15. Hamburg in the Spring of 1813.
16. The Campaigns of 1813-14, in Germany, Deumark, and France.
17. The Congress of Vienna, 1814-15.

The intelligent reader will see at once from these headings of chapters what a comprehensive interest the volumes before us are calculated to command. No well-informed person who takes a common interest in the extraordinary events by which the present busy century was ushered into existence, will read this bead-roll with indifference. In any hands memoirs of such a diameter could not be blundered into utter uselessness; and Varnhagen von Ense, bating the weak points which we thought it our duty to notice prominently, is no vulgar artist. We shall therefore proceed hopefully on our survey, and point out with as little commentary as possible what appears most remarkable.

Our author has thrown an agreeable variety into his memoirs, by writing part of them in his own person, and part of them in the shape of separate biographical notices of remarkable individuals with whom the fortune of life brought him into contact. With two such biographies he commences, and they are among the most interesting and characteristic in the whole work. Justus Erich Bollmann, an Hanoverian by birth, by profession originally a physician, by practice afterwards a merchant in America and England, was one of those intelligent and energetic persons whose merits are always in the inverse proportions of their prominence, and who only want the spur of ambition or the itch of vanity to make them play a great part in human affairs. But the instinctive modesty and wise moderation that tones their nature generally keeps them in the back ground; their soul works in many places where their hand is not seen, their presence by the many never suspected; as the impetuous eloquence of a Mirabeau publicly thunders with the quiet wisdom of a Dumont. Bollmann, however, had, in addition to great good sense and a very nice sensibility, a cast of enterprise and romance in his temperament, which brought him on several occasions in his early years much more prominently before the public than the quiet course of his latter years would have warranted us to suppose. Those who are conversant with the early history of the French Revolution, and particularly with the memoirs of Lafayette and the works of Madame de Staël, will perhaps

recognize an old friend in Bollmann. He distinguished his youth by two notable exploits, the one the bringing of Narbonne successfully from Paris to London in 1792; the other the endeavouring and almost succeeding in bringing Lafayette out of the state prison at Olmutz in 1794. Bollmann was also at Paris during the hottest ferment of revolutionary excitement in the spring of 1792; and his reflections on the great drama, or horrific melodrama rather, that was acting before him, proves an interest very similar in character, and distinguished by the same prophetic good sense and instinctive right feeling, that render the recently published memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly so valuable. We regret that we cannot extract some of these graphic pictures. The French Revolution has hitherto been known to us exclusively from French or English portraiture. The future historian, even when he finds nothing new in matters of fact, will not return unbenefited from the participation of German views also. As in a trial by jury it is not the number of witnesses generally, but the number of distinct and independent witnesses on which a sound verdict is returned. We extract Bollmann's estimate of Narbonne and Madame de Staël; both of which, from the intimate relation in which he stood to these distinguished individuals, are valuable. The date of the extracts is 1792.

"NARBONNE is a rather tall, stout-built, strong man, but there is something striking, great and commanding about his head. He is inexhaustible in wit and richness of ideas. He is perfect in all the social virtues. He spreads grace over things most dry. He carries everything along with him, and when he pleases can intoxicate an individual or a whole company equally with his conversation! There was only one man in France who was compared with him in this respect, and a man who, in my opinion, is certainly far his superior—his own friend Talleyrand. Narbonne pleases, but in the long run also wearies: to Talleyrand one could listen for years. Narbonne is evidently working, and betrays the intention to please; but pleasant things glide without effort from Talleyrand, and he is always surrounded by an air of unimpassioned comfort and quietude. What Narbonne says is more brilliant. What Talleyrand says is more graceful, more delicate, more neat. Narbonne is not for every body; very sensitive persons cannot away with him. Talleyrand, without being less morally corrupted than Narbonne, can bring tears even from those who despise him. I know several remarkable instances of this.

"All Frenchmen, especially those who move in the great world, are more or less distinguished by these social qualities; and I think they 'put their best foot foremost.' They are sadly deficient in grand simplicity and in soundheadedness. They can never do a thing in a natural and straightforward way; and by continually endeavouring to show uncommon dexterity and infinite tact, they generally over-work the business whatever it is, and work themselves to the devil. On every subject their first care is to talk cleverly, and with the alacrity of light-

ning they dart into the most remote and unlikely views, which are however the best for their purpose if they be only striking; meanwhile the substantial reality, lying before their nose, is overlooked, and after the most immense preparation of logic, the most miserable practical conclusion comes forth. They have no firmness, and no power of endurance. Bating these defects, I have mostly found them good-hearted, and when they act wickedly, it is generally from weakness. During my residence at Kensington, I had frequent opportunity to make and verify these remarks. One who has not seen it will hardly believe how totally different the English character is from these type-specimens of the great nation."

Thus Bollmann, as a true German, cannot conceal his aversion from the Celtic, and his sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon race.

On Madame de Staël, of whose character Bollmann appears to have entertained a very high opinion, we have the following—

"De Staël is a genius;—an extraordinary eccentric person in whatever she says or does. She sleeps only a very few hours, and continues during the remainder of the day in a state of uninterrupted terrible activity; she does not know what rest is. I never saw her without a piece of paper, which she kept rolling between her fingers; her conversation is a series of treatises, or a piled-up mass of whim and wit. What she hates most is to have any commonplace person near her. While her hair is being curled, when at her breakfast, at an average a third of every day, she is employed in writing; she has not quiet enough to revise what she has once written, to file and to improve it; but even the readiest out-pourings of her soul, crowded as it is literally with thronging ideas, are of extreme interest, and contain fragments full of the finest acumen, and the most living energy. She has several works of the most grave contents ready for the press, and writes ever on. I have read many of her pieces just as she writes them. She has not a few faults, but of these there are some, that (inexcusable in any other person) her genius has the power to convert into beauties; she demands a measure for herself alone.

"She is pretty well built, but her face is not beautiful; she is somewhat coppery (*kupferig*), and her mouth is a little turned up; but she is not in the least vain. She has nothing of the appearance of a learned lady; she has a frank, open, unconstrained manner, and an air of honesty and truth not easily resisted; she is not in any wise puffed up about her knowledge; and I have heard her say with great *naïveté*, 'Against a man who is only clever I will maintain my position; also against a man who is only well informed; but he who unites both wit and learning soon makes me feel that I am a woman.'"

These remarks were written in England in 1792. After a long residence in America, Bollmann returned to the west in 1814; attended and assisted at the Congress of Vienna, and in 1815 was again in London, engaged in extensive manufacturing speculations. In his letters of this period, he gives some remarks on the English character, which we shall extract. It may be said

generally, that the Germans, as a nation, estimate and understand us far better than the French.

"In England reason and consideration have a strong sway, order and rule triumph over whim and arbitrary will. There is law here for a maltreated horse, or a misused goat (I have just seen two such processes), as well as for a great lord insulted; and even in the streets you may see the most insignificant foot-passenger alongside of the most splendid equipages, walking with the conviction expressed in his gait, that he also is somebody: in all this, in the pervading prevalence of rule over arbitrary will, is the substance of true liberty. You make essays, sublimely blundering to attain the same thing beyond the seas also; but such liberty as the English boast is a growth, and has been developed naturally out of the past. This, however, in France they will not comprehend. Accordingly we see, on your side of the channel, the despotism of prescriptive dotage succeeded by the *despotism of magnificent conceptions, bordering for the most part on sheer madness*; while this again is undermined by the yet stronger despotism of vulgar intrigue and unprincipled consistency. And after much noise and trumpeting, everything ends where it begun, because your great political geniuses insisted on beginning where they ought to have ended. A common boor here understands the science of government better than a whole corporative academy of continental philosophers. *England is the native country of freedom, sound reason, manliness, magnanimity, and comfortability.*"\*

But Bollmann was far from being a blind admirer of every thing in England. Despite the fine language just quoted, he seems not to have found himself quite at home amongst us; he seems to have loved the country more than the people; to have respected the people more than he loved them. To a friend in Vienna he writes,—

"You in Vienna are famous for order, would only that worthy old Pouthon were here! he would fall into an ecstasy to observe how great a man can be in *work*, and how magnificent in the useful! At the same time the English are *narrow-minded, cold, stiff*, if you will. It is difficult to be every thing good. I love the English much, but more in the mass than as individuals. From this or that stray travelling coxcomb, one gets no idea of the nation. Their nationality is a part of their existence. England is a noble nation, but France is more pleasant to live in, because Frenchmen are more agreeable. I can never look upon an Englishman but as a part of the English nation, to which I do not belong. An individual Frenchman or German, to me at least, is loveable as an engaging totality. Altogether there is something more kindly and friendly in the society and manners of the continent."

These remarks have their truth doubtless; but, as in all cases of national character, the weak points which strike the stranger

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\* The word we translate here is *Behaglichkeit*. It is well known that the Germans complain of not being able to translate the English word "comfortable." *Behaglich* certainly comes near, but it is not quite the thing, it applies more to the mind.

most forcibly are generally precisely those which are most closely in-grown with the substantial strength and real greatness of the people.

Graf Schlaberndorf, the next character whom Varnhagen sketches, was a most singular person, a sort of strange German Coleridge, more however of a philosopher and a politician than a poet, living like a hermit in the midst of the bustling history of revolutionary Paris; miserly in small things, the lord of a garret, slovenly in his attire, and cherishing a beard; but generous, even magnificent on a large scale, and actuated in all things by motives of the purest patriotism, and the most disinterested benevolence, a character ready made for Sir Walter Scott. This man, as a foreigner and a German aristocrat, and also as the esteemed friend of Condorcet, Mercier, Brissot, and the unfortunate Girondist party, naturally enough during the reign of terror was more than "suspected of being suspected," and sat for many days, first in the Conciergerie, and then in the Luxembourg, in constant expectation of the guillotine. He escaped, however, after all; strangely enough, *saving his life by losing his boots!* Varnhagen relates the circumstance as follows:

"One morning the death-cart came for its usual number of daily victims; and Schlaberndorf's name was called out. He immediately with the greatest coolness and good humour prepared for departure; presence of mind in some shape, a grand stoicism or mere indifference, were common in those terrible times. And Schlaberndorf was not the man to make an ungraceful departure, when the unavoidable *must* of fate stood sternly before him. He was soon dressed, only his boots were missing; he sought, and sought, and sought, and the gaoler sought with him in this corner and in that; but they were not to be found. 'Well,' said Schlaberndorf sharply, 'this is too bad: to be guillotined without my boots will never do. Hark ye, my good friend,' continued he with simple good humour to the gaoler, 'take me to-morrow; one day makes no difference; it is the man they want, not Tuesday or Wednesday.' The gaoler agreed. The waggon, full enough without that one head, went off to its destination; Schlaberndorf remained in the prison. Next morning, at the usual hour, the vehicle returned; and the victim who had so strangely escaped on the previous day was ready, boots and all, waiting the word of command. But behold! his name was not heard that day; nor the third day, nor the fourth; and not at all. There was no mystery in the matter. It was naturally supposed that he had fallen with the other victims named for the original day; in the multitude of sufferers no one could curiously inquire for an individual; for the days that followed there were enough of victims without him; and so he remained in prison till the fall of Robespierre, when with so many others he recovered his liberty. He owed this miraculous escape, not the least strange in the strange history of the Revolution, partly to the kindness of the gaoler, partly and mainly to his good temper. He was a universal favourite in the gaol."

Schlaberndorf was, we have said, though he lived all his life in the same street and the same garret, a hermit in Paris, was no Frenchman in heart, but a pure patriot, and cherishing habitually the warmest interest in German politics. It will be interesting to the historian in this regard to know, what Varnhagen tells us, that he was the author of the famous pamphlet—“*Napoleon Bonaparte und das Französische Volk unter seinem Konsulate*,” which appeared in Germany in 1804, and was translated into English the same year; a worthy precursor to the publication which two years afterwards appeared in Nürnberg, and for which, as is well known, the unfortunate publisher, Palm, was shot by order of Napoleon. All the world knows how pitilessly that “equestrian Robespierre,” hunted poor Madame de Staël over Europe, because she had dared to say in print that the Germans were many of them better philosophers, and all of them more honest men than the then corrupted French. Schlaberndorf, had he not lived in that strange, retired, anchoretic fashion, had certainly also received a polite hint from Fouché or Savary, that “the air of Paris was not good for his health;” for he burned inwardly, like a very Stein or Blücher, with honest German hatred against the splendid despot. In a letter to Klinger (quoted by Varnhagen), the philosopher Jacobi writes of him as follows:—

“A German in every view, a most remarkable man, who has lived through the whole stages of the revolution at Paris (I made acquaintance with him first so early as the year 1786, in London); this man said to me, ‘For eight years here we had nothing but a regular topsy-turvy in public affairs, a confusion as in a country inn, where boors are drinking, every one outroaring his neighbour, and one affair of blows and cudgels succeeding another. Then came Bonaparte on the stage with his holla! Holla! cried he, and all he did was to cry holla! *His first necessity was to blow out all the lights. He brought no decision, but only an end of all questions.* At the same time he cried aloud, freedom or no freedom, religion or no religion, morality or no morality; it all comes to the same thing; *liberté, égalité*, so be it; only let no man open his mouth more, or move in any direction otherwise than he is ordered; for as things are now, so ought they to be, and so must they remain. This same speech, changed a little of course according to circumstances, the great man addressed to the whole of Europe. *That one only remaining nest of Jacobins, England, shall be destroyed, and then the impudence of independent thought and independent feeling will soon come to an end, and every thing without will straightway become as pliant and obedient as the internal might have already shown themselves. Of the German frowardness there is no cause to give one’s self particular concern; a visible threat with the cudgel will quiet that beast in a moment.*”

These words, especially the last which we have printed in italics, are remarkable as written by a German in Paris, amid all the fair promises and rising glories of the consulate. That Na-

pooleon was actuated mainly during his whole life by the steady and unrelaxed purpose to prostrate the power of the English nation, and that he was ruined mainly by the false estimate he had formed of the patriotic energies of the "stupid Germans," is a matter (now that party hostilities on this subject are gradually settling down to a *juste milieu*) patent to every open eye.

These two biographical sketches, of Bollmann and Schlaberndorf, are the only ones that lead us back to the early period of the French revolution. Von Ense's own personal memoirs do not become in any way connected with important political changes till the era of the battle of Jena (1806), and the battle of Wagram (1809). He was born in the year 1785, at Düsseldorf, and boasts descent from an "ancient, famous, and noble" family of Westphalia. This, however, and the young days and youthful friends of the future Prussian diplomatist, concern us in England little. In Berlin, 1803-1804, and in Halle, 1806-1807, while pursuing ostensibly the study of medicine, he came into contact and fellowship with many of the most celebrated literary characters of that time, and of those who have since acquired celebrity. The student of German literature will not read the part of the autobiography that embraces this era without profit. We can only afford to insert one or two notices of individuals who, either by chance or merit, have acquired a certain firm ground even in English literature. The following notices of William Schlegel's lectures, delivered in Berlin during the winter of 1803-1804, will be read with interest.

"AUGUST WILLIAM SCHLEGEL's æsthetical lectures were of the greatest use to me. He helped me to bring some order and connection into the heap of unorganized knowledge that I dragged about with me, and in reference to my own small productions I learned from him to follow more confidently the right path, and eschew the thousand wrong ones with greater certainty. I must confess, however, that even at that time we saw plainly that *Schlegel was more a man of ambitious talent than of great natural genius*; and though Neumann and I were still inclined to put confidence in him, the other members of our coterie spoke disparagingly even of his best efforts,—not a little impertinent as I thought. But they were strongly supported by Fichte, who, on one occasion, openly declared that '*the elder brother wanted depth and the younger clearness*, that both were animated by a strong hatred of mediocrity, but also by a strong jealousy of such high excellence as they could neither attain to themselves, nor gainsay; in which case they generally out of their despair fell into a strain of excessive eulogy, witness himself and Goethe.' Such remarks were any thing but welcome to me, revealing as they did the inward hollowness of those literary relations which I had hitherto looked upon as most substantial; but I was willing to believe that the natural severity of Fichte's character had here played a trick upon himself, or, that at all events, whatever liberties he might take, men of my own standing were by no means entitled to



assume such a condemnatory tone. Fichte was Fichte, and he was entitled to certain privileges merely because he was Fichte."

We have always been of opinion that Schlegel's lectures, great as their merit undoubtedly was, have been generally overestimated in this country, for the very obvious reason that they supplied a manifest want in our critical literature, and particularly in respect of the Greek drama soared so high above the mere grammatical and metrical pedantries where the school of Porson delighted to pry. Our readers may compare Goethe's estimate of the Schlegels, *F. Q. R.* vol. xvi. p. 336.

As a Düsseldorf man, Von Ense was naturally brought into contact with JACOBI, and the Pempelfort coterie, of whom Goethe in his campaign of 1792 speaks not in the most complimentary style, as indeed his large and catholic spirit was decidedly opposed to all sorts of seclusion and self-containment, however specious. Our memoir-writer paints Jacobi's personality by no means unfavourably.

"The noble impression of his beautiful tall figure, his features instinct with mild intellectuality, his address pleasantly urgent, his delicate and dignified manners, I can never forget. He seemed to possess an imposing aristocracy of mien compounded of the sage and the statesman; there was however also to be discerned by the narrow observer, a certain sensibility on occasions which indicated that he did not always or altogether possess that perfect clearness of intellect, and perfect poise of emotion, which it was his constant endeavour and instinctive striving to exhibit. His manners indeed were so winning and attractive that even his most decided opponents, as Tieck and Schleiermacher, in the face of their own ripe literary judgments, returned from visiting him in Munich as his most devoted admirers."

At Halle, in 1806-1807, Von Ense met with Wolf, Steffens, Schleiermacher, Von Raumer, and other names, some of which have since grown (for a decade or two at least) to an European reputation. Of Wolf he speaks as follows:

"FREDERICK AUGUSTUS WOLF appeared as a king among the learned of Halle. His tall, comfortable (*behagliche*) figure, his dignified calmness, his energy that seemed to move the most multifarious details by a simple command, gave him the splendour of a dignity which he did not seem to require, for he never assumed any air of superiority, but rather, like the great Frederick, casting aside the trappings of public character, delighted to appear among men merely as a man; amid the sportive play of wit and jest more triumphantly asserting his intellectual superiority, than if he had stood apart in the grand attitude of what he truly was to Halle—a Napoleon. He possessed all the common tools and materials and appendages of pedantry, but he had thoroughly spiritualized even the barrenest of them (*alles hatte er durchgeistet*), while at the same time his immense knowledge, communicated to others, gave their loose roving fancies a sure basis of historical fact on which to rest."

And in the following passages, WOLF and SCHLEIERMACHER and STEFFENS are well compared and contrasted.

The lectures began ; and more diligent and more enthusiastic than we were at this period, no auditors can be conceived. The course of ancient history by Wolf was uncommonly rich and also stimulant ; he delivered less a narration than a continuous criticism,\* and from the most cold and indifferent outset, transported his hearers by degrees into a state of the most energetic mental activity. At the end of the hour I rose from the hardest antiquarian investigations full of a cheerful glow of feeling, and most pleasurable intellectual excitement. My philological leaning induced me also to hear Schleiermacher's Exegesis of the Epistles of St. Paul ; and my medical intentions were satisfied in the meantime by Steffens's two courses of lectures, one on philosophical physiology, the other on experimental physics. I had not yet mustered resolution enough to attack formally Reil or Kurt Sprengel. From Schleiermacher I soon experienced great benefit ; his handling of the subject, his sure criticism, his fine dialectic, were profitable to the hearer beyond the mere occasion on which they might be displayed ; and I had occasion to observe then how the sympathy with clear and orderly intellectual energies exercises a powerful influence in soothing and regulating the feelings. Steffens, again, carried his auditors away with him at the first sentence. It was impossible to resist the swell of profound thoughts, grand combinations, and blooming phraseology, that billowed on from his eloquent tongue. I transplanted myself with ease into his philosophical views and expressions ; I saw with astonishment the enthusiastic teacher hold with firm control amid his wildest flights the details of so vast a subject ; I rejoiced in the amiability of an eloquence that, whatever else it might express, always revealed a warm and a pure heart ; and even in the continual struggle of the Dane with a language of which he was not yet fully master, I discerned a secret charm. These lectures were indeed a feast continually repeated, and yet ever new ; they appeared however then only in their full value, when they were taken along with Schleiermacher's, and woven with them, as it were, into a whole. This calm self-possession and that winged enthusiasm supplemented one another ; and both teachers being agreed in essentials, beheld with pleasure the singular co-action which arose out of this intellectual contrast ; for the natural philosophers heard Schleiermacher, and the theologians heard Steffens. It were well for the two sciences that they never were separated."

One must have studied at a German university thoroughly to sympathize with these notices. The university *cathedra* are to the Germans what the hustings are to us, all life and animation, and bold intellectual rivalry.

Our next extract, written at the same period, has a political

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\* Much in the style of Niebuhr's Roman History, we suppose. It is a style peculiarly calculated to develop the immense erudition and profound critical powers of the German scholars.

interest. In the foolish words of a single scholastic individual, the temper of the whole Prussian people before the battle of Jena is too truly delineated.

"During the whole summer rumours of war and movements of troops had alternated with prospects of peace; but now that Napoleon, by the completion of the confederation of the Rhine, (aimed manifestly at Prussia,) had planted himself firmly in Germany, all hope of peace vanished, and whosoever in Prussia had a voice gave that voice vehemently for war. Reichardt tried his hand among the rest, and published a few war-songs, that smacked rather strongly of the Prussian grenadier; the Austrians received a pretty broad hint that had Prussians been at Ulm in the previous year matters would have gone differently. Prussian troops, marching to the south and west, appeared in and around Halle, and fanned by their presence the already strong flame of war. Some hot-heads went straightway into a passion when peace was mentioned even as a possibility, or any doubt was thrown upon the assumed superiority of the Prussian soldiery. I remember well walking with Geheimrath Schmalz across the market-places, when another professor came up to us with the news that war was now finally determined on, and *that nothing now could save the mad Bonaparte from destruction*. We replied with some observations about French generals. 'Generals!' cried he, interrupting us vehemently, 'where should they come from? *We Prussians have generals that understand war*, who have known service from their youth; these tailors and shoemakers beyond the Rhine, who never knew that they had legs to stand on before the Revolution, in presence of our practised captains can only take to their heels. I pray you, in God's name, speak not to me about FRENCH GENERALS!"

There is not in the whole of history a more extraordinary event at first sight than the sudden fall of Prussia in 1806. But on a nearer examination, it becomes evident that the military system of Frederick, in itself far from perfect, had acquired a name in Europe more by virtue of his genius than by a permanent indwelling strength in the mass of the people; under Frederick William II. corruption and vain confidence succeeded; necessary reforms were neglected; and it was only the pressure of terrible calamity calling into public prominence such men as Stein, Blücher, Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, that could enable the Prussians to stand up again as a great nation in the face of Europe, quitting themselves like men, more than they had ever done before, at the Katzbach and at Dennewitz, at Leipzig, Ligny, and Waterloo.

In 1808-1809, Von Ense transferred his place of study, after the migratory fashion common in Germany, to Tübingen. Here he made acquaintance with the celebrated poet Ludwig Uhland, and with another brother of the fraternity of Swabian poets, a most singular and original being, half-poet, half-magnetist, himself living habitually in a state of semi-magnetism. As Justinus

Kerner's works on Mesmerism have been (more than once) noticed in our English periodicals, the following curious personal notices with regard to him may not be unacceptable.

"KERNER follows medicine, not from any particular preference, but because it was thrown in his way. He has indeed a strange indifference towards the external world. Something, he says, a man must do for his bread: there is drudgery wherever we go; so it is best to drudge at what comes foremost. But with all this professional indifference he has been a hard student, and has made great advances in medical science. For his thesis he has chosen the function of hearing, and with this view he is making quite new experiments with animals. He lives in his room with dogs, cats, hens, geese, owls, squirrels, toads, lizards, mice, and more bestial; God knows what, on the most friendly footing; and his only concern seems to be that his guests may not take occasion to creep out at the door, or fly out at the window; as for his books and his clothes he lets them be used or abused as the animals please; neither if they snarl or howl him out of his sleep, or even bite him, does it seem to discompose him in the least. His experiments are ingenious and cunningly devised; but on all occasions he takes special care to avoid anything that may cause pain. He lives indeed generally in a state of intimate communion with nature, and knows it well, especially on its mysterious side. His eyes have something ghost-like (*geisterhaft*) and pious; he possesses the singular power of making his heart beat quicker by an act of mere volition, but he cannot stop the motion when it is once begun; the observations which Ritter recently made on Campetti—the pendulum-movement of the ring on the silk thread, and other such-like magico-magetical phenomena, are exhibited also in his case in remarkable force. He himself is decidedly somnambulist. He will sit for a long time musing and dreaming, and then suddenly starting up laugh heartily at the fright he has given the bystanders. He has a most wonderful trick of imitating madness; and though he generally begins this in a humorous style, one can see that it is a serious enough matter, even with himself, before he ends. In poetry, the popular romance and ballad are his natural element—the simple voice and rude strength of nature; compositions of a higher order of art he tolerates, but he does not enjoy; it is impossible indeed to make him speak the language of books; his familiar phrase is caught up from the country people. He has no well developed taste for the plastic arts; in music he has made the Jews'-harp his own, and can witch from this strange and imperfect instrument the tenderest and most touching tones. Imagine now the simplest and most careless apparel, a forward leaning in his carriage, an uneven gait, a constant inclination to lean on something, or to lay himself down (he will on all occasions prefer lying in an awkward to sitting in an easy position), and with all this a slim, well made, and by no means ill-looking young man. So you have a perfect picture of my Kerner."

We add a story of a singular kind.

"It was deep in winter, and Kerner was sitting with a friend, an

enlightened and sensible person. The candle was burning, and a guitar lay on the table; he commenced playing. As he was fingering the instrument he felt suddenly a feeling of constraint come over him, which quickly increased; he was in a state to himself undefinable, and such as he had never before experienced; he had neither measure nor expression for what he felt; and his condition rose to a climax of perplexity on his perceiving that his friend, who sat beside evidently over-mastered by a similar emotion, was looking in terror over his head. He now felt as if a terrible weight was pressing upon him from above, and in the same moment, when the painful feeling had mounted to a crisis, his friend sprang up, and cried out full of terror, 'Oh, Jesus, Kerner!' and rushed out of the room. Kerner fell down, and lay for a time unconscious, not from the fright however, as he expressly asseverates, but from the continued action of the exciting cause, whatever it might be, within. (*Steigerung seines inneren Zustandes.*) When he came to himself, he left the chamber hurriedly, and walked about for a little in the open air; the clear starry winter-night refreshed him, and when he came in again he could quietly lay himself to sleep. Early in the morning he met his friend—both were embarrassed; but at length his friend, still shuddering at the recollection, narrated how while Kerner was playing on the guitar the preceding evening, suddenly a figure appeared to form itself above Kerner's head, and then drew away along the wall. Kerner knew only, that as he was playing a feeling of anxiety came on him from above; then suddenly he became very cold, and every thing around unusually light and clear. Neither of them could find out any external circumstance that could have caused this apparition: when Kerner returned he found the light burnt out, and no closeness in the air. They could find no words to express the strangeness of the feeling each had experienced. Kerner can never tell this story without a most unpleasant feeling; and he almost repents that he has told it me. The feeling, he says, was so terrible, that he felt as if instant death or madness should have seized him: before the fit, he had been very merry and in excellent spirits; but the next day he felt himself unwell, was seized by an affection similar to St. Vitus dance, and was obliged to continue many days under medical care. Even now he insists that the whole was a matter of bodily disease, and rejects any theory of ghosts as applicable to the case; but he still persists in the reality of the wonderful apparition, and can in nowise talk himself out of the belief that such a thing actually was seen."

In our opinion this apparition is one of a series of most interesting psychological facts which have not yet been sufficiently investigated by our physiologists and philosophers. The facts of Mesmerism, in so far as they are really *facts*, come under the same category.

We regret that we cannot accompany our author to Bayreuth, where he holds a very pleasant *tête-à-tête* with Jean Paul Richter in 1808. As little can we afford to give an English echo to his extraordinary praises of his extraordinary wife Rahel—a woman

unquestionably of high talent, but who, though, like Bettine Brentano, a Goethe-worshipper, having had the chance to marry Varnhagen von Ense, instead of writing love-letters to Goethe, has not been so fortunate in acquiring a literary reputation on this side of the channel. It is our duty, however, to refer the student of recent European history to this Berlin lady: her correspondence, published at Leipzig in 1836, contains letters to and from some of the most distinguished public characters of the age which is just dying out. The correspondence with Gentz will be found particularly interesting. Meanwhile we are pressed by more important matter from Varnhagen's own portfolio. His account of the famous ball given by Prince Schwartzberg after the peace in 1810, will be read with interest by those whose memory extends to those times. Younger readers will be more pleased with the account of Napoleon's court in the same year, from which we make a considerable extract. After describing the impatience, confusion and not very courtly manners of the ante-chamber, our author proceeds to describe the audience as follows:—

“At length the moment of audience arrived, and on a signal given the whole assembly rushed in disorder to the door, crushed and squeezed right and left without any ceremony. Pages and guards filled the passages and ante-chambers; petty bustling importance was eager here also to fix the general eye on itself, and the soldiers seemed the only ones in the crowd who appeared to know how to perform their part in a decent and orderly manner—a virtue, however, which they had learned not at court, but from their corporals.

“After a semi-circle had been formed in the hall of audience, and the expectants had arranged themselves in several close rows, the call of *L'Empereur* announced Napoleon, who came in from the far end of the room. In simple blue uniform, his little hat under his arm, he advanced heavily (*schwerfällig*) up to us. His manner indicated the inward struggle of a mind that wishes to attain an object by means of certain persons whom he is inwardly compelled to despise. On this occasion he would have wished to appear as favourably as possible; but it seemed as if he thought it not worth the trouble of the effort; for naturally his manner was anything but pleasing. He was accordingly in some things too intentional, and in some things too careless; in every word and gesture restlessness and dissatisfaction were visible. He turned first to the Austrian embassy, which occupied the one end of the half-moon. The unlucky *fête* afforded matter for various inquiries and observations. The Emperor evidently wished to appear sympathetic; he even used words of emotion, but in this tone he did not succeed at all, and he accordingly dropt it. He was much less polite to the Russian ambassador Kurakin; and as he went along the circle some look or thought must have strangely disturbed him, for he fell into a terrible fit of ill-humour, and let out his passion violently on one of the persons present

of less note, whose name I do not recollect ; was displeased with every answer, rated and threatened, and kept the poor mortal for a short season in the most painful state of suffering. Certain persons who stood next to this victim, and were themselves in no small apprehension lest the thunder might also break before them, assured me afterwards that there was no cause whatever for this volcanic outbreking. The Emperor only took the nearest object on whom he could safely let out his ill-humour ; and that he was accustomed to do this even intentionally, that others might be kept in due terror and submission.

"As he passed further on, he sought to speak in a more moderate tone ; but it would not do. He spoke in short, hasty and abrupt sentences, running over the more indifferent subjects with a passionate celerity ; and even when he meant to be kind, there was always something of anger in his tone. A more rough, untamed voice indeed I have scarcely heard.

"His eyes were dark-vaulted (*dunkel unwölbt*), fixed straight before him on the floor, and turning only backwards quick, and then to the individuals whom he successively addressed. When he smiled, it was only with the mouth and a part of the cheek ; forehead and eye remained immoveably dark. When he, as I once or twice observed, forced his whole countenance into a smile, the effect was yet more forbidding. The unnatural union of playfulness and seriousness had something truly terrible in it. I know not what to think of those persons who have found grace in the expression of these features, and captivating friendliness in these manners. However much of plastic beauty his countenance might boast, it was hard also and severe as marble, far from all confidence, of any thing like heartiness incapable.

"His conversation, when I heard him, was commonplace both in matter and manner, without soul, without wit, without power, nay, even now and then, altogether low and laughable. Faber, in his *Notices sur l'Interieur de la France*, has discoursed at length on the interrogatories which Napoleon used to put to so many parties, and which have been often so unreasonably lauded ; on the occasion of which I am now speaking I had not yet read the book ; but I have since found every thing in it confirmatory of my own experience. His questioning frequently resembled the lesson of a school-boy not quite certain of his game, and continually repeating to himself what he fears otherwise may not be ready for the moment when it is required. This is literally true of a visit which Napoleon, a short time before, had made to the great library, on which occasion even when going up the staircase he was continually asking for the celebrated passage in Josephus where the historian speaks of Christ, and appeared to have no other object for his present visit than thus to make a display of this scrap of classicality which he had just acquired ; it seemed quite as if he had learned his question by heart. No man was fonder of displaying his knowledge, even when it was of the most general and superficial kind. He happened to ask a respectable gentleman from the north of Germany to what country he belonged, and when the gentleman named a district

bordering on Holland, Napoleon turning on his heels with an air of triumph, interrupted him—'*Ah je sais bien, c'est du Nord, c'est de la Hollande !*' To the many French who heard this, the Emperor's minute geographical knowledge on this occasion would no doubt appear admirable ; those who possessed the requisite local information might not be surprised at the Emperor's ignorance of the border districts of North Germany, but could not but smile at his ridiculous affection of knowledge. Not so happy was he, however, with Lacepede in the museum ; he took the giraffe for a bird, and as such praised it to his consort, who with Lacepede became quite anxious about Napoleon's blunder ; which the Emperor observing, broke off the conversation roughly, and went away in evident ill humour. The petty zeal with which Napoleon endeavoured to shine in the social circle—a sphere for which he was altogether unfitted—was on occasions perfectly ludicrous ; here he failed in every attempt, as in other more serious matters, to our deep sorrow, he had uniformly succeeded. One cause of his bad success as a conversationalist lay no doubt in the habit he had of saying severe and unpleasant things ; but even when he wished seriously to make himself agreeable, he seldom could bring it beyond the trifling and insignificant ; and I was myself witness to an occasion in St. Cloud, where to a whole row of ladies he could say nothing but the same sentence twenty times over—*Il fait chaud*.

" It is true that not a few energetic phrases are current from Napoleon's mouth, and his commands are for the most part short and severe ; but in these it is more the might of the mind that speaks than the speech itself that compels attention. It is always the Emperor who speaks, and in him, not in the orator, lies the charm. Several happy ideas, again, that are commonly ascribed to him belong properly to other persons, who were too politic to revindicate the intellectual property which the Emperor had neatly pocketed. When, on the other hand, he spoke continuously in greater fulness of communication, as he loved to do, and let himself out in an infinity of phrases, heaping facts and arguments with the greatest fluency on one another, on such occasions one missed very much order and continuity, clearness, and precision of ideas ; at the same time he never lost sight of his purpose ; but it was not by his words so much as by his superiority as a general, and by the iron might of his will, that he was wont so surely to attain that purpose. In these latter qualities indeed consists his true greatness ; and there is no necessity for decking him out in excellences which he did not possess ; as the incarnation of victory and the instinct of command he remains one of the greatest men that ever have been. Alexander, Cæsar and Frederick possessed the gift of eloquence ; Napoleon could never acquire it ; his intellectual constitution, and yet more the tone of his feelings, would not admit of it.

" This is the true reason why Napoleon was so sensitive to all attacks with the weapons of wit ; he was utterly naked here, and could not return the thrust ; a clever song or a well-pointed lampoon could make him perfectly rabid. At that time there was current in Paris a song on his new marriage, written in the tone of the commonest street ballads,



but without doubt composed by some one of the higher classes. The Emperor saw his splendour and his power stained by a vulgar rhyme, and snorted revenge; but the police knew as little of the writer as of the distributors. I had received a copy by the penny-post without name and badly written, and had repeated the words so often to my intimate friends that I could now say them by heart. Strangely enough, as these things will happen, at the very moment when the Emperor, frowning and out of humour as I have described him, was passing the spot where I stood, what should come into my head but this same song, words and melody in full incarnation to my fancy, and there the little devil began to work so busily that I was on the point of yielding to the temptation and humming the fatal stave audibly, when suddenly, to my great relief, the levee broke up, and repeated deep bows from all sides accompanied the departure of Napoleon, who had aimed none of his harsh words but only a single penetrating look at me, on the withdrawal of which however I felt as if I had escaped from imminent bodily danger."

Such is a thorough German account of Napoleon's court. The French of course, as we all know, is to a different tune:

"Tous les cœurs étaient contents :  
On admirait son cortège ;  
Chacun disait—Quel beau temps !  
Le ciel toujours le protège ;  
Son sourire était bien doux."

As Beranger sings. Both accounts are true.

We have said nothing of the battle of Wagram in 1809, where Varnhagen served in the Austrian army, because having been wounded on the first day, which was a mere overture, his account of the main action is necessarily a mere redaction of the statements made by the original authorities. With great pleasure, on the other hand, do we refer to his notices of Baron von STEIN, with whom he lived seemingly in terms of great intimacy in the year 1811 at Prague, immediately previous to that great man's departure for Russia. Wherever hatred to Napoleon and hope for Germany was, there was Stein—the rough and rude, but fiery, noble minded, and indefatigable patriot. His peculiar polemical fashion of conversation is well described in the following passage:—

"Stein lived at Prague in a very retired manner; for, though he was on the most intimate footing with the first families of the place, he was accustomed to make claims upon his associates such as very few were in a condition to satisfy. Real German honour and firmness were indeed with him the first and indispensable requisites: but he demanded also a certain polish and scientific culture, decision, energy, and, if possible, also wit and soul. I had no pretensions in myself to be made one of the select few whom he honoured with his society; but I had travelled about much in Germany, had been in Paris, and studied Napoleon; and these accidental accomplishments were sufficient to procure

me admission into the envied circle. He received me evidently with purposed friendliness ; but, notwithstanding this, there was something abrupt and altogether unceremonious in our first meeting. It was indeed easily to be read in his whole bearing that he was an enemy to all sorts of roundabout. He was without pride or pretence of any kind—simple, plain and natural. In discourse he was uncommonly vivacious. We differed on many points : but every doubt on my part only served as a new spur to his zeal, and he did not shun to enter into the most extensive details, in order to correct any errors into which he thought I had fallen. When he discoursed on Prussian affairs, and began to criticize the conduct of the various public men who had distinguished themselves by wisdom or folly on the late trying occasions, there was something both in his matter and manner that on the opposition side of a British parliament must have produced a wonderful effect. When his zeal was at full gallop a sort of tremulous movement seemed to seize voice and gesture ; he would shut his eyes, and scarcely be able to bring out his words articulately. But immediately he recovered himself ; and with the calm self-possession of triumphant intellect, he scanned the listener, reading with keen and commanding eye every secret objection in his face, and then storming upon him with new hard and irresistible onset of truth ! To enter into conversation with him was certain battle ; a continual danger by some sudden turn to be drawn into violent altercation, because it was his pleasure to turn every one present in imagination into an antagonist ; and this without any hostile feeling, without personal intention or any permanent impression on his own mind. This gave to the intercourse with Stein a peculiar charm : and the irritation which it produced was of a kind that sensible men sought rather than avoided. Even persons in the most elevated social position, (towards whom Stein only tempered his usual manner by a slight admixture of humour), were captivated by his blunt and straightforward character. So afterwards the Emperor Alexander."

The energetic, boldly practical character of this great statesman (if not a *statesman* generally, at least one, and of the best, for those stirring times), is also well caught from the account of his favourite characters and authors given in the following passage :—

"SCHARNHORST and GNEISENAU were the men of his heart. After them he expressed the highest esteem for NIEBUHR, no less as a practical statesman than as a profound scholar : his history of Rome he admired both for its learning and its ingenuity ; but he had one objection, that with these high qualities Niebuhr *did not write German* ; but that through his native language, English always peeped, he having spoiled his style by too exclusive an enthusiasm for English literature in his early years. Of German learned men generally he had no very high opinion ; but he perused and recommended HEEREN as thorough (*gründlich*) and practical, and spoke also in the highest terms of Fichte, on account of his *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* (Discourses to the German People). For the philosophers, however, generally, he had small toleration, and pronounced the most celebrated of the then heads of schools in plain Ger-

man—Mad. Schleiermacher's philosophical religion also was beyond his reach (*war ihm zu geistreich*), and in respect of orthodoxy more than suspicious."

No wonder that with these sympathies Stein asserted the first place in the political eloquence of the time to the celebrated Arndt:—

"When the great preparations for the Russian war, in 1812, were going on, Stein remained in a state of the most violent excitement. Any thing like calm consideration with him was now out of the question. He had got hold of the proof sheets of Arndt's '*Spirit of the Age*.' I called on him one morning, and straightway he began to read out to me long passages with increasing enthusiasm, but he seldom made out a page continuously, so vehemently was he pressed by the necessity to express his own feelings. 'Since Burke,' cried he, 'nothing of such true political eloquence has appeared, nothing of such urgent truth.' He recommended the style to my imitation. 'On this road,' said he, 'you may expect to write something to the purpose, the truth of facts, not metaphysical phrases! Do you understand me, Herr Metaphysicus?'"

These passages are dated 1811-12. In May of this latter year Stein received an invitation from the Emperor Alexander to make his head-quarters St. Petersburg; and looking on himself as always a stranger where Napoleon was, and always at home where his enemies were, he did not long hesitate. "Think not my conduct strange," said he to a friend, "that, like a young man, at my time of life I expatriate myself, and enter upon a new and unknown career. *The man who has lost his fatherland is necessarily an adventurer. There is no choice: I must seek freedom and fatherland at the end of the world.*" Varnhagen thinks it was short-sighted in Napoleon to allow Stein ("*le nommé Stein of 1808*"), thus to slip through his fingers; and there is no question that such a man could not live in the capital of the Czar without exercising a most important influence on the mind of Alexander, and through him affecting the whole character of the war. It is well known that in the spring of 1813, Kutusoff and a strong party with him, having driven the French across the Vistula, were unwilling to change a defensive patriotic war into a war of aggression against France. Had this narrow policy prevailed, Napoleon certainly never could have been beaten by the Prussians alone, or even by the Prussians and Austrians combined. Among those whose burning hate against Napoleon contributed to the adoption of that more liberal policy, which found a glorious issue in the battle of Leipzig, Stein deserves to be named the first.

Our limits forbid us to accompany Von Ense through the German-Danish campaign of 1813, and the French campaign of

1814; in both of which he served under the famous Cossack captain, Colonel Tettenborn. His notes on this part of his career are a valuable addition to the history of the time. We cannot say, however, that we are much pleased with his portrait of Tettenborn. We cannot believe that he has shown us the whole man. The picture is as neat, pretty and smooth as one of Felix Neff's Cathedrals. It is impossible to paint a Tettenborn or a Blücher to any purpose in the cabinet or fancy style which Varnhagen affects.\*

We have already expressed our general dissatisfaction with the account of the Congress of Vienna, given in the first volume of the new series of these memoirs. It is altogether uninspired by those bold and familiar glances into character that pierce through the specious proprieties of high life, and behind the stage-dress of the court and the cabinet teach us to measure and value the man. True enough it is, indeed, that diplomatists, like comedians, lawyers, and other actors of all kinds, behind the public mask, have often no private character to show; but this occurs only with the narrower class of minds. At Vienna, in 1814-15, there were subjects enough for the bold brush of a Rubens—had Varnhagen not been a paper-curler.

Should the volumes that follow of this work possess any peculiar interest, we shall not fail to acquaint our readers. For ourselves we expect but little. The nearer he approaches the present, the more will Von Ense's courtly soul be anxious to finger and carve down the great broad truths of nature into a mere cabinet catalogue of diplomatic decencies. We expect more from the memoirs of Arndt and Steffens which have just been published. Arndt at least is a man of muscle: and when he speaks at all will speak out—if he can. Whether he can or cannot in any particular case depends upon the censorship.

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\* Von Ense has written a life of Blücher. The present writer has not seen it. It is certain, however, that such a work, to be written well, should be written by Arndt, or a man of that calibre.

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ART. II.—*Piesni Ukrainskie, wydane przez P. Maxymowicza, w Moskwie, 1834.* (Songs of Ukraine, published by Maxymowicz, at Moscow, 1834.)

DURING that period of the middle ages when the west and the south of Europe were studded with Gothic castles, and when Rhodes and Malta were the asylum of the military religious orders—the scanty wrecks of the great armies that had marched into Palestine—it was not so much as surmised that, behind the rampart which Poland opposed to the barbarians of the East, there existed a powerful confederacy of warlike men, who, occupied incessantly in the pursuit of arms, lived only by war and for war. By a strange fatality, these men, though they struggled in a sacred cause—in the defence of their religion, nationality, and homes—gained ultimately, however, only a name of opprobrium, that of Cossacks, equivalent, in the opinion of civilized nations, to that of robbers and savages. Notwithstanding their name of reproach, the history of these men occupies an important place in the annals of south-eastern Europe. The military system of the East, like a mighty tree, soon overspread with its branches the Dnieper, the Don, the Black Sea, the Sea of Azoff, the Volga, the Yaik, the Caucasus, and the Ural. Numerous and wide-spreading as were these branches, they must nevertheless be viewed only as forming a perfect whole, springing from the same stem, and animated by one and the same principle of vitality.

Few subjects of historical investigation have had the ill luck to be worse comprehended than the Cossacks; and yet they have been written of, and commented upon, by authors of all the nations of Europe. The cause of this seeming anomaly will be found on the one part in the ignorance of the Slavonic language which prevails universally amongst these authors, and on the other, in the multifarious incorrect reports circulated by travellers, the great majority of whom seem to have adopted as their rallying word, “whatever differs from our own customs, is bad.” Add to these, the national jealousy with which the Cossacks have ever been regarded by their neighbours. Who those Cossacks were, who, after having entirely lost their independence and their freedom, have yet bequeathed to posterity the indestructible marks of nationality, their original customs and manners, and their poetry, is a question therefore that yet remains to be solved. Our present purpose being to say somewhat on the latter subject, we cannot do so satisfactorily to our readers without first endeavouring to give a sketch of the early history of this remarkable race. We shall, however, refrain from entering upon etymological and other learned dis-

quisitions as to the original signification of the name "Cossack," and proceed at once to relate some facts connected with their history, taking as our guides, two able writers, a Russian and a Pole, whom we rejoice to find meeting, on this ground at least, in the character of friends.\*

The vast steppe extending between the Lower Don and the Lower Dnieper had been from the remotest antiquity traversed by many a nomadic people. The tracts where the Scythian once wandered, were successively occupied by the Sarmatian, the Ostrogoth, the Polovtzy; there the Tatar and the Cossack subsequently tended his flock, or sallied forth from thence on his plundering expeditions. So late even as the sixteenth century, travelling was as unsafe in those regions as it is in our days in the country of the Bedouins. During the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, whilst the duchies of Southern Russia were in a flourishing condition, her boundaries on the left bank of the Dnieper did not extend beyond the river Sula; and the city of Kaniow formed her bulwark against the Chosars, the Pietchingues, the Polovtzy, the occupants of the above-named steppe, who were incessantly fighting either for or against Russia, or amongst themselves.

Let the reader constantly bear in mind the internal condition of Southern Russia, the only country at that period permanently inhabited, which was situated in the immediate vicinity of the roaming savages of the steppe. The various small duchies of Russia were studded with *grod*,—small boroughs protected by walls,—in which were the locations of the dukes themselves or their lieutenants. In the midst of these *grod*, small villages lay thinly scattered, which bore the name of *grodek*, and in these the bulk of the people lived, or rather sheltered themselves on the approach of a foreign enemy or one of the native dukes carrying on war against another. The want of such places of refuge were daily felt more and more. The villager on his return home from the *grod*, usually found only a heap of ruins where he had left his hut; he built another, and was again compelled to desert it for the *grod*. Consequently, no where except in the *grod*, did there exist security for life, peace, for the fruits of labour, or for any kind of liberty. The chief of these *grod* were, Kiow, Czernichow, Pereaslav, Belgrad, &c.

To fill up the measure of distress came the great invasion of the Tatars. That which had formerly been of one or two years

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\* Polewoy's History of the Russian Empire; Gnorowski's Insurrection of Poland in 1830—31. We should also advise our readers to peruse the Article on Slavonian Antiquities in the last number of this Review.

duration, now lasted for a century. For more than that period the sword of the Asiatic robbers was suspended over the necks of the wretched people who could not look forward with hope even for a single day. No respite was granted them, no peace long enough to allow of their leaving the *grod*, and building huts which they might inhabit at least for a year whilst they should gather in some of the fruits of the earth. We can give no better picture of these scenes of devastation and woe, "made visible by the palpable darkness," than that drawn by Guorowski in the work to which we have already alluded.

"Amidst tombs, which rising like mountains, marked the bloody passage of the multitudinous nations, whose names, as Chateaubriand says, are known only to God; amidst walls raised by unknown hands, and cemeteries whitening with the bones of Varangian Russians, of the Polovtzy, Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Poles, the Tatar still discerned the several tracks along which he carried desolation from his maritime steppes to the flourishing abodes. One of these tracks led from Oczakoff through Podolia; another followed the right bank of the Dnieper, and passed through the plains of the Ukraina to Volhynia; a third proceeded from Valachia into Galicia, and all met at Lemberg. Flights of rapacious birds arriving from the south, announced the approaching scourge, and the true omen was quickly confirmed by the glowing sky that reddened in the glare of burning villages. The barbarian hordes in their sudden attacks, overpowered the inhabitants and seized the fruits of their toil before the warlike proprietors of the adjacent castles could descend to their defence. Prompt in aggression, prompt still in flight, they dragged into infamous captivity the youth of both sexes, driving off the herds, and leaving behind them only heaps of ashes and the corpses of the aged. Notwithstanding this immense havoc, the population still renewed itself upon that beautiful soil, 'cut up,' as says a Sclavonian poet, 'by the tramp of horses, fertilized by human blood, and white with bones, where sorrow grew abundantly,'—and that population, like the soil, never ceased to be Sclavonian."

In the breasts of men thus circumstanced the desire naturally arises rather to go forth and meet sword in hand the threatening danger, than to await its coming in inactive terror. Such was the case in Southern Russia, where during the oppression of the Tatars, two classes of men, or rather two kinds of existence arose, the one,—if the expression may be allowed,—*grod*-like; the other, *cossack*-like. In the north of Russia, where the independence of the various states, though greatly shaken, was not yet destroyed, the *grod*-like frame remained as before. But in the south, where the dukes, their lieutenants (*boyars*), and companions, had been nearly exterminated by the sword; where the power of the Church had been annihilated, and the Tatars had a fixed abode; where the *grod* were either reduced to ashes, or, despoiled of walls, stood

defenceless with their terror-stricken population in the midst of wild deserts;—there the cossack-like existence manifested itself in its utmost extent.

This mode of existence, therefore, signified in fact the condition of a wanderer bereft of his home, and separated from his penates. It was the very reverse of the grod-like existence; and its origin may be dated from the middle of the thirteenth century.

But where could these fugitives seek refuge from the bondage of the Tatars? With the exception of the district on the right bank of the Dnieper, the whole of the vast steppe between that river and the Don was overrun by the latter. The city of Kaniow, the former bulwark of Russia, had now become the advanced post of the Tatars, and this constantly recurring destination of Kaniow suggested a beautiful line to a Polish poet—

“To limits wild her hardy breast was guard.”\*

A century later, Olgerd, Grand Duke of Lithuania, drove the Tatars from the bank of the Dnieper. In consequence of his conquest, only two corners of land at the southern extremity beyond the Don, by the Sea of Azoff, and beyond the *porogues* or islands of the Dnieper towards the Black Sea, remained as places of refuge for the fugitives; these two corners were, in fact, the cradle of the Cossacks; those of the Don, and those of the Ukraine or Zaporogues (the dwellers beyond the Islands).

The fugitives, however, from the Russian duchies, which were subjugated by the Tatars, whilst seeking a shelter in these sequestered places, found them already occupied. These original settlers were partly the wrecks of nomadic tribes driven from the steppe by the Asiatic invaders, and partly fugitives from the Caucasus, whither also the Tatars had penetrated. Their numbers had subsequently been increased by individuals who had escaped from captivity amongst the Tatars and Lithuanians. In reference to this subject we again quote Gnorowski's words:

“About sixty miles below Kiow, the Dnieper forms a variety of isles, upwards of seventy in number. The banks of the river, here fringed with wood, there steep and marshy—the deep caverns in the rocky islands, concealed by spreading trees or tangled thorn bushes, offered a favorable place of refuge, whilst the open country lay exposed to the barbarians. At the epoch of the first general invasion of the Tatars, and again during the Lithuanian war, many persons found shelter there, and their number was subsequently increased by the arrival of adventurers, guided by necessity or pleasure; by deserters from the Lithuanian, Polish, Hungarian, and Valachian ranks; by fugitives from

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\* “The Castle of Kaniow,” a poem by Gósczynski, has been reviewed in a former number of this Journal.



Tatar bondage, or by the poor escaping from the oppression of the rich ; sometimes also by criminals flying from merited punishment. The motley community was at first held together by a rule enforcing celibacy, fishing, and hard labour. Gradually they ventured upon secret excursions to the neighbouring countries, which by degrees they extended into daring expeditions down the Dnieper, and along the Black Sea as far as the very walls of Constantinople. In more peaceable times they condescended to inhabit the plains, there to cultivate the soil, and enjoy domestic comfort in the bosom of their families."

This *colluvies gentium* consolidated into one body, although, owing to local causes, the two races predominated respectively more or less in certain districts. Thus, amongst the fugitives of the Don, the Asiatic element prevailed ; amongst those of the Dnieper, more of the Slavonian blood was infused. Thence originated a difference in language, character, and customs ; both however generally adopted the Russian language, and the creed of the Eastern Church. The cause of this is obvious. The Russian fugitives born in the grand duchy of Kiow were superior in intellectual acquirements to their companions of other origin, and the Christian faith was with them a pledge of enmity towards their Mussulman oppressors. A higher degree of civilization and a more ardent faith ultimately prevailed. They all assumed the name of Cossacks, which meant, and does so still in the East, an *independent warrior*.

The primitive condition common to them all at the time of their first settling, has been thus sketched by the pen of an anonymous author, himself born on the banks of the Don :

" From the mouth of the Aksaya up to the government of Voronez, in the depth of forests, in the midst of inaccessible marshes, were scattered small fortified spots, the only colonies of the Cossacks, called *grodzisko*. In these, composed of a few huts built of clay, the Cossacks led quite a life of passage, being only mindful to provide shelter of some kind or other from bad weather. ' Let the flame of invasion,' said they, ' consume our huts ; in a week we shall plant new hedges : fill them up with earth, cover their tops with reeds, and a *grodzisko* shall arise. Sooner will the foe be wearied with the destruction of our wretched abodes than we with their erection.' "

The necessity for flight in order to preserve life was the source of Cossackism. The wished-for security once obtained, a desire for vengeance on the foe arose together with a consciousness of absolute independence. Independence, booty, increase of power, and a permanent settlement, taught the former fugitives to value the charms of Cossack existence. The wretched slave, who once trembled before the whip or the sword of the Tatar, insulted and degraded, now a warrior, a sword in his hand, and mounted on a

swift charger, free as the wind of the steppe, famed in song, and on an equality with his companions, cherished with his whole heart his Cossack-like condition. A beautiful captive became his wife, the richest stuffs his attire, and the foe's best weapons his arms. Generations grew up amid the clashing of swords and the roar of battle. Singing the song of his native wilds, the Cossack was wont to leave his home on a cruise to Azoff, Trapesond, Synope, Constantinople, &c., to *get himself a new coat*; dying on the field of battle he kissed the handful of that native soil which he had borne on his breast, and sent a *parting report* to his wife, and his benediction to his children and chosen companions; or returning victorious, he distributed his trophies, feasted and took no care for the morrow. His child was accustomed to play with the sword, and his wife fought with him against the invaders of the *grodzisko*.

"Thou writest to us," so replied the Ataman (supreme chief) of the Cossacks to the Chan Girey of Crimea, "thou writest to us, Chan Girey, that if what we have seized beyond Perecop and elsewhere, we do not give back, thou wilt march at once with thy people, and invade our thirty-two *grodzisko*, and will grant us no peace either in the spring or the summer, or the autumn or the winter; but that thou wilt come thyself with a multitude of thy men in winter upon the ice, to destroy our *grodzisko*: well, we acquaint thee that our unprofitable *grodziskos* are hemmed round by hedges, are bristly with thorns, and must be purchased at the price of heads; besides our stock of horses and cattle is scanty. It were pity therefore for thee to trouble thyself so far!"

Such was the existence and such the spirit of the Cossacks. As has been already observed, they may be considered as forming two principal bodies; the Cossacks of the Don and those of the Dnieper. From the first were derived various branches of eastern Cossacks; from the second sprung the people of Little Russia or the Ukraine. The former were a mixed race of Russians, Tatars, Circassians, and Kalmyks; the latter were composed of Russians, Polovtzy, Turks, Moldavians, Poles, and Lithuanians. The difference of these compounding elements created corresponding variations in the character, language, and general civilization of each respective body. The Zaporogue Cossacks were the nucleus of the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Their Sicza, or chief commandory, transferred for a time to the banks of the Dnieper, was first established in the island of Hortyca, and from this nest the *grodzisko* were gradually multiplied along that river. Their permanent settlement induced the abandonment of celibacy, and the female captives became the wives of the Cossacks. Still no married Cossack was allowed to settle in the sicza unless he left his wife behind him in the *grodzisko*. From this circumstance

originated the division of the Cossacks into the married and the unmarried; the former being called Cossacks of Ukraine, the latter Zaporogues. The Cossacks of Ukraine gradually extended northwards, making settlements in devastated places, or in such as had never before been inhabited, and in progress of time multiplied into a numerous people, known at the present day as the inhabitants of Little Russia. The Zaporogues never abandoned their primitive seat, and as they were originally the nucleus, so they have hitherto remained, the prototypes of the Cossacks of the Dnieper.

The Swiss historian Müller thus speaks of the Zaporogues about the middle of the last century :

" The Sicza was a heap of houses and huts, surrounded by a wall of earth. There every thing was in common. When a new year came, the ataman of the Zaporogues used to put to them these questions : ' My brave fellows, you must cast lots as to where each division is to fish. Perhaps you may like to choose a new ataman ? ' ' No,' replied they, ' thou art good ; command one more year, and let us cast lots.' But if a different answer was given, the ataman took off his cap, placed upon it the ataman's staff, and bowed to the people, saying, ' Now I am your brother, a private Cossack.' The people then met, feasted, elected a new ataman, led him into their assembly, and after the interrogation whether he accepted the office, they handed to him the staff, put earth on their heads, and saluted him their chief. A Cossack who should murder another was put alive into a grave ; a coffin, with the corpse, was put upon him, and the grave was then filled up with earth."

Savage grandeur of mind was a prominent feature in their character, associated with an absolute contempt for riches, produced no doubt by the precariousness of their existence, which they were daily liable to be called upon to risk for their freedom. The following is an instance of their wild humour, an accompaniment, it is said, of true genius. The people of Ukraine can still remember the time when a Cossack, wishing to enjoy a frolic at a fair, would hire singers, go round with them to every shop, entertaining whomsoever he met, and scattering money amongst the crowd in order to cause a scuffle. Then to complete the jest, he would seat himself in his rich crimson dress upon a cask of tar, to show his contempt for riches, and finally put on his old sheep-skin and return gaily home.

Both the Zaporogues and the Little Russians became the subjects of Poland in the beginning of the fourteenth century. For upwards of two hundred years they formed the bulwark of that country and of christendom against the Muscovite, the Tatar and the Turk. During the two succeeding centuries they struggled to regain their

independence, but failed in all their efforts. Their revolt, which occupies one of the most sanguinary chapters in the annals of Poland, was excited by three domestic pests, the Jesuits, the Jews, and the stewards of the great land proprietors, who were always absentees. Menaced in their religion by the first, injured in their mercantile pursuits by the second, and oppressed by the third without being able to obtain any justice by their appeals to higher authority, they rose in despair, and massacred the three orders of their tyrants. Emboldened by this first success, and by the encouragement they received from Muscovy, Tatory and Turkey, they now demanded that the privileges of the Polish nobility, namely, that of taking part in the election of the kings, and of having seats in the senate, should be individually bestowed upon them all. The proud Polish nobles, who had refused to admit into their order the Dukes of Prussia and of Courland, as well as the Hospodars of Moldavia and Valachia, drew their swords in answer to the exorbitant pretensions of the Cossacks. The flames of war raged for more than a hundred years, and it was not until both parties were exhausted that they became reconciled to each other, only to be involved in one common misfortune by the partition of Poland. It is impossible to sketch here the history of the Ukraine, so interesting in every point of view; but our readers may easily conceive that an infinite variety of characters and richness of colour must be its distinguishing features. Let them but recollect the concluding chapters of the history of ancient Russia, and think of the savage warriors of Gengiskan pitching their tents under the walls of the majestic temples of Kiow, while the desponding fugitives gathered on the islands of the Dnieper, amidst marshes covered with impenetrable thickets, and surrounded by caverns and glassy lakes. Again, let them call to mind their bold navigation, daring even to madness; their adventurous expeditions both on land and water, guided only by the flight of birds, the current of winds, and the aspect of the stars; let them figure to themselves the appearance on the banks of the Dnieper of the Lithuanian Dukes Olgerd and Vitold, in caps of wolf-skin, and clothed in the fur of bears, armed with bundles of arrows and monster guns; and then let them contemplate the growing connexion of the Cossacks with Lithuania and Poland, and their subsequent civilization; their settlements on both banks of the Dnieper, the appearance of their new enemies the Tatars of the Crimea, the separation of the Zaporogues and their cruel supremacy over the Ukraine, their long series of famous chiefs from Ostafieff Daszkowicz down to the great Chmielnicki and the mysterious old Mazeppa; the singular education of the clergy of Kiow under Polish influence; the something at once chivalrous and pe-

dantic in the aristocracy of Little Russia; the savage Lithuano-Asiatic tinge in the character of the people, this motley compound of Asia and Europe, of nomadic and settled life, of servility and independence, of weakness and energy; and finally the contemporaneous political intercourse of Poland with Muscovy, Turkey and the Crimea. From such elements arise the colouring and composition of this most singular of historical groups.

The five centuries, during which this drama was acted, passed rapidly away, but not so the remarkable people who to this day still retain their original nationality. M. Polewoy has beautifully painted the peculiar physiognomy of the Ukraine and her inhabitants.

"Under a pure and serene sky," says he, "are spread out the boundless steppes of Ukraina, of which it was long ago said, 'In this Ukraina the sky is extraordinarily tranquil, and bad weather is never seen nor heard of there.' One who has been accustomed to see the gloomy forests, the dark sky, the sands and marshes of the north, cannot picture to himself the boundless fields waving with corn, the vallies strewn with the fresh down of blooming vegetation, the meadows where luxuriant grass conceals from the eye the waters of the river and the stream. Even the habitations of the people in Great Russia will fail to convey an idea of the cottages in Ukraina, which are built of curved trees covered with white washed clay, and have for floors the earth itself well beaten down, instead of a wooden pavement. The dirty peasant of Great Russia with his long tangled hair reminds you of the Tatar rule, and the villager of the north shows his pure Slavonian blood in his clear blue eyes and light brown hair, a true son of the snow, friendly, kind, and hospitable; and how much do both these differ from those plastic countenances (*figures de bas relief*) which you meet in Little Russia. In the thoughtful and serious countenance of the man, in his tall frame, his half-shaven head, long moustaches, in his secretly working soul, his gloomy look, abrupt speech, you will discover the ancient Russian mixed with the savage Asiatic. His dress at the same time bears marks of the Lithuanian and Polish rule of four centuries' duration. The Ukranian is slow, taciturn, difficult of speech, does not bow himself as does the native of Great Russia, does not promise much, but is shrewd and intelligent, and respects the word both given and received. Whilst the one lives entirely in the present, the other lives all in the past. Would you gain the friendship of the Ukranian, be not pressing, for he is suspicious; but rather take part in his Cossack-like existence, for he is proud of the events of past times. Remind him of these, let him see that you admire his ancestors, and his countenance will brighten, his vivacity will be called forth, his heart will beat stronger; then you may converse with him enough. You will be admitted into the sanctuary of his joys and sorrows, you will at length hear his song of the steppe, and be astonished at the cheerfulness of his disposition."

These songs still resound on both banks of the Dnieper though ages must have rolled away before any heed was given to them

They were distasteful to the Poles, for these songs were wet with their blood, and the Russians have only of late begun to take interest in letters. It was not till after the passions which had so long divided the Ukrainians and the Poles had been quenched in the blood of several generations, that the latter turned with sympathy to their former subjects, and to this sympathy, the offspring of their common misfortune, the people of Ukraine will be indebted for the preservation of their history and literature, the two strongholds of their crushed nationality. Lach Szyrma was the first Pole who drew the attention of the public to these subjects, by printing two songs of the Ukraine, in a periodical edited at Vilno in 1824. The Russian Prince Certelev followed his example, and collected and published several others. Some time afterwards a large collection of Polish and Russian popular songs was printed at Lemberg, with their respective melodies, arranged by the celebrated composer Lipinski. A still richer contribution was expected from Chodakowski, a Pole who devoted his life and fortune to the subject. His premature death cut short these hopes, but the songs collected by him fortunately fell into the hands of M. Maxymowicz, who, assisted by some Russians, at length effected the publication of nearly three thousand songs of the Ukraine, at Moscow, in 1834. These songs, some of which might more properly be called epic poems, if skilfully arranged in proper order, joined to an ancient poem on the expedition of Igor, a Russian Duke, the work of an unknown author, might fairly take place by the side of the Niebelungen, if not indeed by that of the *Ilias* itself.

We do not enter upon our task of delivering a critical opinion of these songs, without feeling, in some degree, perplexed ; since certainly none of the rules laid down by Aristotle can be applied to them, and yet it is no less certain that they must be admitted within the domain of poetry. In this dilemma, without pausing to discover where lies the fallacy, we will merely ask, what, in fact, is poetry ? Volumes have been written on this subject, but they have not, in our humble opinion, given any satisfactory answer to the question. It has been affirmed, and even poets of great merit have held the opinion, that expression and rhythm constitute the essence of poetry ; whilst others have shown that it may exist without either measure or rhyme. Byron has pronounced that every poet must be his own Aristotle, and thus it appears that no advance has yet been made towards the solution of the problem. It would seem that poets are still liable to the charge brought against them by Socrates, of being unconscious of what they utter. We are then reduced to say merely, that poetry is not prose. And what then is prose ? Prose is alto-

gether of the earth, transient, mortal: poetry, on the other hand, is every thing that is of heaven, perennial, immortal, that which enables us even here, in this planet of our exile, the sport of time and space, to live yet in eternity. The dynamical, not mechanical, imagining of this perennial, is a poetic composition. If we should be required further to demonstrate the utility of poetry, we would say that she follows in the footsteps of religion, her divine prototype, and carries peace into the hearts of men. In this opinion we are supported by the authority of "the master" Goethe, the poet of our age, whom Socrates would not have included in the general censure just alluded to.

"True poetry," says Goethe, "manifests itself in that like a secular gospel, by its internal serenity, by its external ease, it is able to deliver us from the earthly burthens which press upon us. Like an air balloon it raises us with the ballast which clings to us, into higher regions, and makes the most intricate mazes of earth lie unravelled before us in a bird's eye view. The most cheerful, as well as the most serious works, have a similar aim, that of moderating, by a happy and ingenious representation, both pleasure and grief."\*

We therefore believe the elements of poetry to be dynamics, feeling, and thought; which, by combination, produce only two kinds of poetry: the one compounded of dynamics and feeling; the other, of dynamics, feeling, and thought. The first, liable to the reproach of Socrates, is a secondary order of poetry; the second is perfect, and may be likened to a plant that brings forth not only leaves and blossoms, but also fruit. Byron, no doubt, meant the former, when he affirmed that feeling makes a poet; it is poetry, but, as we have already said, poetry of an inferior kind, and is to be found in all nations during the second period of their existence, that of their youth. Goethe well defined this state of man in his tragedy of Iphigenia, when he made her say: "I do not think, I feel." It is hardly necessary to observe, that we here use the word *feeling*, to express that un-reflective, self-unconscious thought, which, in special reference to poetry, may be called inspiration, the seeing of visions. Amongst all nations this second stage in their existence is usually a period redundant in symbols—a period of religious, poetic and moral mythos. Man then holds direct converse with nature; he is embosomed in her—initiated into her secrets; all objects reveal to him their mysterious virtues; and from them all he extracts "emotions sweet, beautiful, and true." It is then that the cuckoo bewails the death of the Ukrainian in the absence of his mother and sister, or forewarns him of approaching danger. The "brother

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\* Autobiography of Goethe.—*Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Fiction and Truth).

eagle" receives his last breath, and carries his parting report to his family. Ravens, hawks, magpies, larks, and even the winds, all join in chorus to mourn over a fallen warrior. The sun does not refuse to send down rays, nor the air, quickening dew on his tomb, that it may not blacken, nor wither, but that the grass may grow ever green around it. The milk which mingled in the sweet blood on the cheek of the innocent maiden, is curdled by a witch, when she becomes guilty, and the blood is sucked by a vampire. The forsaken one ploughs the field with her thoughts, and waters it with regrets. Bright Hohliks (a kind of angelic beings) encircled with rosy light, and sailing on a white cloud, bring down comfort in an hour of misfortune!

The variety, however, of such images being limited to palpable objects, cannot, of necessity, be very great, and a poetry of this kind can only reach a certain point, beyond which does not commence a perfect harmony of the spheres, but only a monotony. Such is the case with the poetry of Ossian, and such also with that of the people of Ukraine.

The songs published by M. Maxymowicz, may be divided into the *Duma*, and the songs proper.

"The Duma," says he, "are poems usually sung by the Badura. They differ from the songs by their narrative or epic character, and in their rhythmical construction, consisting of an indefinite number of syllables. It often happens, however, that, owing to the lyric turn of the people, a *Duma* assumes the character of a song, as well as its rhythm and measure. The verse of the *Duma* is usually rhymed, its subject historical."

To complete this definition, it must be added, that the Badura are, or rather were (for they are now becoming scarce), professional singers in Ukraine; a kind of bards or minstrels, or rather of rhapsodists, for every thing there points to beautiful Greece. Some of the *Duma* are, in fact, fragments of a regular epic, whilst others are mere rhymed chronicles, similar to those found amongst all nations, as their first essays, at recording the events of their early history. As a specimen of the former, we select a *Duma* relative to a victory gained by the Cossacks over the Poles at Czechryn. It opens with serious and pious reflections.

"Oh! in our famed Ukraina there has been many a terrible moment, many a season of unhappiness; there have been plagues and broils of war; there were none to help the Ukrainians; none sent up prayers for them to God; the holy God alone, he did not forget us; he assisted us to arrest the mighty armies, to drive back the enemy. The fierce tempests have passed away; they have sunk into stillness; none have been able to conquer us!—Not for one day, nor for two, did



the Lachy (the Poles) plunder Ukraina. They did not grant a moment's repite; day and night their horses stood bridled; they trod the paths to our Hetman Nalevayko; and what does the brave Hetman meditate and design? What is the fate he prepares for his companions? Only the woly God knows—the holy God who assists him with his might."

The Duma thus alludes to the approach of the Poles:

"From beyond the mountain a cloud rises—it rises, it comes forth—it thunders towards Czechryn; it sends forth its lightning over Ukraina; it is the Poles who have thrice crossed three rivers."

The Polish army takes position, and the trumpets sound; the Duma thus proceeds:

"Those are not clouds thundering with sacred thunder in the heavens; those are not saints being led into the presence of God. They are the Lachy, beating their drums and sounding their pipes and trumpets."

The Polish army is then assembled to hear the harangue of the Hetman, after which it crosses a river, makes an encampment, and places guns on the ramparts. In front of the guns are erected three crosses, upon two of which hang two Cossacks; the third seems to await some other Cossack, for the Duma says:

"It awaits, it looks for whomsoever the gun shall not reach, whom the bullets shall not strike—he shall find the cross of ash tree."

The Cossacks, on their part, also display their banners in sight of the Poles; on the banners are inscribed these words:

"To faithful Christians peace; to the Lachy foes, the infernal banquet. For him who erects the cross, the cross awaits."

Having given a panoramic view of the battle, the Duma relates, in rapid succession, the subsequent events:

"Then our hosts marched on four tracks; they marched on four tracks, and on the fifth field. (This expression is very frequently repeated in the Duma.) They vanquished the Lachy on all sides; they vanquished them on all the cross ways. The Lachy begged for mercy, and did not obtain it. The Cossacks do not give quarter.—The Lachy do not forego an invasion."

The Duma, concludes as it began, by grave religious remarks, overcast with gloom, as though prophetic of the misfortunes which even victory was destined to bring down upon Ukraina.

"And our people too shall be unhappy, as the cuckoo has sung. She sang what she heard amongst the saints. What she has sung will surely happen. May God protect us! He knows the issue as he knows what our Hetman meditates, what he designs, our Hetman, whom he will assist with his might. It is not for us to know it. It is our part to pray to God, to be resigned in his presence."

The following Duma has neither the simplicity of popular poetry, nor is it flowing like a song, nor yet continuous as a tale: it is dithyrambic, Byron-like—reminding us in some respects of the poetry in his *Giaour*. Three troops of Cossacks go forth on their way. The chiefs of the two first are filled with gloomy thoughts and ill-boding presentiments. The third chief, who according to tradition was a drunkard, and was buried by his companions in a brandy cask, sings a drinking song. These images, two dark and one bright, follow each other in the Duma without any apparent connection. Some of our modern poets, lovers of sanguinary and gloomy pictures, might envy the standard-bearer Samko his dark train of thought.

“On! the Cossacks marched on four tracks—on four tracks and on a fifth field. But one track Samko followed. And the standard-bearer was accompanied by nearly three thousand men; all brave Zaporogues. They wheel their chargers; they brandish their swords—they beat their drums, pray to God, and sign themselves with the cross. But Samko? He wheels not his charger, he checks his steed, he reins him up with the bridle. He meditates; he thinks. May hell confound his meditations. Samko meditates; he thinks; he utters these words—‘What and if the Lachy burn our Cossacks as though they were in hell? And if they make them a banquet of our Cossack bones? What if our Cossack heads be scattered on the steppe and washed too with our native blood, and strewed over with our broken swords. It shall perish like dust, this Cossack fame of ours which thief-like has overrun the world, which stretched like the steppe and spread over the world with a sound like the roaring of the wind—it echoed through Turkey and through Tatar, and here it has caught the edge of the Lachy foes.

“‘The raven will croak, flying over the steppe; the cuckoo will mourn in the grove; grey hawks will moan, swift eagles will droop, and all this for their brethren, for the dauntless Cossack companions! What! did the whirlwind bury them in sand? or did they sink into hell, those dark men? They are no more seen; they are neither on the steppe, nor on the Tatar plains, nor on the Turkish mountains, nor upon the black hills, nor on the fields of Lachy. The raven will mourn, will scream, will croak, and fly over the stranger’s land. And then lo! bones lie strewn about, swords are flashing—bones crack, broken swords clash, and the black magpie looks grim and stalks over the plain. And the heads of the Cossacks? They are as though the boot-maker Semen had lost one of his twisted skins. And their long tresses? As though the devil had made wisps of straw—and all are grown stiff with clotted blood. Lo! verily they have earned fame enough.’”

The Duma, strictly speaking, is an heroic elegy, consecrated to the memory of some distinguished chief. The following, remarkable for simplicity and pathos, commemorates the death of the Hetman Swiergowski:

" When the Hetman John Swiergowski  
 To the Turks became a prey;  
 There they slew the gallant chieftain,  
 They cut off his head that-day.  
 Their trumpets they blew, and his head on a spear  
 They set, and they mocked him with jest and with jeer.

Yonder see a cloud descending,  
 Ravens gathering on the plain,  
 Gloom above Ukraina spreading;  
 She mourns and weeps her Hetman slain;  
 Then fierce o'er the wide plain the mighty winds blew,  
 ' Oh answer, what did ye with our Hetman do ?'

Then black eagles soared past, screaming,  
 ' Where did ye make our Hetman's grave ?'  
 And larks rose up, to heaven streaming,  
 ' Where did ye leave our Hetman brave ?'  
 ' Where by Kilia's fair city the tomb stands high,  
 On the Turkish line doth your Hetman lie.' "

Another Duma of this kind terminates by two truly poetic lines. They are supposed to be the words uttered by the Cossack Morozenko, as he is on the point of being quartered by the Turks or the Tatars, after having been flayed alive, or, as it is expressed in the Duma, "despoiled of his red shirt." The dying captive desires to look toward his native land, and exclaims :

" Oh could I go into the pure field on the high mountain,  
 I would look, I would gaze on my Ukraina."

This aspiration after the pure field on the high mountain whence to look upon his country, contrasted with the deplorable situation of the warrior, is deeply touching; and the succession of firmness under torture, as exhibited in the following line, addressed to his executioner,

" Bind, bind these hands back, damned Tatar !"

and of sensibility at the remembrance of his native land, is an admirable stroke of art. It is true to nature and to the character of the speaker.

The following lines present a popular picture of a battle-field in that Ukraine where "the air breathes sorrow."

" The field in darkness lay,  
 A Cossack there did ride;  
 Up the mount he bent his way,  
 Up the mountain's rugged side.  
 And he spake to the mountain, ' Oh high mountain say,  
 Wherefore didst thou not burn at the breaking of day ?'

' Oh I did not burn that day,  
But when the morning rose  
I boil'd with blood.'—' Ha ! mountain say,  
Was it blood of friends or foes ?'  
' Oh fast ran the torrent of that red flood,  
And 'twas Cossack half-mingled with Polish blood.' "

The next Duma shows us a Cossack dying on the field of battle, and needs no comment to illustrate the train of feeling in the warrior's mind, to which it introduces us :

I.

" The wind is sighing, the grass makes moan,  
There a Cossack dying lies;  
His drooping head rests on a stone;  
A banner shades his closing eyes.

II.

His sable steed is standing near,  
And at his head an eagle grey;  
His claws he twists in the Cossack's hair,  
And fiercely eyes his human prey.

III.

The warrior spake to the eagle grey;  
' Eagle ! let us brothers be—  
' When from my head thou hast torn away  
' These eyes, then go and speak of me.

IV.

' Go, speak to my mother dear of me,  
' And, eagle, now mark what thou must tell,  
' To that mother dear, I no more shall see,  
' When she shall ask how her warrior fell :

V.

' Tell her, he warred for a chief of fame,  
' Who blessings shed on Crimea's land;  
' Tatar Chan was his master's name;  
' His meed might have been a royal hand,  
' But oh ! 'tis a mound on the plain.' "

The following lines form a good pendant to the foregoing, and are picturesque characteristics of the locality :

" Oh the tomb in the field to the wild wind spake,  
And that lonely tomb to the wind spake so;  
' Blow over me wind, lest I withered be,  
' Blow over me fresh, lest I blackened grow.  
  
' Blow, that the young grass may spring up upon me,  
' That the young grass upon me may ever be green !'  
No sun lights that tomb, and no breeze bloweth there,  
And far, only far off, the green grass is seen."

The next Duma exhibits the Cossack leaving his home for the battle-field, and well portrays the hardships of his condition. It may be considered as the prototype of many others, and is probably very ancient. The style is more allegoric, and the transitions more frequent, abrupt and bold, than is usually the case :

“ The storm shakes the forest, and fierce winds are striving,  
Thick gloom overshadows the plain;  
The mother her son from his youth's home is driving—  
‘ Away, my son, turn not again—  
Hence ! let the Turks take their prey.’  
‘ Oh mother, the Turks are right friendly to me,  
With a gift of fleet horses I welcome shall be.’  
The storm shakes the forest, and the fierce winds are striving ;  
Thick gloom overshadows the plain ;  
The mother her son from his youth's home is driving,  
‘ Away, my son ! turn not again ;  
Let the fierce Tatars seize on their prey.’  
‘ Oh mother, the Tatars are friendly to me,  
With gold and with silver I welcome shall be !’  
One sister brings his steed from stall,  
Another his arms proffered then ;  
But weeping said his sister small,  
‘ Say, brother, when wilt thou come back again ?’  
‘ Oh sister mine, gather the sand of the plain,  
And the grains of sand on the bare stone sow ;  
And water it well with thy tears for rain,  
And to visit it daily, at grey dawn go ;  
When the sand shall spring up like the grass of the plain,  
Then, sister mine, look for thy brother again !’  
The storm shakes the forest, gloom darkens the plain,  
The mother cries—‘ Oh, my son, turn thee again ;  
Let thy mother's hands wash thy long hair !’  
‘ Oh mother, my hair will be washed by the rain,  
The wind of the desert will dry it again,  
And to comb it, thorn bushes are there.’ ”

From amongst the songs proper we select one called *Sentrava*, a flower of the species *Anemone patens*. The Anemones, according to the Greek mythology, sprung from the tears shed by Venus over Adonis. In Ukraine prophetic qualities are ascribed to this flower.

#### SENTRAVA.

“ The aged woman went weeping, weeping,  
Sadly she made her wail ;  
The aged woman about her dwelling  
Went mourning like an old quail.

The young sister pluck'd the Sentrawa,  
The flower foreshadowing doom ;  
' Oh mother, what does the Sentrawa say ?  
Does it tell of the Cossack's tomb ?'  
' The Sentrawa grew in the field, my dove,  
Sorrow pluck'd it and gave it to thee ;  
There is sorrow enough, for thy brother John  
From the tomb cannot wakened be.' "

The passions among this people, ever restless, ever agitated, seemed to have reached their highest pitch. The next song offers a specimen of this, combined with a wild and savage humour singularly characteristic.

I.  
" Oh do not thou go to their feast by night,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !  
There are witches amongst the maidens bright,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !

II.  
Beware of the maid that has the dark brow,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !  
For her fatal spells she will o'er thee throw,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !

III.  
She dug up the plant when the Sunday came,  
Alas for Gregory !  
And on Monday morning she wash'd the same,  
Alas for Gregory !

IV.  
On the Tuesday the baleful plant boil'd she,  
Alas for Gregory !  
On Wednesday a poison'd man was he,  
Alas for Gregory !

V.  
When Thursday came he breath'd no more,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !  
On Friday they him to the church-yard bore,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !

VI.  
Then her mother beat her on Saturday,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !  
Thou evil one ! why didst thou Gregory slay ?  
Gregory, oh Gregory !

VII.  
Mother, oh mother, grief recks not of right,  
Gregory, oh Gregory !  
Why did he false vows to two maidens plight ?  
Gregory, oh Gregory !

## VIII.

Now he is neither for her nor for me,  
                                 Gregory, false Gregory !  
 With the cold damp earth he shall nourish'd be,  
                                 Gregory, false Gregory !

## IX.

There hast thou the meed thou hast merited well,  
                                 Gregory, false Gregory !  
 Four oaken planks and a dark narrow cell,  
                                 Gregory, false Gregory !

## X.

So let young men learn what reward they gain,  
                                 Gregory, oh Gregory !  
 Who offer their false love to maidens twain,  
                                 Gregory, oh Gregory !

## XI.

Now 'tis thy doom to lie rotting in earth,  
                                 Gregory, oh Gregory !  
 'Tis mine to enjoy the world in my mirth,  
                                 Gregory, oh Gregory !

## XII.

Ha ! Jewess come hither ! the wine cup bring,  
                                 Gregory, oh Gregory !  
 False Gregory's funeral dirge I'll sing  
                                 Gregory, oh Gregory !"

The following lines sung by young men, as if in retaliation, and which are literally translated, record the fate of a maiden who has lost her innocence, and form a suitable counterpart to the foregoing ill-conditioned song.

"Maiden, oh thou maiden fair,  
 Thy cheeks, why are thy cheeks so pale ?  
       The milk was curdled there.  
 What became of the sweet blood, say,  
 That bloomed in the milk ? A vampire came,  
 Sucked from those cheeks the blood away,  
 And a foul witch the milk curdled she."

Many of these songs complain of the rapid flight of time, and sometimes the fruitless regret for by-gone years is beautifully expressed.

"Whither are ye fled, days of my youth ? Have ye hidden yourselves in dark woods ? are ye wandering in groves ? Young years of mine, whither are ye gone ? Did ye fold yourselves in a leaf, and take your flight into the steppe ?"

This vain longing after the unreturning past is most usually expressed thus:—

"He (she) overtook his (her) young years upon the bridge of Holly, but could not recall them."

The Holly is a symbolical tree in Ukraine. Again, how simple, life-like and energetic is this picture of the irreparable loss of life. A mother is speaking at the tomb of her son.

"'Reach me, my son, thou eagle, reach me but thy right hand.'—'Oh! my mother, both hands would I reach thee, but the damp earth lies heavy on me; I cannot raise them.'"

The following too is a beautiful image:—

"A maiden threw a flower into the rapid stream.—Her mother went with a bucket to fetch water, and she drew up the flower out of the stream, and it was withered. Then she knew that her daughter would be unhappy."

These few quotations justify the conclusion that it is in the power of man to ascend on the rays of feeling to that elevated sphere, whither we are borne on the wings of thought whilst listening to the lyric strains of Schiller. It is not, therefore, the delusion of a vain enthusiasm to believe that there is a spiritual life peculiar to *unlettered* nations, which is more sympathetic, quickened and plastic. Within the sphere of that existence generally dwells inspiration, the clear vision of the beautiful and true, to which in our days it is only given to a genius of high order to attain by the complete mastery of his art. The people of Ukraine still retain that high degree of clear-right feeling; they are ever magnetised by unceasing sorrow. Their parents thus bewail the loss of their children:—

"Fathers and mothers go, they go to ask after their sons. Eagles no more accompany your sons. Your sons refused to be soldiers; they made themselves a settlement in the River Boh!"

That is, they drowned themselves to avoid being taken as recruits. How many similar *settlements* are now annually made in Russia! But let us turn from such subjects, which, according to Schiller's,

"Was unsterblich in Gesang soll leben  
Muss im Leben untergehen;"

must first die in reality to live in song—to the times when the inhabitants of Ukraine, however otherwise unhappy, still enjoyed freedom—man's greatest earthly boon. We shall conclude our extracts by a Duma, entitled "*The Flight of the Three Brothers from Azoff*," a composition which may be read with pleasure without any reference to time or locality.



" Dark clouds give not forth those specks in the sky  
That rise up, Azoff, o'er thy city so fair ;  
But brethren three, and in secret they fly  
From their cruel captivity there.

" The eldest they ride on their coursers fleet,  
But the younger brother he has no steed,  
The roots and the stones wound his Cossack feet,  
And they redden the ground as they bleed.

" To his horsemen brothers then thus spake he ;  
' Brothers, my brothers, now list what I say,  
Give rest to your coursers, and wait for me ;  
Then to some Christian city direct your way.'

" And the second horseman then heard his cry,  
And his heart was moved at his brother's pain ;  
But the first reproved him with stern reply,  
And said, ' Dost thou yearn for thy bondage again ?'

" ' Shall we listen now to our brother's word,  
Although the pursuers are on our track,  
Fierce bent to slay us with gun and with sword,  
Or to bear us with them to bondage back ?'

" ' — If ye will not stay for me, my brethren twain,  
Then turn your fleet steeds to the right at least ;  
And bury my corse in the open plain,  
Nor leave me the prey of the bird and the beast.'

" But the second said, ' Brother, that may not we,  
Such a deed has never been heard of yet ?  
Shall the thrust of a lance our farewell be ?  
And our swords in our brother's blood be wet ?'

" — ' Then, brothers, since me ye refuse to slay,  
When ye reach the wood do this thing for me ;  
Cut off the thorn branches, and strew on the way,  
And a guide to my wandering steps they'll be.'

" The brothers speed fast to the forest grey,  
The second walls sadly as on they ride ;  
And he scatters the thorn branches all the way,  
That they to his brother may serve as a guide.

" They passed the thick forest, and on they went,  
To the open track where no thornbushes grew ;  
Then the lining red from his vest he rent,  
And scattered the fragments the path to show.

" When the younger brother the thorns had past,  
He saw the red fragments all scattered there,  
He gathered them up, and his tears fell fast,  
' Ah ! not without cause are these fragments here.

- " 'Now alas, alas, for my brethren twain !  
For surely no more in the world are they !  
Their cruel pursuers have found them again,  
And me they passed in the thorns as I lay.
- " 'My brothers with sword and gun they have slain,  
May the merciful God but show me where !  
I'll dig their graves in the steppes' pure plain,  
And I'll bury their Cossack bodies there.'
- " On his first day's journey no bread he eats ;  
The next without water to drink he has past ;  
On the third, the desert's fierce wind he meets  
And his weary limbs bend to the furious blast.
- " 'Oh, enough have I followed these horsemen fleet,'  
He said, as he reached the Sawar mountain high :  
' 'Tis time to give rest to my Cossack feet,'  
Then he laid him down by the mount to die.
- " Then swiftly, swiftly, the eagles flew down  
And they fiercely stared in his dying eyes ;  
' Now welcome guests are ye, ye eagles brown ;  
Oh fly to me quickly,' the Cossack cries.
- " 'Oh eagles, pluck ye these eyes from my head  
When God's fair world I no longer shall see ;'  
The expiring Cossack when thus he had said,  
His soul to the merciful God gave he.
- " Then the eagles flew down, and they pluck'd away  
His eyes from his head, as he bade them do ;  
The small birds also came down to their prey,  
And the grey wolves gathered around him too.
- " They tore off the flesh from his yellow bones,  
They feasted high midst the thorns by the way,  
And with mournful howls, and with fierce low moans,  
The dirge of the Cossack was sung that day.
- " Whence came the brown cuckoo that sat by his head,  
That sat by his head and sang piteously ?  
As a sister bewails her brother dead,  
Or a mother her son, so wailed she !
- " And the horsemen twain still sped on their way  
To a Christian town where they hoped for rest :  
But a heavy grief on their hearts now lay ;  
' Ah not without cause are our hearts oppress.
- " 'Alas, and alas, for our younger brother !  
For surely no more in the world is he ;  
What, when we've greeted our father and mother,  
And they ask of him, shall our answer be ?'

- " The second thus spoke ; then the elder said,  
 ' Say, he served not the same Lord as we ;  
 'Twas night, and he slept when from chains we fled,  
 We could not awake him with us to flee.'
- " The second then answered him, ' Brother, nay,  
 'T w'd ill bescem us to say such a thing ;  
 If that which is false unto them we say,  
 Their prayers upon us will a dark doom bring.'
- " The brothers on to the Samar field ride,  
 They stop to rest by the river Samar ;  
 They water their steeds at the river's side,  
 When down came the Moslem riding from far.
- " The impious Mussulmen slew them there,  
 They quartered their bodies, and over the plain  
 Strewed their Cossack limbs ; their heads on a spear  
 They raised, and long mocked o'er the brethren twain."

We regret our inability to preserve in the translations the beauty, harmony and energy of the originals. Those only who understand the language of the people of Ukraine can appreciate the richness of its grammatical construction, and the almost countless and delicate gradations of meaning of which the same word is made susceptible by a slight change in its termination. The sonorous strains of these songs can perhaps best be conceived of, by imagining the ancient Greek combined with the modern Italian. We will not here speak of their melodies, since mere description would fail to convey a just idea of them. Of this species of music we have amongst us no prototype. The strains seem to flow like long protracted gusts of wind resounding over their own steppes. When they sing them on the banks of the Dnieper, with their faces turned towards the Karpats, one might believe that their voice passes over all that wide space between the river and the mountains, and that the mountains themselves must one day be moved by the majestic grandeur of their sorrow.

Many of the songs published by Maxymowicz were composed by Polish nobles settled in Ukraine. Even at the present day one of them, Padura, promises to become the Macpherson of that country ; his compositions are universally popular, and well deserve to be so. Perhaps we may at some future opportunity return to this subject, and notice them more at length.

As it is an unalterable truth, that " revenge recoils upon itself," so yet more does every good intention, every good action of man sooner or later bring its recompense. This remark is especially applicable in the present instance to the Poles, than whom none have derived greater benefit from the popular songs of Ukraine,

since they have begun to take interest in them. Their own venerable Niemcewicz modelled upon them his "Duma," which sing of the famous monarchs and heroes of Poland, and which have become a complete national work.\* The element of Ukrainian poetry has since been transfused into modern Polish literature, to the very great advantage of the latter. Four Polish poets of no ordinary genius have divided amongst them the spiritual domain of Ukraine; Zaleski and Olizaroski are singing her beauty and ancient freedom: Goszczynski has pictured her horrors, whilst Maczewski chose the widest field for himself—that of her sorrow. With the exception of the last-named poet, who is dead, the others, Niemcewicz included, are tuning, in exile, their harps to foreign ears.

*Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

ART. III.—1. *Lettera di Nicolò Tommaseo ai Librai Italiani sulla proprietà Letteraria.* Venezia, 1839.

2. *Atti della prima Riunione degli Scienziati Italiani tenuta in Pisa nell' Ottobre, 1839.* 4to. Pisa, 1840.

3. *Italian. Beiträge zur Kenntniss dieses Landes,* von Friedrich von Raumer. (Raumer's Italy.) 2 vols. Leipzig.

EVENTS have recently taken place in Italy which seem likely to lead to the most important results. A mutual compact has been entered into by the Sardinian and Lombardo-Venetian governments, providing for the security of literary property within the limits of their respective dominions. The privilege of copyright thus extended over a country inhabited by nearly ten millions will soon bring about in Piedmont and Lombardy the cessation of an evil of which the Italian authors have hitherto so justly and bitterly complained. We have recently indicated how severely writers and publishers suffer in England from the systematic republication of their works in America; the French complain with equal reason of the frequent encroachments of the Belgian press. But in Italy no works of literature could be turned to any profitable account. Booksellers and publishers followed the maxim—"homo homini lupus." Copyright was secured to the author or editor only within the narrow district in which his work was published; he knew full well that at the distance of twenty or thirty miles there were a number of piratical printers lawfully

\* See the article on Polish Literature in the 49th Number of this Review.

entitled to seize upon his property as soon as it attained any degree of popularity; and as the sale of books, except in the kingdom of Naples, where they pay a very heavy duty, was commercially free, those piracies were put forth and circulated under the very eyes of the author. A name of the highest standing was no protection against this impudent system of depredation. Botta, an exile, was obliged to sell in Paris, as waste paper, the splendid French edition of his *History of Italy*, while Swiss and Italian booksellers were making their fortunes by an uninterrupted series of its republications. Manzoni received from his publisher a trifling sum for the manuscript of his "*Promessi Sposi*," and that only as a present; and in vain did Pellico, at every new work he produced, urge the moral duty of respecting a privilege which constitutes now-a-days a part of the rights of nations, and request the gentlemen of the press not to defraud him of the honest recompense of his labours.

Such an evil however was not unattended by some salutary effect. Literature in Italy was never reduced to the level of a trade. It could only be cultivated by men of independent fortune. The Italian princes were no longer in a condition to hire the pen of mercenary writers, and upon the maxim of the Republic of Venice, they wished their governments never to be spoken of either in praise or censure. The "*Voce della Verità*," and similar organs of government, by dwelling too freely on topics of national interest, had already to a great extent served the cause they were intended to oppose. The rights of absolutism are best advocated by absolute silence; consequently all court poets and historiographers had long ago been silenced. Even had there been writers in Italy willing to sell their productions, it would not have been easy to find a purchaser. Flattery was a merchandize equally discredited by power and public opinion, and literature in consequence, although comparatively more sterile and silent, was yet more pure and dignified than in many free countries. It was more oppressed and fettered, hence less apt to grow licentious and insolent; it followed not the capricious opinions and passions of the multitude, but it marched at the head of social movement, a stern censor, dictating and ruling with an authority which the consciousness of its irreprehensibility gave it a right to exert.

Since the year 1814 no immoral book of any note has issued from the press in Italy, all have been directed to one leading object—the severe reformation of moral principles. This is, no doubt, the consequence of the censorship, which is exercised with equal vigilance in all Italian states, and which, in a political point of view, every freeman must cordially detest. But as it is in the

secret ways of Providence to turn an instrument of evil into an agent of good, we cannot doubt that Italian morals have benefited by that restriction; and however true may be the descriptions of Italian profligacy given every day by French and English travellers, still it is consoling to think that the Italian people have no such teachers of morals as Bulwer or Ainsworth, Paul de Kock or Victor Hugo.

Italy, moreover, possessed no centre of literature, no such literary metropolis as Paris, London or Edinburgh; no literary fair, such as is yearly held in Leipzig or Dresden. The journals, which ought to exercise a general influence upon the whole country, have been successively suppressed, and the numberless literary periodicals appearing in our days in every town, generally supported by free contributions—no less than seventy-two are daily received at Viessieux's Gabinetto Scientifico e Letterario in Florence—all have hitherto been conducted with that timidity and narrow-mindedness which could alone, in the present state of things, secure their existence. Consequently every town or province in Italy has been kept in a state of perfect ignorance of the progress of its immediate neighbours. All efforts tending to establish an Italian periodical bibliography have been void of effect. Travels and correspondences were subjected to the most disheartening vexations. It will therefore be no wonder to hear how many years it took for the most popular works to make the tour of the peninsula. The poems of Grossi never crossed the Apennines for the space of three years. "*Ettore Fieramosca*," a Milanese book on a Neapolitan subject, was translated into English and French before it had fairly made its way into Naples; and the "*Romanze*" of Berchet printed in London, and afterwards at Lugano in Switzerland, literally fought their way into the country. Those poems were circulated for many years in manuscript, learned by heart and transmitted from town to town by enthusiastic admirers, ere a single printed copy could obtain admission into that iron-fenced garden of Europe.

These very impediments, however, thus thrown in the way of publication, frustrated the intent of those who created them. The works that government proscribed had, like all other forbidden fruits, a peculiar relish. The censure of the Tuscan police has made the fortune of Guerrazzi's "*Assedio di Firenze*." By their jealousy and suspicion the governments showed where lay their vulnerable side. Literary reputations, confirmed by so many years of struggle and trial, were based on a more solid ground. The writer in Italy was oftentimes looked upon as a hero and martyr, and his words went forth like the fatidical notes of an oracle. The want of free circulation and literary commerce had

also the advantage of deterring mediocrity from forcing itself into public notice. All modern productions underwent a process which nothing but the purest ore could withstand.

If we appear willing to look on the better side of the national calamities of Italy, it is because we now hail with pleasure the approach of a better state of things. The yearly meeting of Italian scholars—we have before us the report of their first session at Pisa—and the treaty of literary alliance to which we have alluded at the beginning of this article, seem to manifest a springing up of better feelings on the part of the Sardinian and Austrian rulers; they seem to imply by those acts that, reassured by the long continuance of peace, and prevailed upon by the overwhelming force and unanimity of public opinion, they begin to feel compelled to acknowledge that there is an Italy; that, if by right of self-preservation, they are entitled to quench all insurrectional spirit tending to bring about a national political unity, they can no longer prevent their subjects from uniting to aid and encourage each other in the promotion of public welfare, and in the diffusion of intellectual culture.

On the other hand the Italians, wearied out with repeated failures, forced to recognize the universal peaceful tendency of the age, convinced that every revolutionary scheme of emancipation would be a declaration of war not only against Austria, but, in fact, against every other power that feels interested in the maintenance of peace, seem to have, at least for the present, relinquished every thought of an armed vindication of their national rights; they have ceased to lend a willing ear to the perfidious insinuations of France; and, with the tactics of a general who changes his siege into a blockade, they turn all their efforts to the regeneration of the national character, and hope, by a general diffusion of knowledge among the lowest classes, by a forcible rehabilitation of their name in the opinion of their neighbours, to enable themselves better to take advantage of such future European convulsions as Providence in its inscrutable designs may be slowly maturing.

This undeniable improvement in the social and moral condition of Italy has been rather wilfully over-looked by foreign visitors, and more especially by our British travellers, who notwithstanding their usual discrimination and liveliness of description, yet, in their hurry to get over the widest space of ground in the shortest possible time, have too often relied on the accounts of previous writers and unscrupulously sacrificed accuracy of statements to the wantonness of playful satire. What evil impressions they might thus insinuate into the minds of their readers, how far they might contribute to keep alive the national ill-will that is rankling in the

bosom of all European families, they probably never stopped to consider. Accustomed to abuse the privilege of a free press, writing through very idleness and publishing through vanity, they forgot that Italy is not even allowed the right of self-defence. Thus we must confess that when the no less amiable than learned Mr. Walter Savage Landor charitably states "that an honest man is not to be found in Italy for every forty in England," or when the modest and not less witty author of "Pencilings by the Way" asserts "that a *cicisbeo* is a *sine qua non* among the written articles of a marriage contract of the Italian nobility in our days"—the Italians cannot help being reminded of that generous animal that administered the last kick to the lion brought down by his rivals and lying wounded and helpless in his death throes.

We have ourselves recently visited Italy, and it was with some misgivings, naturally arising from so many evidences, which would have almost induced us to disbelieve what we had already seen ten or twelve years ago and what we fondly and rationally anticipated.

We found Italy apparently busy (as usual and yet less than usual) with masquerades and monkish processions, plunged into languor and misery, forgetting herself among effeminate pleasures; and yet anxious and restless, perplexed with vague but intense longings for greatness, aiming at high but impracticable undertakings, striving by fits and starts to follow the movement of European civilization, but falling mid-way, sinking under the weight of a thousand shackles which she must drag along in her progress. New or long abandoned roads had been opened or restored, some across the Apennines, one from the gulf of Spezia, another from Sestri to Lombardy, a third between Florence and Forli, and again one along the shore of the Mediterranean, across the Tuscan marshes from Leghorn to Civitavecchia. Turin and Naples were lighted by gas, and the last of these towns boasted a rail-road to Castellaniare. The coasts of the peninsula were circumnavigated by a number of steamers bearing Tuscan, Sicilian and Sardinian colours, and new rival lines of steam boats were soon to ply on the Po and the Adriatic. Many of these undertakings arose from private associations, and were reluctantly sanctioned by the mistrusting governments.

Truly, spirit of innovation and ardour of enterprise is more often consulted than either expediency of purpose or plausibility of plan. Many of the sugar houses and iron foundries, of the silk and cloth manufactories opened in Tuscany and Lombardy, obliged as they are to reckon on the consumption of a small state, and overwhelmed by the competition of thriving establishments in other



countries, are easily exploded; but even that incompleteness of success goes far to demonstrate that there remains still in Italy more life than can materially be turned to useful purposes, and that Italian inactivity is not wholly to be laid to the charge of the too often alleged indolence and enervation of a southern climate. But, as it is literature especially that falls within the province of our inquiry, we must be allowed to express our opinion that the new understanding between Austria and Sardinia concerning a mutual guaranty of literary property is to be merely considered as an emanation of that universal want of life and activity irresistibly felt throughout the country, and having power to bend to its views even the inflexibility of the god *terminus* that presides over the weighty deliberations of the Aulic Council at Vienna.

We candidly confess that we have always hitherto believed in a social and moral improvement in Italy, which we attributed exclusively to the energy of the soundest part of the population; we always thought that it would be obvious to every impartial observer that powerful and immortal elements of cohesion and vitality must remain in a country doomed to bear so long an hour of trial:—we wondered what other nation might have been able to withstand the combined evils of long division and thralldom,—the repeated calamities of invasion and war,—the constant influence of a crafty, bigoted, and powerful priesthood, and yet preserve all the outward aspect of growth and prosperity, and closely follow their more fortunate transalpine and transmarine neighbours in science, in letters and arts:—we looked at Spain, not earlier than three centuries ago the mistress of both continents, the ruler of the destinies of the globe;—Spain, always preserving its integrity and independence, and yet without any external impulse, by only one of the many calamities which she had in common with Italy—popery, brought down from her height of power and plunged into such a depth of ignorance and misery, that it may be doubted whether any constitution will ever redeem her. We then turned to the dignified behaviour of the Milanese in presence of their foreign rulers, and of their mute but firm protest against that time-sanctioned infringement of their natural rights, by a jealous and obstinate avoidance of all intercourse with the hated Austrian soldiery; and we were reminded of the twice subdued and thrice fermenting Romagna, and of the imposing apparatus by which Austria finds it necessary in the midst of peace to turn the whole of the Lombard plain into a vast casern,—when we considered all this, we suspected there could be no good mutual understanding between the people and the government; we thought that the genius and energies of the nation must be severely checked by that rigid system of suspicion

and force, and that such a state of things must have the most pernicious effect on the real interests of society.

M. von Raumer, however, in his late publication on Italy, seems to entertain a widely different opinion. From the vast amount of statistical facts and of elaborate arguments brought forward by the Prussian traveller, it would seem that the Austrian government is a blessing of heaven to civilize and humanize Italy; that by a comparison between the administration of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom and that of the so-called independent governments, it is evident that the Italians are unfit to govern themselves, and that every attempt at social or literary improvement invariably receives its first start under Austrian auspices. Von Raumer, being a German himself, as well as one of Metternich's confidants, and by him directed to his most efficient lieutenants and agents in Italy, is likely to have had a better insight into the secret working of Austrian policy than ourselves.

But, as it has been, perhaps not very charitably, observed, "a German is not content to take an airing on his hobby in a steady old gentlemanly sort of way. He gives it a double feed of metaphysical beans, jumps on its bare back, throws the bridle over his ears, applies his lighted pipe to its tail, and does not think he is riding till he is run away with; at last the horse comes to some obstacle where there is a great gulf fixed. He naturally refuses to leap, but not so his master. No true German would give a doit for a ditch with a further side to it; so down he gets, takes a mile for a run, swings his arms, springs off with one bound that overleaps all bounds, and alights on his head quite insensible, somewhere 'beyond beyond.'"

Many and various are the hobbies on which the "author of the Hohenstaufen" took his ride over Italy. Many are the extravagant all-sweeping notions under whose tyranny he voluntarily submits himself; some of them are quite of a harmless ingenuous nature. His fond conviction of being a connoisseur and judge in matters of art, his elaborate discriminations on naked Venuses and German housemaids, his long invectives against the music of Donizetti and Bellini; his jokes on the opera dancers' drawers, &c. resemble that ponderous fun described by Milton—

"The unwieldy elephant  
To make them mirth used all his might, and wreathed  
His lithe proboscis."

But when he starts from Berlin under a full definite impression that "the King of Prussia is the greatest reformer of our age," when he launches forth into a transcendant encomium of

the "Russian constitution," when in short he adopts for his device the maxim of Casti :—

"Che assoluto, despotico governo,  
'E buono per la state e per l'inverno ;"

we must be allowed to hesitate before we take him as an arbiter of the differences existing between Austria and her subjects of Italy. For instance, we cannot agree with him, though he seems to take it for granted, that the rights of the Kaisers on their provinces beyond the Alps are founded on their succession to the throne of Charlemagne and Otho I.; and we have been rather surprised to hear so much from the historian of the house of Swabia, who ought to know better than any other by what hard-won struggles the Lombard and Tuscan free towns had shaken off their allegiance to the empire, and asserted their independence. It is but justice to say that Austria herself never thinks of having recourse to such far-fetched historical demonstrations to strengthen her claims on the sovereignty of Italy. She relies on the incontrovertible arguments of her cannons and bayonets, on the active vigilance of her police, and above all on the division and helplessness of the petty states which she holds under her control, on the ignorance and insensibility of brutified masses, and on that anxious and jealous love of peace which very justly opposes the propagandism of liberal opinions, and prevents the powers of Europe from espousing the cause of the oppressed. Austria rules and reasons not ;—and she would be so very far from feeling any obligation to her learned advocate, that we cannot doubt but that she would never suffer Von Raumer's work to be translated and printed in Italy.

As we cannot admit that Austria has any other right to her supremacy in Italy than that of force, or that indeed any nation is entitled to hold another under its sway, except in so far as the other cannot help it, so we are not to be easily persuaded that the political system now followed by Austria is likely to enlighten or ennoble the Italian race, or much less reconcile them to their doom. Austria, by confession of Von Raumer himself, is yet far from his beau-ideal of a social edifice—the drilling and drumming Prussian system of military government. Austrian tardiness, obstinacy and stupidity, are proverbial even among their brothers of Germany. That the heavy rule of such a government may act as a dead weight to subdue the effervescent spirits of a lively but passionate nation, after the same principle that Mount *Ætna* was laid on the breast of the giant of antiquity to prevent his doing mischief, we could have easily understood ; but that censorship, espionage, conscription, popery, convents and Jesuits, and all those shackles and fetters and vexations of every kind of which

Austria is either the promoter or the staunch supporter, may be considered as the elements of a "slow but sure system of civilization and culture," is more than we would take upon ourselves, in England at least, to demonstrate.

At any rate, however we may be willing on any other subject to submit our opinion to that of the learned professor of Berlin, we must be permitted to make at least one exception in favour of the Italian people, and repeat that the advantages that are ready to result from the decree establishing the privilege of copyright in the north of Italy are not altogether the result of that beneficial ascendancy of the Austrian rule to which he is willing to ascribe all mental and moral progress in that country.

We read among a large number of similar addresses from every part of the country, a letter by Niccolò Tommaseo from Venice (a name universally respected), to the Italian booksellers, on the necessity of adopting some measure to secure to all writers and editors the possession of their literary productions. We find in the last April number of the "*Bulletino Bibliografico*" of G. B. Viesseux of Florence, the remonstrances of "*Librai e Letterati*" from every part of Italy, and even from France and Switzerland, loudly asking for laws and treaties for the protection of this same literary property. A vast association had meanwhile been entered into by almost all booksellers of any credit in the country, of which the centre is at Florence, and which, under the name of "*Società Editrice Fiorentina*," is to take upon itself the promotion of the interests of literature and put an end to the disgraceful system of literary piracy. Then and only then did Austria and Sardinia feel the expediency of their beneficial decree. This mutual compact, which the Italian, the last of all civilized governments, has been finally shamed into, is only a first step, and one apparently of mere commercial importance. But the Italians are not perhaps wholly wrong when they expect from it more momentous consequences than it was given to the authors of that measure to anticipate.

"The King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany," as may be seen from one of the August numbers of Galignani's *Messenger*, "have at last acceded to the treaty recently concluded between Austria and Sardinia for the protection of literary property. The Court of Rome has been applied to, and has declared that it will take the matter into immediate consideration."\*

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\* We understand from the last letters of our correspondents, that after mature deliberation the pope has definitively rejected the proposals of his allies, and issued new decrees to prevent his subjects from entering into any literary association with the neighbouring states. Foreign notices, since writing the above, give an account of the accession of the Dukes of Lucca and Modena to the treaty.

It may appear strange that this revolution (for such it certainly is under a moral point of view,) should originate with those governments which have hitherto shown themselves most hostile to any spirit of innovation; more strange still that the minor potentates, which are, in point of fact, scarcely allowed to have a will of their own, and especially the descendant of that great innovator Peter Leopold,—the “mild and benignant” grand Duke of Tuscany,—should have needed any remonstrance to induce him to join that literary confederacy. That apparent illiberal reluctance is, however, to be referred to that very mildness and benignity with which that wise and enlightened prince watches over the welfare of his subjects. It is well known that, since the extinction of the Medici and the accession of the House of Lorraine, Tuscany has been like “an oasis in the wilderness,” secure against the disasters of Italian proscriptions and banishments. Filled with the idea that their mild and somewhat effeminate subjects would in those political convulsions fare no better than the lamb in the company of wolves, the rulers, we should rather say the shepherds, of Tuscany have been careful to isolate themselves from every social or commercial connection, in order to establish a permanent quarantine against political contagion. To this system of isolation and exclusiveness the present Grand Duke clings with all the fondness of hereditary predilection; and his vigilance and activity are redoubled in proportion as the name of Italy, with all the prestige of its ancient associations, is gaining ground around him. Every thing in Tuscany is eminently Tuscan, and the care with which every allusion to the rest of Italy is dexterously avoided, would induce you to believe that the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian sea are the boundaries of the known world. Thus all the banking and insurance houses, of which the centre for all the rest of northern Italy is at Milan, have never been fairly enabled to extend their flourishing operations to Florence. While Piedmont, Parma, and even Austria, have introduced a uniform, decimal system, the Tuscans are still condemned to reckon by their “florins, lire, paoli, and crazie,”—the most awkward system of numeration and the most wretched coin in existence. The lines of public conveyances, which, under the names of *messageries*, *diligences*, or *velociferi*, have crossed Italy in every direction during the last twenty years, and by the correspondence that they have established with French, Swiss, and German lines, have powerfully contributed to afford an easy and speedy communication throughout the continent, have been constantly stopped at the Tuscan confine; and this, only because the paternal solicitude of the Grand Duke always apprehended in that public comfort the utter destruction of his *vetturini* and

*calessieri*,—one of the numerous classes of his beloved populace, privileged to starve their horses to death, and to harass, waylay, and abuse the travellers that have the misfortune to fall into their hands, with every kind of ill treatment short of cutting their throats. Diligences have however been at last established in Tuscany; for the “march of intellect” proved stronger even than the Grand Duke’s providential intentions. But faithful even in that extremity to his ideas of patriotism, he called them *Diligenze Toscane*, and by interdicting their intercourse with the Roman and Lombard lines, he completely frustrated the main point for which they were instituted. Deprived nearly of all commerce and industry, Tuscany, naturally a barren, mountainous, marshy region, would soon sink from the state of prosperity for which it is generally extolled, were it not for the pains taken by its ruler to render it the favourite resort of foreigners, by fitting up the whole country, but especially its lovely capital, as a large hotel. Hence the comparative ease and civility of the Tuscan police,—hence the aversion of government to capital executions, and to those political arrests and proscriptions which might have the effect of spreading a gloom over the face of society, and inspiring with mistrust or antipathy the thoughtless tourist who travels in quest of amusement. Hence also the numberless religious and popular festivals—flattering and pampering an idle populace in their lazy propensities, and impressing the short-sighted observer with notions of a contentment and plenteousness which cause him to exclaim in the words of the court poet—

“Deh ! chè non è tutto Toscana il mondo !”

Hence the public banquets on Ascension day, when the *cascine* are turned into a vast dining-table, and the meanest subject becomes, at his own expense, his sovereign’s guest, and all those *pallii*, *corse di bighe*, fireworks and illuminations, with which people are regaled to satiety from April to August, and which make one feel what an arduous task royalty must be for a prince who considers it his duty to countenance all the sports of his subjects, lest, deprived of his presence, they should wax tired of their happiness. Hence also that meeting of Italian *savants* at Pisa, which soon proved to be an event of greater moment than was at first intended, as the Italians only saw in it an occasion for national reunion, notwithstanding some attempts of the *Gazzetta di Firenze* to call it the “Congresso degli Scienziati Europei,” as if anxious even in that occurrence to avoid all allusion to an Italian association.

Yet the strongest opposition to literary unity in Italy is, as we have seen, to be apprehended from the obstinacy of the Papal go-

vernment. The pope alone, it will be remembered—for we consider the Duke of Modena as a non-entity—refused countenance to that Italian or European Congress of Pisa. Gregory XVI. is now pursuing a system of policy which is likely to give a better opinion of the strength of his character than of the soundness of his understanding. Disturbed by political commotions on the very day of his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, he has been ever since violently struggling to secure his rebellious provinces in his grasp. He has mustered troops around the Vatican, he has garrisoned the towns of Romagna with many thousand horse and foot soldiery, as different from the loose and clumsy bands that were once proverbially called “Soldati del Papa,” as a flock of tame geese from the pilgrims of the air with which they claim their kindred. This papal armament is yet far from being a sufficient support to the Pope. The spirit of sedition is spreading fast among their ranks, and the garrisons on the northern side of the Apennines, whence danger is chiefly to be apprehended, are quite ready to espouse the cause of the malcontents. The newspapers have given alarming accounts of the effects that the first rumours of war had on that priest-ridden population. The Roman police, well aware of this disposition, take care to keep the minds of the people in a constant agitation by frequent arrests, generally of a sudden and mysterious nature, which scarcely allow the most innocent citizen in the papal dominions to rest tranquilly under his roof. A startling effect has been produced in the country by the unlooked for imprisonment of Signor Enrico Mayer of Leghorn, a man favourably known, in England no less than in his own country, for his eminent talents and high character, and for whose misfortune no one was able to account, unless by supposing that the Pope, like the Athenian who voted for the ostracism of Aristides, was weary of hearing him spoken of as the most virtuous of men.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, importuned by supplications and remonstrances, made some semblance of interfering in behalf of his subject, and, as we learn from private letters, the police at Rome was sensible that they had ventured too far, so that M. Mayer was liberated from the Castel St. Angelo, and sent to Leghorn in a government vessel. The Grand Duke, however, can scarcely censure the Pope’s arbitrary conduct, at least if he had any part in the indecorous search made by his *sbirri* at Leghorn, in Guerrazzi’s cellar, for the manuscript of his “Assedio di Firenze,” a novel, which, in spite of the vigilance of the authorities, was already freely circulating in every town of Tuscany.

While the Pope and cardinals are thus entirely engrossed by the worldly cares of their temporal government, religious tolera-

tion and freedom have made some progress in the north of Italy and Tuscany.

A new and handsome building for the service of the English Church has been erected at Leghorn. Protestant service in Italian is performed, once every three weeks at the Swiss chapels, both in that town and in the capital. A new translation of the Bible has been announced by the Società Editrice Fiorentina on a very cheap plan of publication. The Oxford edition of Diodati's Italian Bible is freely offered for sale in every book-stall in Tuscany, the police wisely and liberally winking at the open infraction of its regulations. Conversions to Protestantism, though rare, are occasionally heard of. A young couple at Leghorn, whose marriage the Pope refused to sanction on account of their relationship, were married by the Swiss Protestant minister, and continue to join his congregation without molestation on the part of government, or, much less, censure of public opinion.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, wiser on this account than the King of Sardinia, who seems to shrink from no violent and arbitrary measure, seems determined to rely on the influence of example to enforce religious devotion. Always acting a prominent part in all religious ceremonies, and fearing lest the zeal of his people for their old saints might in this age of scepticism relax, he contrived to introduce a new saint into the calendar, who, under the protection of his pious Neapolitan Grand Duchess, created a temporary but lively sensation in Florence.

Every one has heard of the virtues and miracles of Santa Philomela, whose history has been made known to the world through the visions and revelations of a highly-gifted Neapolitan priest, who brought her relics from the Roman catacombs under special grant of the Pontiff, and erected himself into a minister of her altar and interpreter of her oracle.

In consequence however of prevailing incredulity, or perhaps in accordance with the ancient adage "that no prophet is heeded in his own country," the new saint was but coldly welcomed at Naples, and would soon have been lost in the crowd of deities of the Catholic Olympus, had she not found favour in the tender heart of the betrothed princess, who brought the little idol—an unheard of dowry—to her future lord and husband in Tuscany. Every thing was soon made ready for Philomela's apotheosis. Priests and monks were made to preach up the young martyr's wonderful history. The effigy of the little goddess for which, it is said, a beautiful prostitute—most probably a *modello*—sat, was exhibited at the church of the Santa Annunciata, and the most notorious haunts of old-fashioned superstition were deserted



for her sake. It was soon evident, however, that the charm of fashion and novelty alone attracted the curious Florentines to the new shrine. Times are, even in Tuscany, deplorably averse to modern canonization, and the old saints need no trifling exertion to keep their seats. So that, after a short interval, scarcely any one in Florence seemed to have any recollection of the saint that had driven them mad, always excepting the meek and gentle Grand Duchess, who, during her last confinement, never lost sight of her patroness, and with true maternal devotion christened her new-born child with her name.

No one has, however, reason to wonder that Santa Philomela is looked upon with more lasting attachment by the sovereigns than by the people of Italy, if we credit the assertion of Father Gatteschi, who, in a sermon publicly delivered at Florence, confidently attributed the extinction of all revolutionary attempts in 1831 and the restitution of peace, not to the timely interference of Austrian bayonets, but to the intercession of the loyal saint.

Nor are these the only religious efforts by which the Grand Duke of Tuscany is striving to counteract the perversity of the people, or at least of the enlightened classes who seem inclined to wish for a reform of the most absurd superstitions of the church of Rome. He has surrounded, or, at least, according to an ancient and general practice, he has allowed the priests to surround even his imperial and royal lottery with the august apparatus of religious ceremony. The lottery, a system of kingly munificence and innocent popular amusement, of which the worldly wisdom of French and English legislators has deprived the people, is in full vigour in all the Italian states, but no where is it kept up in all its splendour as under the auspices of the Grand Duke, who is said to derive from it an annual income of several millions of Florentine *lire*. That system of utter isolation, which opposes in Tuscany even the establishment of a stage-coach to Rome or Bologna, is however laid aside with the provident view to give the Tuscan people the chances of a Roman extraction. Every trick and delusion is resorted to that can allure the ignorant people to the *botteghino*. Pamphlets and volumes are published, intended to direct the inexperienced in their interpretation of omens and dreams. Such books need not fear the frowns of censorship, while works intended for the suppression of this voluntary tax—witness, a popular poem written on that subject by Enrico Mayer, which could only be published at Lugano—are strictly forbidden. A scaffold is erected under the Portico degli Uffizi, decked so as to resemble either a temple or a stage. The Gonfaloniere and other officers are in attendance, and a priest in his robes is summoned to invoke the blessings of heaven, and to

sprinkle holy water on the urn on which the hopes of the confiding multitude are centered.

It can no longer be a matter of wonder that a people whose morals the government takes such care to improve should need no more severe restraint than the mild and benignant laws for which the code of Peter Leopold has been long celebrated. The Tuscans are a gay inoffensive people : it is of them that as early as the middle of the fifteenth century Lorenzo de Medici said (to quote Alfieri's words) :

" La scure in Roma  
Silla adoprà, ma quí la verga è troppo—  
A far tremarli della voce io basto."

Yet petty transgressions, and at times even startling crimes, are not unheard of even in peaceful Florence ; and Leghorn, time out of mind, the refuge of vagabonds from all the ports of the Mediterranean, continues to be what it has often been called—a den of rogues. It certainly sounds very pleasant to boast of the good effect of easy and lenient laws, when it is not safe to be out of doors after dusk, and it is easy to point exultingly at empty jails and moss-grown gibbets, when pick-pockets and cut-throats are seen walking about in perfect security.

We have stated these facts to show that we were not blind to the evils with which even the happiest parts of Italy are afflicted, though we deemed it an act of justice to attribute them for the most part to what Alfieri calls her often wicked, always improvident governments. We have dwelt on topics apparently extraneous to our subject, in order to enable our readers to see what obstacles oppose in that country every attempt at social amelioration, and we insisted the more on our account of the moral condition of Tuscany, as few even of our optimists entertain very favourable opinions of the Austrian or Sardinian governments, whereas the smiles of a Tuscan police officer, or, at the most, a ticket of admission to a court ball, has often proved so mighty a spell to dazzle the judgment of some fashionable tourists that their reminiscences of Tuscany have all the glow of a description of the *Pays de Cocagne*. Tuscany, where criminal debates have only yesterday been opened to the public, whilst such a practice has been in vigour at Parma and Naples ever since the Restoration !

The establishment of copyright in Italy, besides the obvious effect it will have of encouraging the production and diffusion of the works of genius, will also greatly contribute to bring about that literary unity which the most zealous patriots have hitherto vainly endeavoured to promote. The Italians seem, after so long a lesson of hard-won experience, to be finally made aware that

the calamities of foreign vassalage, as well as their state of social and moral degeneration, are to be principally ascribed to that fatal spirit of division which they inherited from the municipal dissensions and jealousies of their forefathers in the middle ages, and which the usurpers of their republican liberties never afterwards ceased to foment. Not, indeed, that the resentment of republican grudges, or even the narrow-minded feeling of mutual mistrust and contempt between the different provinces, can be said to exist to any great extent, in our days, whatever may be the notions of prejudiced travellers on the subject. But the Italians have so long been estranged from each other, the name of their country has been so long buried in oblivion, their local interests have been so artfully directed into different and opposite channels, that their patriotic ideas—we speak of the unenlightened classes—have still something vague and undetermined; the natural boundaries of the country seem to shift from one district to another, so as to induce the traveller to conclude that, geographically as well as politically, there is no Italy.

Thus the Piedmontese still calls the eastern road “*Strada d’Italia*,” and the Neapolitan points to the north to what he improperly calls “*L’alta Italia*”—Piedmont and Lombardy—and the inhabitants of those provinces are by him designated by the appellation of Italians. It cannot be denied, moreover, that the different provinces have reached a higher degree of civilization in proportion as they were more favourably situated; that there have been facts—such as the insurrection of 1820, and the naval expedition to Tripoli—which, uncharitably judged of from the event, have reflected on the military character of the Neapolitans a disgrace, which the Lombards and Piedmontese, proud, as they have perhaps some reason to be, of the laurels they reaped during the Napoleonic campaigns, are less inclined, even for the sake of nationality, to share.

This ugly stain of cowardice, by which the Italian name has been so freely branded by foreigners, has given full scope to the witticisms of Von Raumer, who has been anxious to collect the idle *bon mots* of worthless monarchs, such as the “*fuggiranno sempre*” of Charles Felix of Sardinia, and the “*son Napolitano anch’io*” of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, and who might be asked whether the Italians fled at Raab and Malojarslavetz under Eugene Beauharnois or Murat? But it is remarkable that in our age, when the example of Napoleon showed how soldiers could be made out of every nation, and of the vilest recruits, when every political sign seems to point to a universal peace, and martial prowess is likely to become a quality of the least consequence,—so much stress should be laid on the aptitude of any

nation for war, and the Italians or Neapolitans should be so unexceptionally stigmatized as an unwarlike and dastardly race.

To efface from the mind of the people these last remnants of illiberal provincialisms, which they think are rather fostered by ignorance than by ill-will, the intelligent classes in Italy are actively employed; and they think nothing can be, in peaceful times, more directly conducive to that happy result than the assimilation of their national language—the centralization of science and literature,—and the compilation of the history of the country.

To bring about the reform, enfranchisement and diffusion of the national language, the works of Perticari, Monti, Cesari, and many other philological writers, have, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, mainly contributed, when they hastened the downfall of that old edifice of pedantry by which the Academy Della Crusca had brought the Italian language to a dead stand. The Tuscans have recovered from their provincial prejudices, and are willing to admit, that, by assiduous study and superior culture, Italian can be written or spoken at Turin and Naples as purely and elegantly as on the banks of the Arno. On the other side, the Lombard and Roman universities, no less than the primary and infant schools, recently disseminated wherever they did not, as at Rome, meet with a strong opposition on the part of the governments, have left nothing unattempted to bring the uncouth dialects to the level of the best Tuscan standard. The Piedmontese above all, who, by their immediate contact with France, and by the example of their bastard court of Savoy, knew in the time of Alfieri no human language but French, have, by a laudable effort of unanimous will, laboured to vindicate their Italian origin, and the copious supply of literary works published at Turin are a sufficient evidence of their steadiness of purpose. The vocabularies of the Venetian, Sicilian, and of almost every other Italian *patois*, printed with a view to aid the people in their acquirement of the written language, and the republications of Italian dictionaries at Bologna, Verona, Naples, and Padua, announce a new fact, about which foreigners never entertained any doubt, but which had, however, never been sufficiently established since the age of Dante:—that there is an Italian language.

The annual meeting of eminent scientific men at one of the several universities of the country, of which the second session has been lately held under the patronage of his Sardinian majesty, at Turin, will have a most salutary effect on the progress of science, by enabling the most active scholars to meet, to understand and mutually appreciate and encourage each other by the assurance of

the reward of national suffrage which awaits the result of their efforts at every reunion of that kind of scientific diet.\*

\* We thought it might be agreeable to our readers to have some particulars of the first of those scientific meetings, of which we have received the official report, published under the inspection of the secretary-general at Pisa in August last.

The honor of having first promoted this important association is due to six eminent gentlemen residing at Florence:—the Prince Carlo Bonaparte, the Commendatore Vincenzo Antinori, the Cav. Prof. Amici, an eminent man of science, and an exile from the Duchy of Modena, in consequence of the revolution of 1831, the Cav. Gaetano Giorgini, the Professors Paolo Savi and Maurizio Bufalini, a renowned physician. The permission of publishing an invitation to the literati of Italy, and to hold their first session in Pisa, was granted by the Grand Duke Leopold II. on March 28, 1839. Before the first day of October 421 savants had arrived at Pisa, and were inscribed as members of the congress. Admission was granted only to the members of the faculty, or to those that could present their diploma as having received the degree of A.M. in any of the European universities. The different colleges, academics, and other learned institutions of all Italy—those of the Papal states always excepted—sent their representatives. Many of the Italian and foreign savants, among others, Herschel and Babbage from England, sent their letters of thanks and their excuses.

The first day was spent in religious ceremonies. High mass was celebrated in the cathedral of Pisa: in the afternoon the members proceeded to the election of their president. The choice unanimously fell on Signor Rainieri Gerbi, the senior professor of the philosophical faculty at Pisa, a man well known in his country for his works on natural philosophy. The venerable president did not live to see the anniversary of his elevation to his dignity; he died only a few months after the first meeting was over, in December, 1839, aged seventy-six.

The president next appointed as his secretary-general the Professor F. Corridi. On the second day the members of the congress proceeded to the election of the presidents of the sections into which the meeting was to be divided, and their choice was fixed upon the following gentlemen:—

- Sect. I. Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mathematics.—Pres. Cav. Prof. Configliachi.
- II. Geology, Mineralogy, Geography.— Pres. Prof. Sismonda.
- III. Botany, and Vegetal Physiology.—Pres. Prof. Savi.
- IV. Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.—Pres. Princ. Bonaparte.
- V. Agronomy and Technology.—Pres. March. Ridolfi.
- VI. Medicine.—Pres. Cav. Prof. Tommasini.

On the same day, October 2, took place a public solemnity in honour of Galileo, the greatest of Italian philosophers, born, as it is well known, at Pisa, and who held for some time the chair of professor of mathematics in that city. The whole association of the Italian savants assembled in the court-yard of the university, where they attended the ceremony of inauguration of a colossal statue of that illustrious man, the work of a Pisan sculptor, Demi, which was on that day first exhibited. At the moment that noble monument was first opened to the public gaze, Professor Rosini recited an oration in praise of Galileo.

The discourse of the learned professor, and a very able engraving of the statue, are to be found in the report of the secretary, to which we have alluded above. We have seen the statue at Pisa, and gladly joined in the universal applause with which it was first received, though we think that its situation is far from being favourable to the sculptor's performance.

On the third day the first solemn assembly took place in the hall of the university. In the midst of a large crowd of the learned of Italy and all other countries, the aristocracy of the mind of all Europe, cheered by the presence of many of the fair sex, the aged president delivered an oration on a subject well suited to the occasion—the influence that Italy had in all ages on the promotion and progress of science.

This was of course a repetition of the great claims of Galileo and his illustrious school of Viviani, Toricelli, Redi, Castelli, Magalotti, and others, on the gratitude of posterity. The lecturer dwelt with peculiar fondness on the successful labours of the

The labours of the "Deputazione Reale," of Turin, and similar private associations in other cities, have already powerfully contri-

short-lived but illustrious academies "dei Lincei" at Rome, and "del Cimento" at Florence. Hence he proceeded to trace the progress of physical sciences in the following ages, and paid due tribute of honour to the memory of such men as Cassini, Cavalieri, Piazzi, Mascheroni, Paoli, Mascagni, Scarpa, Vacca, Volta, Nobili, and of the still living and flourishing Libri, Melloni, Orioli, Rasori, Tommasini, etc., endeavouring to demonstrate that science in Italy is certainly neither in a backward nor yet a stationary condition.

The oration being at its close, the members then present voted that a deputation should be sent to the Grand Duke, with solemn thanks for the munificence and benignity with which he was pleased to countenance their association with his royal patronage. Equal thanks were given to the municipal authorities of Pisa, and to the Prince Charles Bonaparte, the first promoter of the meeting.

It was then voted that an equal meeting should take place in the month of October, next year at Turin, and that the second anniversary should be celebrated in Florence. We hear, however, that these dispositions have been partly altered, and that the congress of October, 1841, in compliance with the wishes of the members from Lombardy, is to be held at the University of Padua.

On the fourth day, the six sections for the first time withdrew to their several apartments. Each of them held eight sessions during the days—4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14.

Two other general assemblies were held; one on the 8th, in which several papers of considerable importance were read by some of the most conspicuous members, and the last on the 15th, in which the secretaries of each session read the result of their proceedings, and the secretary-general gave a report of all the transactions which had taken place since the first opening of the congress, and afterwards promulgated the regulations that were to be observed by the members during their future reunions. The meeting was finally dissolved by another oration of the president.

His Royal Highness the Grand Duke Leopold II. honoured the last assembly with his august presence, and repeatedly attended the meetings of all the different sessions. He was every where received with thundering applause,—so easy is it for a prince, whenever he chooses, to acquire popularity.

The Grand Duke did not fail also, during his stay at Pisa, to invite the presidents and secretaries, and the most distinguished members of every section, to join his dinner party; and on the 10th he ordered a public banquet for all the members of the congress, and all distinguished strangers, to be given in his royal palace, where the sovereign's health and his royal family's, the good city of Pisa, and the university, were proposed, and received with the most enthusiastic cheers.

Similar banquets were equally celebrated every day at the expense of the community of Pisa and of the members of the congress, for the entertainment of distinguished guests of both sexes.

Every evening the library of the university was opened for a literary conversazione. Among other agreeable topics of friendly intercourse, the famous traveller Professor Rosellini entertained his colleagues with lively descriptions of the remote regions he had visited.

The good old melancholy town of Pisa dressed herself in her gayest attire to welcome her illustrious visitors. Among other spectacles by which the grave pursuits of the learned were enlivened, the most interesting proved to be the "Pallio delle fregate," a kind of regatta on the Arno, celebrated with extraordinary pomp and splendour,—an ancient popular amusement, now for the first time revived in Pisa, since the palmy days of that ill-fated republic. Had not the dangers attendant on that manly exhibition been too much in contradiction with the peaceful object of that scientific congress, the Pisans could have afforded their guests a more stirring spectacle by their "Battaglia del Ponte."

Before taking leave of each other, some only for a twelvemonth, some for life, the members of the scientific congress voted that a Latin inscription should be placed in the hall of the *Sapienza*, in commemoration of the happy event of their first meeting, and

above, and which could not have been sent into light without some indulgence and latitude on the part of the censor; we have before us the announcement of several vast and important undertakings, which only a few years ago would have appeared utterly impracticable in Italy; at the head of these editorial labours is the Società Editrice Fiorentina, to which, as we have said, the country is greatly indebted for the newly obtained establishment of copyright. This society offers to the public in twenty-four large volumes in quarto, the "*Monumenti del Genio Letterario d'ogni Nazione*," a work which is to embrace the standard productions of every age and country. The first volume, according to the good maxim "*ab Jove principium*," is to be a new translation of the Bible, lately undertaken by an eminent and liberal divine at Florence.

A second and equally gigantic enterprise of the editing society is the "*Biblioteca Storica*," of which the translations of Leo, Niebuhr, Prescott, and Macintosh, are already announced as a first series of publications. The same society is also preparing the material for a universal Cyclopædia on a larger scale than any in existence. Equally important, if not equally voluminous works are also in progress under the successors of Bettoni, at Milan, at the "*Tipografia del Gondoliere*," in Venice, and at the printing establishment of Pomba, at Turin. Cesare Cantù, a poet of some reputation in Lombardy, has ventured on a new work on universal history, which is likely to engage his attention during all his lifetime. Niccolini, the greatest of living tragedians has also abandoned the drama for a very important work on the history of the house of Swabia; and Rosini, a successful novelist has changed the lively style of romantic narrative for the more serious task of a history of painting.

Everywhere this preponderance of grave and useful pursuits over the works of imagination, is observable in Italy. It seems as if the natural fecundity of that gifted land were for the third time exhausted, as it was evidently the case in the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries; when national poetry and eloquence was either plunged into a deep sleep, or corrupted by extravagance and bombast, to give way in the first instance to the classical researches of Bracciolini and Valla; in the second to the physical discoveries of the school of Galileo. It seems as if to every age of active and creative life, a period of comparative repose must necessarily ensue, to be consecrated to the toils of erudition, to prepare the soil on which, in more fortunate circumstances, a new vegetation is to germinate. Such an epoch of rest and transition Italy has reached in our days, and the efforts of the scholars of that country seem rather directed to search into the monuments

of the past, to collect materials for the future, than to provide for the wants of the present.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of every honest friend of humanity to send a word of sympathy and encouragement to a people placed in so strangely different a situation from our own land of freedom; a people where the meeting of a few professors and scholars, or a convenient provision for the inviolability of literary property, is hailed as a national triumph, and made a subject of universal rejoicing.

But it is not literary commerce alone that suffers in Italy from the fetters of a jealous, pusillanimous, short-sighted despotism. The irksome vexations to which every traveller is subjected at every distance of twenty or thirty miles; the passport, the douane, and octrois, and, at times, the long-protracted quarantine; the complicated systems of coin, weight and measure, the absurd and contradictory laws, navigation acts, and police regulations, the negligence, the tardiness, and not unfrequently the shameless bad faith of the post-office; the rare, slow and imperfect condition of commercial conveyances engender a universal discouragement, an apathy, a listlessness which is rather too hastily ascribed to a natural indolence of the people. The most active mind feels confined, and, as it were, dwindles within the close boundaries of those petty states. It sinks under the consciousness of its insufficiency. It yields before the well-experienced invincibility of the obstacles it has to contend with. It is thus that trade, industry and even agriculture are, at the best, stationary in Italy, especially in the smaller states, in this age of European progress; nor is there any hope of durable amelioration, unless the governments are prompted by their own interests to come to a generous understanding, and establish a commercial, as they have been obliged to sanction a literary and scientific, confederacy.

Meanwhile the vain-glorious menaces and bravadoes of France, and the sudden rumours of war, have found the Italians, even after so long a school of fond illusion, though disenchanted from their false conceptions, still ready to lend a willing ear to new deception and perfidy; and thousands of well-meaning hearts have beaten with transport at the first hope of foreign invasion. It would be vain to deny the fact, that even the soundest minds in Italy, notwithstanding the contrary sentence of Von Raumer, think that under no change Italy can ever fare worse than under the rule of Austria and her worthless lieutenants. Let the Italian governments look well to it, lest, when the invader draws near and they appeal to the feelings of the nation for support in their struggle, they be answered in the words of the beast of burden in the fable, "The French cannot force us to carry two loads."

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ART. IV.—1. *Anleitung zur Kupfer-Stichkunde.* By Adam Bartsch. 8vo. Vienna. 1821.

2. *History and Practice of Photogenic Drawing, on the true Principles of the Daguerriotype, with a new Method of Dioramic Painting, Secrets purchased by the French Government and by command published for the benefit of Arts and Manufactures, by the Inventor, L. S. Daguerre, Officer of the Legion of Honour, and Member of various Academies.* London. 1839.

3. *Excursions Daguerriennes ; collection de 50 planches, représentant les Vues et les Monuments les plus remarquables du Globe.* Paris. 1840.

AMONGST the various arts which have been practised by man, and which have tended to his civilization and welfare, engraving has the earliest claims to antiquity. It has been handed down to us from the remotest ages, the earliest specimens being in the form of engraved gems and signets, ornaments closely allied with ancient royalty. The stones usually used for these were cornelian, calcedony, jacinth, onyx, and sard; to these we may add opal, beryl, and emerald. It would naturally happen that the country whose soil yielded these riches would be the one to take the earliest opportunity for exercising such an art, and India, that land of precious stones, was considered the first country to set the example. Not only is this country rich in engraved signets and talismans, but we have in the Royal Asiatic Society remarkable specimens of engraved characters upon copper plates coeval with the seventh century of our era. These are called in the country "copper leaf," and some of them are found to contain certain privileges given by the natives to the earliest Christians. Many are contracts entered into for conveying grants of land. They are curiously connected by large copper rings joined together by immense round seals of lead having characters stamped at the bottom.\* Egypt, whose antiquities have been so successfully explored, everywhere gives evidence of the labours of the graver, and as early as the 18th dynasty, during the reign of Amosis, or about 1575 B.C. (four years after the birth of Moses) hieroglyphics and various devices were commonly engraved by the Egyptians on their glass vases and beads. Sir J. G. Wilkinson mentions one of these latter being found by

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\* For a curious and interesting account of the last, which were sent over by Dr. Burns of the Bombay Medical Service, we refer our readers to the 7th volume of the Calcutta Journal, published in that city.

Capt. Henvey, R.N. at Thebes, which had engraved on it a king's name who lived at the period of 1500, B.C. At that early age the manufacture of glass was carried to great perfection. Not only was it employed in manufacturing articles for the social purposes of life, but also to a great extent in the imitation of precious stones. The power the ancients possessed of diffusing colours into their glass was very great, and some of our readers will perhaps recollect the curious account given by the learned Winkelman, of a piece of glass not quite an inch in length, and about a third of an inch in breadth, which exhibited on a dark and variegated ground a bird similar to a duck, with plumage of the most bright and varied colours, formed by the alternate introduction of opaque and transparent glass—a remarkable circumstance was, that on the reverse was the same figure, and so exactly similar in all its delicate pencilings to the other, that Winkelman could only suppose that the colours were infused through the entire piece.

The Chinese have ever been celebrated for their patient ingenuity in the more ancient practise of the art. They exemplified their skill and industry not only in the hardest materials, but in hollowing out perfect bottles from rock crystal of about two inches in length, and through the very small opening in the neck, they engraved minute and delicate characters in the inside, so as to be read through the crystal.

A curious circumstance is mentioned by Sir J. G. Wilkinson of some Chinese bottles being found in the tombs of Thebes, mingled with others of native manufacture. They are made of a kind of porcelain, about two inches high, one side presenting a flower, and on the other an inscription, which in two of them consists of five characters—*ming, yue, soong, choong, chaou*, which is a line taken from one of the poets, and has the pretty interpretation of “the bright moon shines amidst the firs.” On the other was a different inscription, “The flower opens, and lo! another year.” The tombs in which these were found were of the earlier dynasty of Thothmes III., who reigned about the time of Joseph. How great a proof therefore is this of the early attention which the Chinese paid to the cultivation of various arts.

We need not remind our readers of the frequent allusions made to the use of signets and engraved gems in our sacred books. The Old Testament abounds in them. In Genesis (chap. xxxviii. v. 18) Tamar desires a pledge from Judah by which she might know him, and he said, “What pledge shall I give thee?” and she said, “Thy signet,” תַּחֲנִיחַ; and in Exodus we have the circumstantial account of the twelve stones which were engraved according to

names of the children of Israel, "like the engravings of a signet." And we must not forget the remarkable expression of Job (chap. xix. v. 23, 24), "Oh! that my words were now written, oh that they were printed in a book—that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!"

As a more immediate introduction to the present subject, we will call the attention of our readers to the two forms of engraving entitled *Camaieu* and *Intaglio*. The *Scarabæus* of the Egyptians, a type of immortality, and an object mixed up with their religious ceremonies, is one of the earliest specimens of this kind, not only engraved on precious stones, but, from the extensive circulation they met with, manufactured in porcelain. There seems to be very little doubt that the ancients knew the use of the diamond in cutting glass and stones, though some have contended that Gaspar Lehmann, at Prague, who obtained a patent from the Emperor Rodolph II., was the first who succeeded in it. From the authority of Pliny, however, we may conclude that the diamond was well known to the lapidary,\* and he particularly remarks that it was used "for all gems." From Egypt the art was gradually introduced, as Strutt tells us in his *Dictionary of Engraving*, into Phœnicia, and thence to Greece. Few of the names of the gem engravers of the time of Pericles have descended to us, but our readers will remember that Alexander gave his royal privilege to Lysippus and Apelles, and also to Pyrgoteles, who alone was authorized to engrave the royal portrait. Apollonides and Cronius were next in reputation, as Pliny informs us.† At the earlier periods of Grecian art, many of the Egyptian divinities are curiously mingled with the heroes of Greece, the former being often engraved on one side, while the latter occupied the reverse. We refer our readers to Winkelman's interesting account of the celebrated cameos which are handed down to us, particularly the exquisite one of Perseus and Andromeda.

Intaglios or gems in which the figure is sunken (called by the French "*en creux*") were more particularly in vogue as seals or signets. Herodotus mentions that the Ethiopians were well acquainted with the art, and their knowledge most probably was derived from the Egyptians. And we have already mentioned the numerous instances of the practice of the art in the Scriptures, probably obtained in this branch from that nation, since their hieroglyphics are generally of this character. It was supposed that the idea of an intaglio or seal suggested itself from a

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\* Plin. xxxvii. 4.—"Expetuntur (adamantis crustæ) a sculptoribus ferroque includuntur, nullam non duritiam ex facili cavantes."

† See Sillig. *Dict. of Artists of Antiquity*.

piece of worm-eaten wood, and Winkelman mentions a gem in the Stosch collection which was engraved in imitation of wood eaten by the worm. The collections of the ancients were extremely beautiful and curious, and it will be sufficient to recall to our readers the name of Dioscorides \* in evidence of this, who flourished under Augustus, and whose eminent talents recommended him to the notice of that Emperor, in the same way as Pyrgoteles to Alexander the Great. The portrait of Augustus, engraved by him on a precious stone, was used by Augustus himself and succeeding emperors as a signet. Pliny gives an interesting description of the various tools used by the artists, and mentions one which he calls *tornus*, and which has been supposed to mean some sort of turning lathe; but Natter, Raspe, and other more modern authors, will furnish further information on this subject. In the fifteenth century the art recovered from the state of obscurity into which it had fallen, and this regeneration may be in a great measure attributed to the Medici family at Florence and Rome, whose love of the arts induced them in every way to uphold talent and learning. The most extensive and beautiful works, however, were in the *Camei*, as these allow of far more richness and expression than in the graving of the *Intagliatore*.

The process of die engraving assimilates very closely to that which we have already mentioned, but it bears a higher place in the art, as it was upon steel that the talent of the graver was exercised. The same kind of tools were employed, however, as upon the cameo and intaglio. The artist having executed the intended figure upon the piece of steel called a punch, this was tempered so as to bring it to a great degree of hardness, and under it was placed a piece of soft steel called the die (*talus*), which being made red hot receives the impression of the figure in relief on the punch, by the latter being smartly struck with the hammer, and thus the matrix is formed from which the future medallions are struck.

Skinner gives a curious interpretation of the word talon (the claw of a bird of prey), which he derives from *talus, quia præcipuum istarum avium robur in talo seu calcare constitit*, or because the chief strength of that bird lies in its heel or talon; and another author has ingeniously conceived that the derivation of the Italian words *intaglio* and *intagliare* may be derived from "the action of the bird's foot *clawing* the earth, or scraping, scratching and *cutting* into any object."

We must now call the attention of our reader to a more important part of the subject, namely, that portion of the art which

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\* Vide Sillig.

was termed working in *niello*, or the practice of filling up the lines of a subject engraved, by a different coloured metal from that of the plate. The goldsmith's art is one which has been practised from the remotest ages, and we are constantly reminded in the Old Testament that it was united with the talents of the graver; and no inconsiderable skill must have been displayed where we read the description in Exodus of the mercy-seat, with its cherubim and the various adjuncts to the altar. Evelyn amongst other authorities for the antiquity of engraving, quotes the word *ynet*, which is used in 1 Kings, ch. vi. ver. 35, and more particularly expresses the hollowing out of the carved work on the cherubim and the sanctuary, *which carved work* was afterwards filled up with gold. On the valuable authority of Sir J. G. Wilkinson, we find that it was a common practice with the ancient Egyptians to ornament their small gold figures by letting a vitrified composition into the engraved metal. The ancient goldsmiths probably were early accustomed to the use of the burin or kind of chisel, whose extremity is a rectangular steel bar in the shape of a lozenge. The Italian word *bolino* or *bulino* for the graving tool, as a diminutive, is derived by some etymologists from the Teutonic *beyel*, *beil*, a bill, which Skinner renders *securis rostrata*, meaning a woodman's *bill*-hook. The burin being held firmly in the hand, cuts out a small thread-like portion of the metal which is being engraved, and which varies in depth more or less according to the angle of the burin and the force applied to the instrument. We have very little doubt that this tool was familiar to the ancients, for Strutt, in alluding to the Egyptian alto-relievo in brass in the British Museum, says,

"The flat part or ground of the relief, together with the bottom edges and back part of it, are ornamented with figures and symbolical characters, executed entirely with the graver without any other assistance. The backs of the crocodiles and the heads of the four-footed animals are also finished with the same instrument in a very careful manner."

The following description of *niello* engraving by Count Serratti will perhaps convey to the reader a just impression of this art.

"The intended object was covered over with the *niello* (*nigellum*), which was a metallic substance or black kind of enamel reduced to powder, composed of silver, copper, lead, sulphur and borax, so that it was more easily fusible than silver, and of a dark colour. The necessary degree of heat was then applied, which melted this metallic compound without affecting the silver plate, and occasioned it to run about until it had filled all the strokes of the engraving. Lastly, the superfluous part of the *niello* which rose above the surface of the silver plate was removed by scrapers, files and pumice stone, until the even surface of

the plate appeared in every part, so that the niello only remained in the strokes made by the burin, thus giving to the engraved design its true effect."

This was the art which was so extensively practised by the goldsmiths of Europe in the age of the celebrated Maso de Finiguerra, and from these were produced the niello impressions. We are indebted to Mr. White, a member for many years of the Company of Goldsmiths, and whose exquisite taste is well known to the cognoscenti, and especially in the print department of the British Museum, for some valuable memoranda on this subject made during the reading of the *Essai sur les Nielles*, by Duchesne Ainé; and which, as the result of a long experience in the art of engraving, will be duly appreciated by our readers. In speaking of a niello impression in the Binda collection, he says,

"The lines on the bodies of the figures are so closely engraved as to be much blurred in the smelting, which was evidently *rubbed off*; I have used this technical term in order that I may state in this place the experimental process of the old goldsmiths. I should here premise, that having been in the practice of silver engraving for more than ten years in the early part of my life, I have taken off perhaps tens of thousands of impressions by the very process used by the Italian goldsmiths from the earliest period of the art. Its simplicity and efficacy is such as to prevent any alteration to the end of time. Drawing and engraving were at first a very material portion of a goldsmith's education, to which was added modelling and chasing. The life of that most splendid and eccentric genius Benvenuto Cellini, shows to what an extent the elements of a goldsmith's education might be improved and applied. But the division of labour in this, as in other trades, leading to expedition in the execution of orders, has withdrawn engraving and chasing from the hands of the goldsmith, and silver engravers, as they are now called, perform one portion of the original employment of the first goldsmiths, and chasers are exclusively engaged upon the other. Working in silver at present is entirely separated from the art of the goldsmith, but in the guild or company of goldsmiths, all the working branches are considered in the trade. The small silver or gold plates which require to be engraved, such as the nielli were upon, are fastened by means of a cement, composed of rosin and brick-dust, upon a flat piece of wood, by which means a sufficient rest is obtained for the thumb of the engraver, which in this species of engraving sustains and steadies the hand. The burin or graver is grasped by all the fingers of the right hand, and by a full pressure on the thumb the artist is able to perform any operation with steadiness to the extent of a circular line of about six inches in length. The engraver, elevating his hand, has an entire control of the instrument, and works with equal certainty as upon a flat or a convex surface. Indeed a surface of much convexity is only safe in the hands of a skilful and experienced engraver, and no tyro

would dare to attempt a bread-basket which is required to be engraved at the bottom, because the hand has to be elevated so as to place the graver almost upright, while the thumb solidly serves as a supporting pillar to the hand, round which the tool ploughs out the metal as the skill of the workman directs. The instruments generally used for this work are square, but are varied to different angles, and are termed the square graver, half lozenge and lozenge graver, the flat scooper and the spit-sticker. The practice I have described is, generally speaking, as much unused, perhaps unknown, by those who are now called historical or landscape engravers, as the art of chasing is unknown to, or not practised by, silver engravers. The plate being engraved, we must suppose impressions to be required from it. The plate is first rubbed in with ink with the tip or under surface of the middle finger, by which means the ink is pressed to the bottom of the incised lines; it is then wiped off by a bit of rag, and cleared of that which remains on the surface with the fleshy part of the hand under the thumb, or that under portion of the palm at its outer edge. When thus cleaned, all the lines are filled up with ink, which is, when delivered on the paper, to form the print. A piece of paper, moistened with saliva on each side, is now placed over the plate, and another piece of paper not so damp, or even dry, is laid on the first. A double paper perfectly dry is next placed over the two former ones, which being stretched out and kept tight and firm by the second finger and thumb of the left hand, a point-handle or stick, called a rubbing-stick, is rubbed over every portion of the outer paper where the engraving is underneath, and by this simple process I have taken thousands and thousands of prints from forks, spoons, tea-pots, milk-pots, bread-baskets, waiters, sugar-tongs, snuff-boxes, knife-handles, &c. &c. &c., and of every variety of size, from half an inch to ten inches. I could print any plate of the largest niello I have seen, or which has been described, and as well as any impression I have ever seen, by this simple process. I am entirely satisfied by the conviction which has been produced by knowledge and experience, that in this way and by this process did Maso de Finiguerra and all the primitive goldsmiths produce the impressions which are now denominated nielli from the subsequent process of filling them with the substance described by Vasari and others. I am certain that hundreds of silver engravers now living can corroborate every word I have written, and perform the operation I have described with almost unerring certainty."

These observations show how greatly the modern practice of engraving must have been assisted by this ancient process. Strutt, in his frontispiece to the first volume of his Dictionary of Engravers, gives two curious specimens from the Hamiltonian collection of Etruscan antiquities in the British Museum; one of them is part of the sheath of a parazonium or dagger, the original being about eight inches and a half long, and gradually tapers from three inches wide at the top to an inch and a quarter at the bottom. Two historical subjects are graven upon the flat side, but of very rude workmanship. The other specimen is

a patera, and underneath the two figures engraved upon it is an inscription in Etruscan characters. The ornamental parts of the drapery are exceedingly beautiful, and it is altogether a most valuable remnant of antiquity.

We will now examine the earlier history of modern engraving, as an art, which, has reached such a pitch of excellence that the student may acquire at home the works of the greatest masters of painting, their forms and almost their colouring being perpetuated through thousands of impressions. There is nothing perhaps so satisfactory, after thoroughly acquainting ourselves with a beautiful picture, as to possess an engraving of it; the roundness of form displayed in the figures, the adjustment of the drapery, the distant background with its clear sky and fleecy clouds, under the skilful hand of the graver present all the beautiful and striking colouring of the master. Adam Bartsch, in his valuable work of *Peintre Graveur*, enumerates thirteen different classes of engravings, viz. ; 1. Chalcography, or engraving; 2. Engraving with the dry point; 3. Etching; 4. Etching finished with the graver; 5. Dotting or stippling performed with a punch and mallet; 6. Scraping, or the dark method, called mezzotinto, practised chiefly in England; 7. Engraving in different colours, or Le Blou's method; 8. Chalk engraving, or French method; 9. English method by dotting; 10. Aquatinta, or the method for giving effect of bistre or Indian ink; 11. Method by coloured washes; 12. Xylography, or wood engraving and its varieties; 13. Lithography and its varieties. The education of the engraver must be in the same school as that of the painter, for he must have a perfect acquaintance with anatomy and perspective, and a just conception of drawing and of chiaroscuro. The painter devotes himself to delineating the pictures formed in his own mind, and conveys to the spectator the same impression of colour, form and texture which he has conceived, as also all the varied changes which light and air produce in a landscape. The engraver, by a judicious arrangement of certain lines, studies to produce a fac-simile, not only displaying all the vigour of form, but also all the innumerable modifications of feeling displayed by the artist in his picture.

The materials spoken of in the above enumeration by Bartsch are wood, metal and stone; and the art in general is usually divided into three branches, Xylography, Chalcography and Lithography. The first three processes are employed in engraving on metal, 12 and 13 upon wood and stone, and are termed simple processes, while the intermediate ones, from 4 to 11, are entitled mixed or compound. There is besides a compound process of wood engraving where one or more blocks are used, and the



print may be completed by stencilling. Any of our readers who have amused themselves with oriental tinting will be familiar with this last process; it was much used by the Briefmalers or card colourers.\* Adam Bartsch significantly observes, in his "*Anleitung zur Kupferstichkunde*," "that a description of all the various ways adopted by judicious engravers for the purposes of their art would in words only be a task impossible," and more especially do we feel the truth of this observation in our limited article. We cannot however pass over this interesting part of the subject without giving a few of the general rules to which the art is subjected. The chief study, then, of the line engraver, as we have already partially observed, whether in wood or metal, is to make such an arrangement of lines as shall mark the character of the various objects, whether they stand forward in bold relief, or are mellowed by reflected or borrowed light, in short, to convey to the eye the various gradations of colours which have been expressed by the artist on his canvass, and finally to preserve the whole in its proper keeping, or such a disposition of the various lights and shades (termed *chiaroscuro*) as shall leave no doubt as to the intended place of any object in the plate; for although the lights and shadows of nature are continually varying in direction and intensity throughout the day, still all objects preserve their relative value in the landscape.

In giving smoothness and polish to any object the lines are parallel, and sharp and clear in their course. To throw an object into the shade, and to give it a dull appearance, lines crossing each other perpendicularly are used, and are termed square hatchings, but where an intermediate state is required, the lozenge hatchings are employed, or lines crossing each other at an angle less than a right angle. Where a waving or flowing effect is to be produced, the hatchings will be slightly curved; but when an object is brought prominently in relief, various intervals in the shadings will produce the required effect. M. Bartsch gives some valuable information of the arrangement of lines technically termed handling.

"Although an engraver," says the author, "has not the painter's power of characterizing different bodies by the appropriate colours of each, he possesses abundant means of representing their surfaces so intelligibly, that hard bodies shall be distinguished from soft, smooth from rough, shining from dull, and that the copper-plate may often rival, in truth, fidelity and beauty, the coloured painting. For this purpose attention must be given to the different modes of handling, as well with regard to the choice of strokes (fine or broad, deep or shallow) to be en-

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\* Vide Singer, in "*History of Playing Cards*."

graven, as with regard to the judicious direction and distribution of them. If this handling be entirely of the same sort throughout the plate, such a work will evidently possess less distinctness, and strike the eye less forcibly, than a work in which each substance of the composition is appropriately executed, leaving us in no doubt of its individual character. An engraver is always defective when, through the unintelligible handling of the graver, certain bodies represented are only to be guessed at by their outline, or merely by the light and shadow thrown upon them. The various substances and objects engraved, such as carnations, cloths, silks, metal, stones, &c., ought, with very few exceptions, to be distinguishable from each other by the handling alone."

He further remarks, that the strokes or dots used to mark the surfaces of different bodies must be placed in that systematic way, and being filled with more or less colour, will judiciously express the varied forms of the different surfaces, whether raised or hollowed. With regard to the subject of hatchings, he draws a comparison between the works of Gerard Edelinck and Scheltius von Bols-wert, and conceives that the latter is certainly superior in his dexterity of handling the graver, and declares that he has executed some plates with the most perfect freedom and lightness; "but this freedom," he says, "has its origin in a judicious direction, union, and ultimation of the lines; important particulars in which Edelinck was remarkably deficient." The most important surface to represent is that of the human skin and complexion, next ranks drapery and other bodies. Raffaele Mengs, in his "Rules of Painting," alludes to five tints of colour for representing all the appearances in nature, which are divided into extreme light, half light, middle tint, half dark, and extreme dark. The half shadows in the human skin are expressed more frequently by dots than lines and strokes, and there are sometimes conical holes made by the instrument called the dry needle, punch, or etching point; and they have another form, which is angular. Wood engravers frequently adopt this process with the burin, for representing the delicate carnations of females and children. In portraits, where great accuracy is required, dots made by the graver have a very good effect, and M. Bartsch mentions the eminent works of J. G. Willer, the Drevets, G. F. Smidt, and one or two others, as examples of this. The figure of Hymen, engraved by Bartolozzi, in his "Clytia," after Annibal Caracci, is a beautiful specimen of soft carnation. Hair is generally expressed by lines running parallel together, the undulating surface of the curls being expressed by the greater or less depth of the shading, but in larger works single hairs of many curls are left white, and, being placed in contradistinction to darker masses, give a rich and luxuriant appearance. The representation of drapery requires a great

deal of judicious and far different handling on the part of the engraver. Flaxman, in his valuable lectures, says that drapery, being subject to the laws of gravity and motion, is affected in its form like all other objects in nature, according to its lightness or weight, acted upon by the repose or action of the wearer and the force of the wind. The succession, therefore, of any folds which are broken into various lengths, must be most carefully treated by the burin ; " but it is evident," says M. Bartsch, " that no expertness in the artist can enable him to represent with the burin such draperies as have been badly painted, and are imperfect either in respect to shading or outline. Defects in many engravings are unjustly charged upon the engraver, whose only fault perhaps is a too faithful copy of his original."

Clear blue sky is represented by very fine parallel lines, no cross hatchings being allowed ; but where clouds are introduced, they are imitated by a series of strokes running together, and following the shape of the cloud. In those which are dark and stormy the hatchings are considerably strengthened, and for this portion of his art the engraver must be as attentive an observer of nature as the painter. In speaking of the representation of soft earth, M. Bartsch says, " two or three series of hatchings, the strokes of which, like those of the foundation over which they cross, must be crooked ; must be somewhat angular ; must be here and there broken or discontinued, and must have abrupt endings." Our limits do not allow us to make further observations on the various modes adopted by the engraver for representing the rough bark of the forest tree, or the light and fragile stem of the plant waving in the breeze ; and again, the calm and still waters gleaming with the passing light. All these are subject, more or less, to the same rules, and their beauties and truth depend on the choice handling of the engraver. Harshness in every way should be avoided, and the utmost attention should be paid to keeping and harmony. A great deal depends on the strength of the lights introduced by the graver, for the action of light and shadow has been considered in four different manners : 1. as giving strong relief to the prominent parts of an object ; 2. as giving relief to some detached portion of an object ; 3. the various changes which it receives in passing through different media ; and 4. the consideration that the light and shadow of any object is influenced by the local colours of the illuminated object. The great study therefore of the engraver is, to avoid any harshness in his strong lights, as all shadows occasioned by them terminate abruptly.

These observations are equally applicable to the operations of line engraving upon wood, metal or stone, yet they apply more

especially to highly finished works ; and we find these nice distinctions but very indifferently observed in the earlier specimens of the art. The common distinction between wood engraving and engraving on metal is, that the impressions obtained from the former are termed *cuts*, while those from the latter are called *plates*. Again, the wood engraver executes his work in cameo or relief, but on the metal plate, the lines are intagliate or hollowed, and the impressions from the former are produced by the pressure of the prominent part of the block on the paper, while those of the latter are obtained by the paper being pressed into the lines of the metal ; the consequence of which is, that a corresponding prominent or indented effect is communicated to the paper by these two processes.

The art of producing impressions from wooden blocks is one of extreme antiquity, and by this, the archives of nations which have passed away or merged into others have been handed down to us. The Chaldeans were evidently acquainted with the process, as it seems pretty clear that they impressed their mystic characters upon their burnt bricks formed of clay and reeds, from some carved block of wood or stone. Some passages in the Old Testament, especially one in Isaiah (ch. xxx. v. 8), " Now go write it before them in a table," &c. seems to refer to the process of carving characters on wooden blocks. Baron Meerman, in his *Origines Typographicæ*, quotes several passages from a History of China written by Abusaid in Persian, A. D. 1317, in which the perfect knowledge the Chinese possessed of the art of engraving on wood is made matter of especial observation. In Egypt it would appear that various *stamps* of wood were employed to produce impressions on bricks and clay ; and the Romans were quite familiar with the art. Box is the wood which has been mostly employed by the old Xylographers, and is now in general use. The more ancient masters engraved on the longway of the wood, but the modern execute their designs on the cross section. The only preparation that is necessary is rubbing over the smooth surface a little powdered Bath brick or some analogous substance. In the ancient practice of the art a compound system was in vogue, that is to say, two or three different blocks were used on one cut, for the purpose of producing the impression in *clair obscur*, as it was called. One block was employed in impressing the outlines with half tints, and the other in completing the print. Adam Bartsch mentions several "*clair obscur de deux planches*" by Albert Durer. The various tools used in the art are gravers, tint-tools, gouges or scoopers, and flat chisels. There are various sizes of each kind. Another marked distinction in the practice of the workman in

wood engraving and copper-plate engraving is, that in the former he *pushes* the tool from him, and in the latter he *draws* it towards him. The subject is pencilled on the smooth block, previous to its being cut out, and then the artist's power of drawing must be firm and correct, for unlike painting or even engraving on metal, a line once marked cannot well be obliterated. One of the finest effects is produced by *overlaying* and *lowering*, which is a system of considerable antiquity, and was practised so early as 1538. It consists in the block being scraped away from the centre or towards the sides in any parts of the picture which require lightness of expression. Upon the paper being pressed upon the block, the ink is but faintly received upon it, and is thus termed *lowering*. *Overlaying* is an opposite process, in which pieces of paper or even small pieces of woollen cloth are put on the back of the outer tympan, over those parts of the block which express the darker outlines or shades, and a greater pressure being therefore applied in those parts produces the desired effect. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the experienced and judicious printer is a most valuable and necessary assistant to the fame of the artist.

Our space will not allow us to trace the various links of the chain, nor can we dwell on the conflicting opinions respecting the introduction of the art into Europe by way of Venice; but we will recall to the memory of our reader the probable hypothesis of Papillon, which has been supported by Lani, Ottley and others (but to which Hubert, Bartsch and Jackson assign no credit), respecting the first commencement of the art in Italy by Alessandro Alberico Cunio and his twin-sister Isabella, born about A. D. 1270. These young people, born for a better age, passed the sunshine of their youth in storing their minds with all kinds of knowledge, and perfecting themselves in various accomplishments, until they arrived at the age of sixteen, amongst which they acquired the art of designing and engraving on wood. They are supposed to have obtained their knowledge in drawing from some monkish illuminist. However this may be, they composed and jointly executed, during their leisure moments, a series of cuts, eight in number, giving "the heroic actions represented in figures, of the great and magnanimous Macedonian king the bold and valiant Alexander," which they dedicated to Pope Honorius IV. Mr. Ottley saw a set of the impressious, and says they appeared to have been printed by the friction of the hand, and that the impression was granulous, as if the paper had not been damped, a common omission of the early wood engravers. These young people met with a sad and untimely end. The brother possessing all the noble ardor of the age, followed his father to

the wars, and was knighted, on account of his gallant conduct, in the field which received his first blood. He was ordered to Ravenna, where he was tended by his sister, and during his convalescence they again pursued their peaceful amusements. But civil warfare drew him again from her side, and in his fourth campaign the brave young knight fell on the battle-field. The affectionate Isabella, broken-hearted for his loss, remained not long to mourn him, but soon joined her kindred spirit.

Mr. Jackson, in his "Treatise on Wood Engraving," says, that there is reason to believe that towards the end of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the Germans adopted the mode of taking impressions on vellum or paper with prominent lines, and then filling up the figures with some colour by means of a stencil. It seems uncertain whether the card-makers of Augsburg adopted that process in their trade. The monks, however, availed themselves of the art in multiplying the figures of their saints and holy persons. These were known to the people of Swabia by the name of Helgen or Helglein, an apparent corruption of "Heiligen," saints. The well known remarkable wood-cut of St. Christopher, bearing the date of 1423, now in the possession of Earl Spencer, is the earliest specimen we have of the combined arts of the Formschneider or wood engraver, and the Briefmaler or card colourer. The figures are done with much spirit, but with regard to the perspective there is rather a touch of the old Chinese masters in it.

We have next to direct attention to the "Block Books," the most celebrated of which are the "Apocalypsis seu Historia Sancti Johannis," the "Historia Virginis ex Cantico Cantico-rum," with two or three others, which Mr. Jackson places between the years 1430 and 1450. Albert Pfisters's "Book of Fables," published by him at Bamberg in 1461, is the first on record which was illustrated with wood-cuts. This and his "Four Histories," dated 1462, exhibit some very good attempts in the art. In our own country Caxton was the first who essayed to diversify his work, "Game and Playe of Chesse," date about 1476, by some illustrations. The figure of the worthy knight, Sir Bob Gros-tête, exhibits a clear outline, but there is an absence of knightly symmetry in his seat, which, by the bye, is not to be wondered at when we look at the short, stumpy, little horse beneath him. In Ptolemy's "Chronology," printed at Ulm in 1482, by Leonard Holl, we have the first example of maps engraved on wood. Very numerous are the early specimens of German Xylography, and for that period it had attained much perfection, as may be seen in Breydenbach's Travels, first printed

by Erhard Renwich at Mentz in 1486, and in the celebrated Nuremberg Chronicle, printed in the same city in 1493. There is no doubt that Albert Durer was the greatest promoter of the art; "not however," as Mr. Jackson says, "as is generally supposed, from having himself engraved the numerous wood-cuts which bear his mark,\* but from his having thought so well of the art as to have most of his greatest works engraved on wood, from drawings made on the block himself." Durer's earliest work was that of sixteen cuts illustrating the Apocalypse, and published in 1498.

Mr. Jackson remarks, that in most of the wood-cuts supposed to have been engraved by Albert Durer, cross hatchings, or lines crossing each other diagonally, are very freely introduced; and he concludes from this circumstance that Durer, had he engraved his own designs, would have attained his effect by easier means of execution. Many people have imagined that there is superior talent shown in the process of cross hatching, but it is one very easy of execution, and only requires time and patience. Durer's History of the Virgin, consisting of nineteen large cuts, with a vignette on the title-page, appeared in 1511. The position of the Madonna in this vignette, seated on a crescent, is most effective. The ample drapery which is drawn around her, the Child quietly receiving its food, give a happy expression to the easy and natural attitude of the nursing mother. "Bearing the Cross" is another example of the great genius of Durer; and to these we may add some of his remarkable single subjects, such as God bearing up the body of Christ to Heaven, in 1511; a portrait of Ulric Vambuler, 1522; Siege of a Fortified Town, date of which Bartsch is inclined to doubt, but which Ottley places in 1527. Another striking cut is a caricature, a satire of the times, and most probably directed against Luther. An admirable devil, partaking in appearance of his satanic majesty, and a large turkey-cock, is pursuing the avocation of a bagpiper, and is blowing into the ear of a fat monk who acts as the bag—the nose is elongated into the form of a "chanter," and the devil is fingering away upon it.

In Augsburg, Hans Burgmair approached his master in the power and spirit of his works. The admirable figure of Conrad Von der Rosen, the jovial leader of the professed jesters of Maximilian's court, is an admirable example; but his merits are more particularly shown in his Triumphs of Maximilian.

Lucas Cranach, Hans Schauflein with his little shovel as his

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\* It was the custom of the old engravers to distinguish their works by affixing their mark or monogram, consisting most frequently of their initials or some quaint device.

monogram, Lucas van Leyden, and others at the same period, have handed down their names, through their excellent works. At the same era the Flemish school contributed its efforts most successfully to Xylography. Heineken describes a very old print, published at Antwerp, bearing a curious inscription in Flemish characters: "Ghe print t'Antwerpen, by my Phillery de Figersnider," printed at Antwerp by me Phillery, engraver of figures. Christopher Jegher of the same city particularly recommended himself to Rubens by the admirable manner in which he engraved his designs. Strasburg gave birth to the Stimmers, who executed some cuts for a Bible, published by Thomas Guarin, at Basle, in 1586.

The celebrated Dance of Death, published at Lyons in 1538, is commonly ascribed to Hans Holbein, though upon doubtful authority according to Mr. Jackson, as from the similarity of style to some well-known works of Hans Lutzelbruger, he agrees with Von Mechel in placing them amongst the happiest efforts of that artist. This opinion seems to be rather borne out by the circumstance of the letters H. L. being on some of the cuts.

There was a curious break in Italy for more than a century and half, and it was not until the fifteenth century that the art was revived with any degree of success. The great Titian, the pupil of Mocetto, at the age of twenty-eight, produced in 1505 his print of the marriage of St. Catharine, and Cesare Vecelli and Domenico Campagnola were his successful followers. Aenea Vico, of Parma, was at Florence in 1545, and presented the Emperor Charles V. with his portrait, and received for it one hundred crowns. Strutt, who saw the specimen, speaks very highly of the style in which it is executed. In the meantime Florence, Bologna, and Rome, added further proofs of the dexterity of the Italian artists. Ugo da Carpi, who was born at Rome in 1486, and the fellow student of Raffaele d'Urbino, produced some very masterly and spirited sketches by the compound process. He even employed three different blocks; one for the outline and dark shadows, the second for the lighter shadows, and the third for the demi-tints. Another celebrated print from these blocks is mentioned by Strutt, representing "Avarice driven by Hercules from before Apollo, Minerva and the Muses," and attributed to Baldazzare Peruzzi. Parma was more particularly fortunate in producing Francesco Mazzuoli or Parmegiano, one of the most extraordinary masters of chiaroscuro.

It is a remarkable circumstance that we have only one instance of a Spanish wood engraver of that period. Juan Vingles, of Zaragoza, in about 1550 engraved the illustrations of the Orto-



grafia Pratica, by Juan de Iciar, who published it the same year at that city.

The world is much indebted to the activity of Jean Baptiste Michel Papillon, of France, who was encouraged and patronized by Louis XIV. His well-known treatise on wood engraving is an amusing production, remarkable for its originality, and is very finely illustrated. Nicholas le Sueur and his sister Elizabeth were also popular artists in French Xylography, both of whom were indebted to the talents of Le Fevre, who about the year 1760 became incurably mad.

In England the earliest specimen that we have of the art is through John Baptiste Jackson, who flourished between 1720 and 1754; he was instructed by Papillon, who accuses him of having tried to pass off a copy of one of his works for his own. Other names occur after his, but we are mostly indebted to Thomas and John Bewick, of Overton, whose well known and beautiful work on British birds has so often delighted us, as children, with its minute and elegant vignettes, and given a charm to many a passing hour in our maturer years, by its correct and beautiful delineation of the feathered tribe. The talents of Nesbit, Nole, Harvey, E. Landels, the Thompsons, the Williams, &c. &c., are too well known to require our dwelling upon them.

With ordinary care, from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand impressions may be taken from a block, and not only have we an advantage by this process in regard to the number of impressions, but the wood engraver is enabled to stereotype his productions, thus multiplying his works to millions of copies. We have already alluded to Maso Finiguerra, in Mr. White's Memoranda, as being the first person who obtained impressions from engraved plates in gold or silver. M. Bartsch, although he willingly allows the Florentine goldsmith to bear the palm, adds, that his own countrymen have made much more use of the invention than the Italians. We need not allude to the idea of the impressions being taken from the sulphur which was run into the engraved plate, as upon a mould, as Mr. Ottley has shown its utter impracticability in his "History of Engraving." The same author supposes Maso Finiguerra to have been born about A. D. 1410, and that he died at Florence at a very advanced age. The Abbé Zain had the good fortune to find out, in the National Cabinet at Paris, an identical impression taken off by himself from his silver Pax, representing the Assumption of the Virgin, and which belonged to the church of San Giovanni, at Florence. This circumstance placed the date of Finiguerra's labours beyond doubt, as the plate was registered in the archives of the church,

in 1452. Thus was the art of chalcography introduced. Andrea Montegna, born near Padua, in 1431, and celebrated as a painter, was one of the earliest artists who practised line engraving. At that time the effort of the artist was confined to rendering his work as like a pen and ink drawing as he could. Bartsch gives as many as twenty-four different subjects from Montegna. Giulio Campagnola, of the same family, who flourished in 1517, was the reputed author of the dotted method of engraving, which we shall speak of hereafter. Other names of no very great note occur up to the period of the fifteenth century, at which time the art increased in proportion to the advancement made by the great painters of that age. Both in simple and compound chalcography the plate of copper undergoes a certain preparation previous to the burin being applied to it. After being hammered perfectly plain, it is carefully polished by pumice stone, for the purpose of removing any inequalities caused by the blows of the hammer, after which a kind of slate, called water of Ayr stone, removes the scratches caused by the last process, and subsequently smith's coal, or charcoal, and lastly an oil rubber, brings the plate to that highly polished state which is required. A tracing ground, or varnish, is laid upon the plate, which is warmed over a pan of charcoal to receive it. M. Bartsch gives two or three receipts for this varnish, which is usually composed of virgin wax, asphaltum, and two or three different kinds of pitch. It is applied to the surface of the warm copper, being discharged through a little bag, which tends to spread it evenly. The artist, making an outline of his intended drawing upon paper, rubs over the back of it the dust of red chalk, and placing it upon the coating or varnish on the plate, which has been previously coloured black or white, traces his outline on the paper with a blunt point, and on removing the paper, finds it transferred to the ground. This being completed, the outline is again retraced with the etching needle, so as to slightly mark the copper, after which the varnish is removed, and the artist employs his burin. Many have been astonished at the facility of execution displayed by the early engravers, and the strength and equality which is evinced in their handling. But this ceases to occupy our attention when we reflect that the skill and practice of the goldsmith (the incipient line engraver) was constantly displayed in the beauty and delicacy of his designs upon gold or silver, and that at the very origin of the new art there were very many expert burinists who were at once able to apply their hands to the interesting labour. Amongst the many artists of the fifteenth century, Mark Antonio was a more skilful designer than even his master, the celebrated Bolognese goldsmith, Francesco Rabolini. His neatly engraved print of

Lucretia, which he executed while at Rome, procured him the valuable notice of the great Raffaello, and during that master's short life he was continually employed by him. Ottley enumerates as many as three hundred and fifty-nine subjects from his burin; and Bartsch gives a particular description of them, together with the works of his pupils, Agostino Venetiano and Marco di Ravenna. His school was most celebrated, and his principles were practised, not only in the principal cities of Italy, but also in many parts of Germany. During the time of Marc Antonio, Italy was visited by students from all parts of Europe, who were eager to catch some portion of that spirit which animated the Italian masters. Some of the choicest productions of Marc Antonio may be seen in the print room of the British Museum.

Amongst others Cornelius Cort, who was born at Hoorn in 1536, made a journey to Venice, and having been previously instructed in the art of engraving by Jerome Cock of Antwerp, took up his residence in Titian's house, and was most fortunately employed in engraving many works by that great master. He afterwards went to Rome and established there a most important school, the prominent feature of which was his great attention to the principles of chiaroscuro. The style of Cort was remarkable for its boldness and freedom of handling. Basan declared that he was the best engraver with the burin that Holland ever produced, and particularly remarks upon the delicacy which he combined with all his forcible expression. His plates also were of a much larger size than those by his predecessors. He died at Rome at the age of forty-two, when his fame was at its height. His plates then amounted to more than one hundred and fifty. Agostino Caracci, the eldest of the three celebrated brothers born at Bologna in 1558, was destined in his early youth to follow the calling of a goldsmith, but he showed his incipient talent by executing at the early age of fourteen some plates in the style of Cort, and, following the advice of his friends, became the celebrated engraver. We cannot dwell upon the admirable works that he produced, nor upon those of his cousin Ludovico, whose plates, according to Bartsch, amounted to more than two hundred and seventy. His fellow-townsmen Francisco Bruzzio followed in his footsteps, and many other artists of minor worth embraced the principles of his school. But we must notice the German school of early chalcography, which has been allowed by all impartial writers, and Strutt in particular, to be greatly superior in its productions to Italy. It commences oddly enough with some extraordinary efforts by an anonymous artist in the year 1466, who has handed down to us one hundred and thirteen pieces by

the authority of many writers. This master, together with Martin Schön or Schöngauer, born about 1453, have been considered by Strutt as the founders of the German primitive school, whose peculiar style lasted until the nobler efforts of Albert Durer delighted the world. Schöngauer having followed the profession of a goldsmith, had remarkable facility in the use of the burin, and although very quaint in his style, gave much pleasure by the expression he threw into his subjects. The Mechens (Israel van Mechen and his disciples) were the followers of the master of 1466, and Schaufflein the elder, Frantz van Bocholt and others of Schöngauer. Albert Durer was also as remarkable in this line of the art as in that of Xylography. "Great as was the fame of Durer as a painter," says M. Bartsch in his *Peintre Graveur*, "his productions as an engraver do him no less honour. His plates show a freedom, delicacy and facility of burin to which none of his predecessors can make pretension." The followers and pupils of Durer were very numerous in chalcography, and were entitled the *Little Masters*. George Frederic Schmidt, born at Berlin in 1712, studied under the celebrated engraver M. de Larmessin at Paris. He again returned to Berlin, and increased his fame by engraving the portrait of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia at her particular request. Watelet says that Schmidt was remarkable for the singular ease and grace with which he guided his burin. John George Welle must also be noticed as contemporary with the last-named master. He resided chiefly at Paris, and has often been classed amongst the French engravers. His powers of representation were very great, and his burin has been most happily employed in the beautiful paintings of Dow, Mieris, Metzu, and Netcher.

The industry of the Dutch and Flemish masters was very surprising during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the simple exercise of the art. Of these the engravers of the Low Countries appear to have been most celebrated. One of the most remarkable was Lucas Jacobs of Leyden, born in 1494. His application was extraordinary, and so much affected his health that for the last six years of his short life he scarcely left his bed, and it was a melancholy contrast to his former life, when he used to make voyages to the Netherlands in a splendid vessel of his own, and attired in sweeping robes of cloth of gold would, in company with his friend John de Mabuse, give magnificent entertainments to the Flemish painters in the various cities that he visited. All his works are from his own designs and amount to about one hundred and seventy-four pieces. At Amsterdam and Haerlem arose the school of Henry Golzius, and at Utrecht Count de Goudt and the family of De Passe were most celebrated. The elder De Passe was also known as a man of

letters, and his work entitled "*Della Luce de depingere e designare*," contains most excellent rules for perspective, the proportions of the human figure, &c. &c. From Antwerp came De Gheyn, the Galles, together with Paul Pontius and numerous followers. We must now notice the progress that France made in the art contemporaneously with the countries we have already noticed. The history of the attempts in that country were wrapt up in much ambiguity, but the first person who is actually known as having established any school is Jean Duvet, or the master of the Unicorn, not as some of our readers may imagine from the use of it as his monogram, but from his so frequently introducing it into many of his designs. Like all the early artists he was a goldsmith, and used his burin to the advanced age of seventy-nine. Some minor names occur after his, but the next person worthy of notice is Leonard Gaultier, of about A. D. 1610. He more particularly imitated Crispin de Passe and Wierinxes. Andran, P. Lombart, the Davids, De la Haye, and two or three others, were very effective during the sixteenth century.

The seventeenth century was a remarkable era for French engraving. Claud Mellan, born at Abbeville in 1601, visited Rome at the early age of sixteen and begun to study painting, but quitted it for that of engraving. His plates are much valued. It is said that he was invited over to England by Charles II., but preferred the patronage of his royal master, who assigned him apartments in the Louvre, where he resided until his death, which took place at the advanced age of eighty-seven. The most remarkable follower of Mellan was Robert Nauteuil, born at Rheims A. D. 1630. His plates, amounting to two hundred and eighty, are worked with the most extraordinary care and precision, and his fame attracted the notice and patronage of Louis XIV., who bestowed upon him a pension of 1000 livres, at the same time appointing him to the situation of designer and engraver to the Cabinet. His carnations were remarkable for their softness of expression, and in flowing lightness and glossiness of human hair he stands unrivalled.

At the same period, Antoine Masson, born in 1636, was as astonishing in the productions from his burin as the preceding master.

"Masson," says Strutt, "seems to have had no kind of rule to direct him, with respect to the turning of the strokes; but twisted and twirled them about without the least regard to the different forms he intended to express, making them entirely subservient to his own caprice. Yet the effect he produced in this simple manner, is not only far superior to what one would have supposed, but is often very picturesque and beautiful."

His admirable print, after Titian, of "Christ with the two Disciples at Emmaus," is a most remarkable example of his eccentric genius, and has obtained the name of "The Table Cloth," from the beautiful fidelity with which it is worked. He was also patronised by the king, and became his engraver. The Drevets, at the close of the seventeenth century, considerably augmented the fame of the French engravers. The younger Drevet, at the very early age of thirteen, produced a very beautiful plate, and at nineteen astonished the world by his celebrated folio plate of the "Resurrection." His historical subjects are much valued. The elder Drevet was remarkable for his firm and masterly touch, and perpetuated the fame of Hyacinthe Rigaud, the great portrait painter. At this period in England, there were few persons of any note who produced any plates solely by the aid of the burin. We shall therefore pass over their names, but in a future part of the subject shall notice those English masters who were eminently successful in the compound processes of etching, line engraving, and the occasional introduction of the dry point, which we will now describe. This is merely the use of a sharply pointed needle, which must be carefully ground in a groove to preserve its conical shape. The plate undergoes the same process as with the burin, and the forms are then filled up with courses of shadings by means of this instrument, the burr which is raised by it being carefully scraped away. Andrea Meldolla is reported to have first practised this operation. But very few artists have used this instrument alone. We must not however forget that Bartsch enumerates six pieces by the celebrated Rembrandt, produced solely by this instrument; of these, his "Ecce Homo," dated 1665, "The Skater," "The Canal," and "The Painter after the Model," are the most celebrated. Thomas Worlidge, of London, a painter of miniatures, who flourished in 1760, was very celebrated in his half-lengths, after the style of Rembrandt; and another person, who made himself equally conspicuous in the art, was Inigo Spilsbury, a printseller of London, born in 1730; his plates amounted to about fifty. And we must not forget to notice Capt. Baillie, of Ireland, who, born about 1736, engraved upwards of a hundred plates, many of them being with the instrument we have mentioned.

Etching has often been the amusement of private individuals as well as of professional persons, and formerly, as now in our own Court, it was the fashionable accomplishment of that of France, during the time of Louis XV., when the Marchioness Pompadour amused herself with the art, not only in the simple process, but combining it with the use of the burin.

This process has been derived from the German word *ätzen*, corrosion, and the Germans styled the dilution of aquafortis

employed for the purpose, *ätzwasser*, or etching water. This produces the strokes and dots, which, in line engraving, are executed by the graver. The plate is polished in the manner we have already described, and being placed over charcoal embers, is ready to receive the ground, which is generally of three kinds, hard, soft, and the common ground. They are of different consistencies, being suited to different temperatures, and are mostly composed of bleached bees' wax, asphaltum, and two or three different kinds of pitch. We will not detain the reader by describing the different preparations used by Callot, Lowry, and Bosse, the celebrated etcher of the French school, but content ourselves with stating, that the mode in which the etching ground is spread on the surface of the plate is by means of a dabber, consisting of some cotton tied up in a piece of silk, which effectually produces a uniform surface. The next process is transferring the drawing, which is done in the same manner as we have already described. The etcher then retraces the outlines, and filling up the various shadings, the copper which is scratched away being distinctly seen from the surface of the varnish having been blackened. The etching needle is made of steel wire, and is of various thicknesses, according to the fineness of the strokes required. While occupied in this part of the process, the etcher rests his hand on a small bridge, which is placed across the plate, otherwise the heat would injure the ground. The burr of varnish occasioned by the cutting of the etching needle, is carefully removed, and when any mistakes are found to have been made, a *stopping* mixture, as it is called, is used, generally composed of turpentine, varnish, and lamp black, and is applied with a camel's hair pencil; it speedily dries, and is as firm in its consistency as the rest of the ground. The etching needle is now laid aside, and the next thing to be done is to surround the plate with a little wall of bees' wax, softened by Burgundy pitch, of about an inch in height; a solution of nitric acid, with equal parts of water, is poured in, and corrosion immediately follows. The bubbles which rise from the action, are carefully cleared away by a little feather. When the etcher conceives that his lighter strokes have been eaten away to a sufficient depth, he throws away the solution, and after washing the plate carefully, stops up that part which is sufficiently bitten, and applying again and again the corrosive mixture, the biting is at last completed, having the various gradations of shadings which have been conceived by the artist. It is somewhat difficult at first to determine how long the various solutions shall remain on the plate, but this is soon acquired by experiment and practice. For very fine lines, the acid is allowed to remain about half an hour or an hour, but some

etchings of great depth and character require sometimes two or three days. The influence of the weather is remarkable on the action of the acids, and the etcher should work in as uniform a temperature as he is able. The ground is removed by heat, and any portions which adhere to the plate, are got rid of by a little rag dipped in olive oil. It will often happen with the inexperienced artist, that his plate will exhibit a want of uniformity in the strokes; some lines being too deep, others again too feeble. The former is obviated by rubbing down the surface of the plate with charcoal, but to correct the latter error, requires a delicate and difficult process. They must be re-bitten, and the mode of doing it was discovered by William Walker, of London, who lived about 1760. He thought of an expedient, which, to his great delight, succeeded. It was that of laying on the plate a second ground or coating of varnish, by means of a dabber, but so delicately applied, that no portion of the varnish enters the sunken lines. The portion which requires deepening, is then surrounded by a little wall of wax, and the acid being applied in the usual manner, the work of corrosion goes on, and the defective colours are thus deepened.

For etching on steel the same process is observed, with the exception of the solution, which consists of equal parts of corrosive sublimate and of powdered alum, dissolved in hot water. It is not our purpose here to enter into the chemical difficulties of etching upon this metal; but we will refer our readers, who may wish for further information on the subject, to the "Transactions of the Society of Arts," vol. xlii., where will be found another description of the various menstruums for biting on the soft steel, by Mr. Edmund Turrel, Mr. W. Cooke, jun. and one or two other eminent artists. Our readers will readily perceive that etching is much more expeditious than engraving, and it is calculated that in the space of time in which one plate can be engraved, ten etched plates may be executed. In ordinary subjects, a well-etched plate yields about five hundred powerful and distinct impressions, and the same number of inferior copies.

Mr. Gilpin, in his *Essay on Prints*, draws a good comparison between the characteristics of engraving and etching. The former he describes as *strength*, while the peculiarity of the latter is *freedom*. The line made by the burin is laboured, being ploughed through the metal, while, on the contrary, the etching needle glides over the surface of the copper, readily performing the versatile thoughts of the artist; but he adds, "engraving (with the burin) hath the advantage, which, by a stroke deep or tender at the artist's pleasure, can vary strength and faintness to



any degree." It is generally supposed that the inventor of this process was a German, and it was certainly practised by Albert Durer, as his print of St. Jerome, bearing date 1512, evinces, previous to its introduction into Italy by Parmegiano. In their first attempts, the artists endeavoured to make their plates as nearly as possible resemble those by the burinist; and even so late as the seventeenth century, Abraham Bosse, the celebrated French engraver, was of the same opinion. Etching has frequently been the means of expressing the first thoughts of the engraver, like the slight sketch that the painter makes previous to his development of his conception in all its glorious colouring on his larger canvass. Bartsch, in his *Peintre Graveur*, gives some very beautiful facsimiles, executed by himself, after the Flemish and Dutch masters. He mentions only two German artists worthy of notice, Josias Umbach, of Augsbourg, born in 1620, and Christian Renard Rode of Berlin, in 1725. But the most perfect etchings of that time, which have been handed down to us, are those by the great Guido Reni, of the Bolognese school of painting. They are executed with a masterly spirit and boldness, and exhibit all that charming attention to the expression of the heads, for which that great master is so proverbially celebrated. His pupil, Simone Cantanini, emulated Guido, and executed some very beautiful plates. Strutt mentions Giulio Carpioni, a Venetian painter, as their worthy follower, and some others.

We here close our observations on this subject for the present Number, and we shall in the next offer some remarks upon the far more interesting and important branch of the art, which is styled compound chalcography, in which the labours of the etcher are blended with those of the burinist; and also indicate the various changes which the modern art has lately undergone.

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ART. V.—*Reise durch alle Theile des Königreiches Griechenland, in Auftrag der Königl. Griechischen Regierung, in den Jahren 1834 bis 1837.* Von Dr. Karl Gustav Fiedler, &c. &c. Erster Theil. Leipzig, 1840. 8vo. pp. 858. (Journey through every part of the Kingdom of Greece by Commission of the Government of that country, in the years 1834 to 1837. By Dr. Karl Gustav Fiedler, &c. &c. First Part. Leipzig, 1840.)

THIS work is not the journal of a mere superficial or every day traveller, but the solid result of careful thought and accurate investigation. It is founded, as we are told in the author's preface, on reports made to the Grecian government, at whose request the task was undertaken. The original object of Dr. Fiedler in making his survey of Greece was to trace the mineralogical products of its mountains, with a view to ascertaining the practical value, but, in addition to this, the work contains many other attractions; the style throughout is clear, whilst to the professional details of the journey are united the notes of an observant and antiquarian traveller. After following our author in turn through the various states of Greece, their beauties, their peculiarities, their products, together with their past and present appearance, we have next placed before us an elaborate botanical, as well as popular, account of the plants of the country, from the tall pine to the extreme verge of the vegetable kingdom, with the various ancient fables concerning them, and with this the present volume closes. The second part, yet unpublished, is intended to comprise the islands, and complete the natural history of the land, with an account of its zoological and mineralogical contents.

The whole work is dedicated to their Majesties of Saxony and Greece, and is illustrated by several excellent lithographic drawings. The latter are executed by two young artists, (Hrn Müller and Burger), and serve materially to assist the letter-press in giving the reader a faithful representation of the more remarkable places that are described.

Athens, an excellent view of which forms the frontispiece, is the first place to which the reader is introduced. A sketch of its situation and boundaries is given; then a slight account of its foundation by Cranaus and subsequent history.

The inferiority of modern to ancient Athens in respect of health is next noticed, and thus explained:—

“The former inhabitants of Athens were slender and well made, lively in disposition, and gifted with refined faculties; for the air was pure and healthy, the water good.

"When Athens existed only as a mass of ruins, its inhabitants were very liable to intermittent fevers. The Turks ascribed it principally to the exhalations of a poisonous plant (*Euphorbia Characias*\*), which had become very abundant, and sent a great number of men, especially to the north-eastern declivity of the Hymettus, from which direction the wind most frequently came, and where it grows in great abundance, in order to cut it down before the time of flowering; since the ejection of the Turks these precautions have been neglected, and it is said that the town is more than ever exposed to these complaints.

"But the most unfavourable influence on the health of Athens is exerted by the vapours and mists from the olive wood to the north-west, which, owing to the irregular flow of water from the Cephissus and the consequent retardation of the stream, was converted into a marsh; this, as well by miasma as the dampness of the air, which affects those heated of an evening or early in the morning, would soon induce an intermittent fever. In the first year after Athens became a royal residence, the government remedied this evil by causing the Cephissus to be conducted by a regular canal into the sea. It is to be regretted that repeated and unlimited irrigation by individual possessors has again latterly reduced a great part of the olive wood to a state of marsh.

"The water of Athens is also unfavourable to health. The Romeliots are the first to feel this, who, accustomed to fresh water and mountain air, soon grow sickly here."

The ancients were at great pains to remedy this evil, and conducted the water by subterranean canals. These are now broken and blocked up with mud and filth; but our author is of opinion that they might be restored and purified at a very slight expense, and the town once more furnished with a good supply of this necessary commodity.

The formation of Artesian wells in and around Athens is then discussed, and the most favourable spots for perforation are pointed out.

The rapid growth of modern Athens is thus strikingly exemplified:—

"When, in the autumn of 1834, I went by commission of the Grecian government from Nauplia to Eubœa in order to observe the brown coal of Kumi, and commence the exhaustion of the pit, I landed at the Piræus, and there saw upon the shore a few wretched, slightly-built dwellings, among which that of the harbour captain and the expensive Locanda were the principal. But two small single-masted vessels, besides that in which we had come, and a couple of seamews enlivened the haven.

"Scarcely could we obtain horses, and scarcely could they, after we had obtained them, carry us and our luggage to Athens.

"Until April, 1837, I was engaged in the survey of Greece; this

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\* *πιθήμαλλος χαράκις*, Dioscorides.

ended, and the reports upon it duly made, I prepared to depart, in order to visit my family in Saxony. Two years and a half later, then, I found on the Piræus a friendly sea-port town, with regular streets, fine dwelling-houses, shops, store magazines, &c. that had risen as if by the stroke of the enchanter's wand. Flags of all the great nations fluttered in the harbour; vessels of war and steam-boats came and went; a forest of masts covered the strand; boatmen were ready at a glance, and the air swarmed with merry sea-birds.

"Toll keepers and police officers await the stranger, and when released from these, carriages, camels and riding-horses are in readiness to transport himself and luggage to the capital."

The road to Athens, formerly marshy and impassable, is now well beaten, but exceedingly crooked, owing to the avarice of the olive owners, through whose possessions it was required to pass.

"Athens itself until 1834 was a miserable village, and at its head, like a gigantic elephant before a flock of sheep, stood the glorious Temple of Theseus before some hundreds of low huts and tenements. Only the venerable ruins of the Parthenon, despising the rubbish below, rose proudly from the Acropolis to the pure vault of heaven, as if there tarried with them the divine order—*Surge et impera*; and the sacred voice was not neglected, the preserver came, he assisted, and assists to the utmost extent of his power.

"King Otho ordered a regular and noble plan to be designed for Athens, and thus to raise it from its ashes; here also the assistance of Heaven was manifest; in less than three years regular streets, great European dwelling-houses, and even many palaces, arose rather than were built."

Even allowing for the hyperbolical strain in which these passages are composed, this account gives a very excellent idea of this great and sudden alteration.

Of the Temple of Theseus our author remarks—

"There are many views and descriptions of this temple. It is a common remark, that the marble of which it is built was covered by the ancients with a yellow varnish that had the appearance of gold. To this I reply that the Pentelic marble, which has preserved its polish for more than two thousand years, has without dispute a yellowish glittering surface as though covered with fine gold leaf, and this may be seen in a very beautiful manner at sun-set; but it proceeds only from the continued influence of the atmosphere, to which the stone is indebted for the treasured tint, a sign of its great antiquity. The same is observed on the Parthenon. Dodwell calls this yellow appearance a golden Patina.

"The Pentelic marble, of itself, has a strong tinge of yellow, but the phenomenon above-mentioned can only occur on a well polished surface, and is therefore never seen on the rough fracture of the quarries."

The superiority of ancient Athens as displayed in her works of art is thus stated :—

“ To speak more of Athenian antiquities would be superfluous, for numerous excellent descriptions are already before the public. \* \* This alone we must notice, that although in the wars with the Persians Athens and its Acropolis were destroyed, yet every thing afterwards arose with increased beauty; those barbarians seized only money and goods, but were not yet sufficiently barbarous to rob the Athenians of the treasures of art. Of these many were carried off by the Romans to their capitol; for the mistress of the world, in seven hundred years, did not possess, nor could she produce, what, in Athens, was the work of a single generation. Since this time, down to the most recent period, a rage for plunder and destruction has existed that is now restrained by law. But even this extent, of seventeen hundred years or more, has not been sufficient for the loss of all; glorious mementos yet stand, and the traces of past grandeur and magnificence remain to impeach the destroyers.”

Seven pages are now devoted to the geology of Athens and its neighbourhood.

Then a short account of the state of vegetation; and here the enumeration of the principal trees, &c. in and around the town is rather amusing: we have, first, some trees in the garden of the original royal residence, which reach to a height beyond that of the wall; in the upper town there are, also, a few cypresses and two orange trees; a quarter of an hour's walk to the north-east brings the traveller to a pair of poplars, and in the bed of the Ilissus are shrubs of oleander. Here ends the catalogue: the olive woods being at a greater distance.

The domestic and wild animals of Athens and its neighbourhood are next enumerated; beasts, birds, fishes, and insects, with which the first article concludes.

The following chapter, or rather section, is devoted to the Hymettus; which, with its antiquities, &c. is described in an equally systematic manner. We pause only to extract some remarks on the famous honey of those mountains.

“ In addition to the marble of the Hymettus its honey acquired great celebrity.\* This spot was, certainly, at one time more abundantly supplied with flowers than at present; these, too, so strongly scented that hounds, on that account, frequently lost trace of the game when hunting on these regions. But there is no land like Greece in which, for centuries, the works, not only of men, but of nature also, have been, as far as possible, destroyed. Trees and shrubs were cut down, in the continued wars, without any thought of the consequence; and what the

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\* Pausanias ranked it next to the Halizonian. *Τρυπητός ἐς δυοὶ νῆμας μελιττικὸς ἐπιταδιστάτος πλὴν τῆς Ἀλιζωνῆς.* Attic. Cap. 32. Lipsie. 1696.

axe spared the shepherds burned, in order to raise from the ashes, during the first year, a few blades of grass for their goats. \* \* \* Were not the Grecian climate so favourable, the greatest part of the country must long since have become a bare, stony, and rocky wilderness.

"The Hymettus now has no better vegetation than the mountains of Attica. The honey of the Laurion mountains was much prized (*Erica Mediterranea* grows there in abundance). Throughout Greece honey is more agreeable and aromatic than in other lands, owing to the heat being moderate, for which reason the juices of the plants are in a more concentrated state. But that the honey of the Hymettus was anciently esteemed the best in Greece, may in a great measure proceed from this: that its situation was in the neighbourhood of the capital, where every thing must be of the best,—its fame seems partly to have been identified with the sweetness of ruling Athens; now, at least, the honey of the Hymettus no longer possesses its superiority, it is, in other neighbourhoods, finer and more aromatic, e. g. in many of the Cyclades, especially in Sekino.

"The greatest quantity of honey is obtained from the monastery of Syrian to the north-east of the city, it is delivered to the local archbishop. The shepherds at other parts of the Hymettus have also, most probably, beehives; and the honey from Pentelicon is also reckoned among the Hymettic. The number of hives on these mountains yielding honey have been averaged, of late years, at five thousand.

"The principal food of these bees is *Satureia capitata* (Saturei), then *Lentiscus*, *Cistus*, *Salvia*, *Lavandula*, and other herbs. Otherwise the Hymettus is very bare; at its declivities and in some of the dales are wild olives, with shrubs of myrtle, laurel, and oleander. *Pinus maritima* grows on its summit very imperfectly, but near the monastery it is pretty. Besides this there grow on the Hymettus hyacinths, *Amaryllis lutea*, dark violet crocus, &c."

The Pentelicon and its marble quarries occupy the next section, and the principal quarry is made the subject of a lithographic illustration, which at once, in imagination, transports us to the spot. Of Pentelic marble, which was estimated next to the Parian, were built—

"The colossal Parthenon, the Propylæa, the other temples of the Acropolis, the temple of Theseus, the temples in and near Athens, the gigantic temple of Zeus Olympios, and others. The Stadium was filled with seats of Pentelic marble (Pausan. i. 19. 7). For statues also, into which Phidias and Praxiteles breathed life, these quarries yielded valuable blocks (Pausan. vii. 23. 5; vii. 25. 5; vii. 26. 3; viii. 30. 5; viii. 47. 1; ix. 27. 3). Xenophon's statue near Skillo in Elis was of Pentelic marble (Pausan. v. 6. 4), and many more blocks, of equal excellence, yet remain in the Pentelicon."

The expense, however, of working these quarries would at first be great; and Dr. Fiedler recommends that the Parian marble,

which would cost less, be first worked, and the proceeds of this applied to the opening of the Pentelicon.

The view from the summit of this mountain, 3500 feet, "is comprehensive; the Athenians had set up on it a statue of Athene, that she might look over the land hallowed to her name. We gaze on the battle-field of Marathon and many other classical points, but the outline is barren and monotonous, requiring the fictitious aid of the memory of olden times to attach interest to it."

Much space is occupied by the next section, which details a survey of the Laurion mountains, with an investigation into the silver mines of the ancients there situated. These parts, now for the first time explored by a modern writer, afford details of the highest geognostic value. The enthusiasm with which this journey was undertaken, and the honest pride with which its results are brought forward, must raise the character of the author high in the esteem of the candid reader. The Laurion mountains are divided into districts, and every product carefully examined. The principal result of the inquiry is unfavourable to the prosecution of a search after silver; but great hopes are set forth of a golden harvest in the baser metal, iron, which occurs in considerable quantities.

Among the antiquities of these mountains our author found—

"A long foundation wall, from which ran, to the west, others transversely; on this side is a large and deep cistern, with a beautifully worked lid of marble, which had, in the centre, a circular opening. The abbot of the monastery of Ceratia wished to have it, but it was too heavy for the people to carry; in anger, he laid hands on it himself, but soon left off, feeling unwell, and died two days afterwards. Since that time the opinion has prevailed, that whoever touches it with evil intentions will fall sick and die, and this superstition protects the venerable relic more than any interdiction. A few steps before the long foundation wall, not quite at right angles with it, lies a large unhewn cube, with blunt angles and edges; about two yards square on each side. On its upper surface is a round depression, in which fire has often burned for a long time together; a sort of natural gutter runs from it, in which, when animals are sacrificed on it, the blood may flow off, for it can only be supposed to have been used as an altar. Perhaps this stone, so appropriately formed as if the gods had placed it there, was the cause of dwellings being built around it; and to this the beautiful cistern, in which abundant water yet stands, probably owes its construction. Nowhere, in the whole Lauric mountains, do we see a similar stone, among the thousands of lime blocks that lie around, and to which, in its nature, this belongs. Close behind it, to the south, are the ruins of a solid quadrangular tower, built of square stones."

This place, having no name, was made the centre of a region as 'the District of the Altar,' or Womos (βωμος).

In another part of these mountains we have a singular example of the mixture of ancient and modern ornament :

" Shepherds had erected several hurdles for cattle against the interior of the church walls. In front of the church, according to the custom of the rustics, a few gaily painted plates and dishes are fixed by their backs in the mortar, to serve the purpose of decoration. At the point of this wall is a small antique column of marble, delicately worked and half walled in, whilst the church spire stood over the capital of an ancient column, adorned with beautiful carved foliage. Thus were the old and the new united. On this spot once stood a glorious temple."

Having explored, with our author, for we ourselves, when reading, seem to be partners in his researches, the mountains of Laurion, we join him in a journey from Athens to Thebes, through the Eleusinian plain, Kasab, Panakton and its stately mines, and over the Cithæron.

A section is then devoted to the amber found in the conglomerate of a certain hill near Thebes: it occurs in round or oval masses, varying from the size of a hen's egg, to that of a child's head. The smaller pieces are preferable in point of quality.

Passing this, however, and an intermediate section, we hasten to the important notice of the Lake of Copais and its subterranean channels :

" The Lake of Copais or Tobol, now occupies an extensive plain, which becomes narrower to the north east, where it is continued into a level and open valley, bounded at length by a chain of rocky mountains, that include the water as if within a wall. The surface of this lake is estimated at 120,000 stremata of fruitful land, worth, at a moderate computation, five and a half millions of drachmæ. On the northern and eastern sides of Parnassus, and on the southern declivities of the Cæta mountains, the Copais has an immense reservoir for the heavy rains of the winter, and the melted snow that descends in spring from the mountains; it is also traversed, in its whole length, by the little river Cepheissus, into which flows the Herkyna, a powerful stream from Livadia, and which also receives contributions from many copious springs from the margin of the plain. This mass of water that is collected in the winter was, in the most ancient times, carried off naturally through the lime rocks that bound it in the east, through the so called Katawothra, long clefts and cavities, of which more will presently be said. Twelve rich cities once flourished in and near this vast plain, containing half a million of men; it is now a marsh with reeds and rushes, its only living millions, fishes and frogs.

" The Katawothra, in the earliest times, were kept open: but when the rich Orchomenus, capital of the Minyæ, which lay by the edge of the plain, to the produce of which it owed its treasures, was plundered and destroyed by the Thebans, the cleansing of these channels was intermitted. The alternate pressure of the winter's flood and its sub-



sequent entire removal, with the annual earthquakes, caused fractures in the interior of the Katawothra, from which the fragments were never removed. The water, pouring in, brought branches of trees, reeds, grass, &c. and deposited abundant mud. Thus the channels of egress were blocked up, and the noble plain was converted into a lake."

The mention of this lake, and the productions of Bœotia in the time of Aristophanes, are a sad contrast to its present deplorable condition. In the Acharnæ, the Bœotian was the avant courier of plenty.

Και μαν φερω χᾶνας, λαγως, αλωπεκας  
Σκαλοπας, εχινως αιελευρως, πυκτιδας  
Ικτιδας ενυδρως, εγχελεις Κωπαιδας.—

*Acharn. 843, Bekk.*

Dr. Fiedler does not appear to hail the eel with the same rapture as Dicæopolis.

B. Πρεσβειρα πεντηκοντα Κωπαίδων κορᾶν  
Εκβαθι τω δε κηπιχαρριττα τω ξενω

Δ. Ω φιλτατη συ και παλαι ποθυμενη  
Ηλθες ποθεινη μεν τρυγωδικους χοροις.

Alas, the comic suppers are over, the eels of the Copais are no longer in repute, and the freedom of cities is now never conferred on the venders of this fish! How has the world degenerated! How has gastronomy declined! The only prevailing traces that are yet visible being in the city of London; and now that lord mayors are accused of a want of hospitality, who shall answer even for the duration of the taste for calipash and calipee?

The opinions of the ancients concerning the lake of Copais are cited, and the attempts of Alexander the Great to restore the plain are also mentioned.

Dr. Fiedler then commences the account of his own investigations, and gives an accurate and careful survey of the locality.

The subterranean canal, formed by the ancients as a more secure means of draining the land, is, with its course, minutely described. Even in the time of Alexander it was choked with rubbish, and it was part of his design that this should be cleared away.

These preliminary matters arranged, our author at once enters upon the most important part of the discussion,—the present possibility of saving this large extent of country.

The first and most obvious means of effecting this object, is by restoring the Katawothra to their original state; whilst this is being done, trenches are to be cut, leading the water from the

marsh into the bed of the Cephissus, and the springs in the plain to be directed into such a course as shall be profitable to the country.

"The first part of these labours, the cleansing the Katawothra, and preserving as long as possible their communication with the lake, may be done by a moderate number of workmen in two years, at a very trifling expense; the only cost would be in the preparatory investigations, as measuring and planning, for overseers also, tools, food and clothing. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood are so poor, that they would willingly work without any pay, so long as they were ensured a sufficient portion of the land to be gained by their labours. Food and clothing they never thought of requiring. Even their own tools they would gladly furnish to the work, but this I do not think advisable, and it is necessary for the proper completion of the plan, that these should be provided; more workmen than are wanted will then be at hand, and we may ensure perseverance in the undertaking. This being once fairly set in train, we may prepare in the following year to fit the land for cultivation."

The investigation of the subterranean canal, is the next object of attention. The canal was, probably, formed with the foundation of Orchomenus, since the whole wealth of that town depended on the preservation of the plain. The attempt of Crates, by command of Alexander, to clear this course, is next detailed; the work was not completed, but so far successful, that the foundations of several of the ruined towns appeared above the water.

This channel, of itself, is not sufficiently large to warrant full dependence being placed upon it. The Katawothra must be open at the same time. Neither must the latter be entirely trusted to, as the next of the annual earthquakes might close these natural clefts for ever, whilst on the artificial channel they could work only a reparable injury.

There is much more interesting information connected with these matters, but we cannot make farther extracts whilst so much is yet to be spoken of. The next section details the journey from Livadia, by Parnassus, to the Oracle of Delphi.

Of the envied draught from the fount of Parnassus, after which our poetasters crave, the traveller thus slightly speaks:

"In the valley is a spring with rather abundant water; it arises from a little eminence, at the foot of Parnassus, and is called by the natives the fount of Parnass. My attendant invited me to taste the water, for whoever did so would be inspired with poetry, even so that it appeared in his common conversation. The water was flat, in temperature rather above the December air, it was not refreshing, and its inspiration was entirely prevented by a bleak prosaic wind, that was most penetrating."

Of the Castalian spring we have also a description :

" About ten minutes walk, to the west of the old tower, there is on the rock a plane oblong surface, about nine feet high and six broad, hewn perpendicularly ; it is sundered nearly in the middle by a perpendicular split ; at the upper part of each half are two apertures : below these a single opening, and still further down, two other apertures near one another, cut into a circular form. To this place a narrow passage, cut through the rock, is said to lead from the Castalian spring, and here strangers are supposed to have been detained and questioned, whilst speedy intelligence was then secretly sent through this passage. This is the tale told by the present inhabitants of Kastri ; but there was time for all this to be ascertained in Delphi itself, for the Pythia prophesied but once a month. The real object of this place is difficult to discover. Here also arched graves are hewn in the rock. \* \* \* \* \*

" At the entrance of the dell, to the right, is a high and broad wall of rock, hewn even and perpendicular : in it are two small, and, below, one larger votive niche :—opposite this, four steps, hewn through the pyritic clayey rock, lead to an oblong basin twelve feet broad. In this reservoir, little more than a foot deep, a quantity of beautifully clear fresh water bubbles up between green water-plants,—flows to the left, and forms a small brook. This is 'The Holy Castalian Spring,' in which the Pythia prepared by a bath for prophecy, or, at the least, performed ablutions. \* \* \* It is bounded behind by perpendicular rock of about a man's height above the basin. This, a few years ago, was faced with stones ; but the villagers removed these, since behind them is a narrow passage, through which none but a slightly-made person of middle size can pass. It goes a little to the right as a small aqueduct ; to the left it is continued, as the people assert, through the rock to the wall, with its apertures before-mentioned. It was half-full of fallen earth :—when, some time since, a few of the inhabitants of Kastri were clearing out a part of it, they found a very finely-worked golden horse, of about a couple of inches in size."

A chapel of John the Baptist now stands on the spot where the Pythia prophesied.

The Oracle of Delphi occupies the succeeding section, with which we have another lithographic view, comprising Parnassus and Delphi from the Crissæan plain, and illustrating the topography of the surrounding parts.

A history of the Oracle, its customs, and its modes of deceit, commences the account. The ancient and modern state of the temple is contrasted.

" The temple of Apollo, even when we calculate value as of the present time, was enormously rich. King Croesus presented 117 blocks of gold, in thickness the breadth of a hand, six times as long and thrice as broad, each of which weighed two talents ; a golden lion of ten talents ; a large golden tripod, upon which the Pythia sat, with the golden statue of Apollo. Beyond this there was a cup of gold, eight

talents in weight; one of silver, containing 600 amphoræ, in which the wine was mixed at the feast of the Theophaniæ, &c. &c. In spite of the various plunderings, in the time of Pliny more than 3000 statues remained. Strabo first describes it as poor. Pausanias saw 137 statues, works of art, and rich treasure-chambers; the latter were subterranean, round, like those of Atreus at Mycenæ; the best were those of the Sicyonians, Corinthians, and Siphnians, of whose gold mines Apollo had a tenth (vide in part ii. of this work, 'Island Siphno'), those also of the Thebans and Athenians. All now is robbed, destroyed,—it has disappeared, and on the holy territory of Apollo is a small poor village of frail tenements."

"The foundation of the temple of Apollo may be found," says Dr. Fiedler, and he not only makes the bare statement, but he points out the means of actually effecting the discovery of this interesting relic, and all the many antiquities, too heavy for removal, that must be buried with it.

Passing from Cirrha to Galanīdi, our author there took water for Missolonghi. The account of this town is followed by a history of its second siege, in the February and March of 1836, by the rebels of Ætolia and Acarnania.

The work now assumes more the form of an elaborate journal, and a section is occupied by travels through Acarnania. After this is the journey from Missolonghi to Lamia, from which we make the following extract as a specimen of the general style.

"Nov. 6th. It was not until 9 o'clock that we were enabled to saddle and take leave, as the horses did not arrive before that time, and as they stood before us they were powerless, overridden, and bruised:—we were comforted with the information that no better were to be had. The possessor of the three animals accompanied us in person; he was a large man, his head entirely bound round with a Turkish shawl, although, had he omitted it, his ears would not have frozen,—of them the Turks had taken care; he wore long moustaches, and had a nose that in length and form betokened avarice; he had been at one time a famous robber, but was now settled with a family. Step after step did this strong man slowly precede our horses. The road from Wrachōri to Karpenitze lies entirely between vineyards; by the wayside, in two places, were olive trees bearing the long olive, whereas they are here generally round. The vineyards cease, and we come amongst under-wood; to the right is a considerable lake, connected by an extensive marsh (through which we yesterday passed in journeying to Wrachōri) with the second, smaller, lake of Angelo Kastron. This flows into the Aspero potamo, by lowering which the marsh might be drained. The marshy borders of the lakes might also be rescued,—fruitful land would then occupy their place, and the lakes themselves be confined in definite bounds, whilst the salubrity of the neighbourhood would be increased. The traveller now finds himself for a couple of hours traversing the plain; to the left (on the northern side) is a steep and craggy mountain,

on which are some relics of ancient Greece,—a ruined tower, which is round on the outer side. On the lower declivity also of the mountain the foundations of great buildings are seen. These are the ruins of Metapa, now called Genurio. To the east, not far from this lake, are the ruins of Thermon, the capital of the Ætolians; it was rich in statues and treasures of all kinds; diligent search beneath this spot would be well repaid."

Metapa is more fully described: the mineralogy of the neighbourhood is reviewed and the journey is continued.

The following is a description of the monastery near Burso:—

"I visited the Demarch; he had in his house a small warm chamber, as far as possible air and waterproof; the floor was covered with a white stuff from sheep's wool, narrow and thick, sewed together to form a carpet. \* \* \* The Demarch, whose relative was the abbot (Igoumēnos) of the neighbouring cloister, advised me to go thither, as there I should find better lodging." \* \* \*

"The monastery Pan-ajia lies somewhat below the road, against a steep cliff, closely surrounded on the other side by high and rugged rocks. A brook, also called Aspero potamo, that was extremely swollen, rushed noisily below: it is either the Fidari itself or flows into that river. It has broken for itself a narrow way through the high mountains that here prevail, and winds between them in so serpentine a course, that among its contortions about one hundred and fifty sharp, perpendicular crags of an ell in height rise up in various directions. Beneath the monastery it winds so much that a part of it flows even backwards." \* \* \*

"The monastery is large and rather ancient; before the great door are placed, on the descent of the mountain, two buildings. The first is long, containing stalls below, and above, a few chambers for travellers, all of whom are entertained, and may remain as long as they desire. This monastery, in the winter of this rough neighbourhood, is extremely benevolent. Before this stranger's house, and below the broad road, are a few terraces, which form the small garden of the brotherhood, and in which are cultivated white cabbage, onions, forbidden fruit, cucumbers, &c. The abbot of the monastery, a worthy old man with a white beard, welcomed my arrival, and paid me a visit morning and evening, for we were obliged to stay here a few days, in consequence of the brook being so much swollen by the continued rain that we could travel neither in advance nor return."

The investigation of the brown coals near Gardike is thus terminated:—

"I ordered dry wood to be collected and a fire made, on which were placed the coals I obtained, but it required more wood than coals to bring them only to a glow. Of these coals, which were even kept as a secret from me, much has been both said and written: the only regret is, that the reports are better than the coals themselves."

Passing over intervening sections we come now to that which

is devoted to the warm springs and pass of Thermopylæ; the latter, having been most frequently misrepresented, is an interesting subject of description. The pass of Leonidas is the following:—

“Near the eastern stream, from the warm springs of Thermopylæ, there rises a low ridge of mountain about a score of feet in height, so that to the north-east there is only space for a foot-path and mill-leat of two feet wide, beside this is a marsh grown over with rushes and reeds. This is the narrow pass of Thermopylæ, which, however, in a more extended sense reaches three or four miles to the west, where the base of the lofty Cēta leaves a narrow and dangerous strip of clay, between deep marsh on either side, and then opens on the side of the valley of Spercheios. The sea once came farther inland, but this was of no advantage, as neither vessels nor men could approach the coast through the flat and muddy shore. In the course of centuries the sea has receded, and its miry shores form the present broad impenetrable swamp, so that the pass, though under different circumstances, is still as difficult of access as formerly.

“According to all the copper-plates, I had expected to encounter a romantic and rocky pass, not a low mountain ridge covered mostly with earth, excepting where a few small blocks of limestone break the monotony; yet therefore is Leonidas with his Spartans the more to be prized.”

We will not follow our author through the ecstatic periods that now follow, it is a road too well beaten to need hammering at any longer.

Less personal valour would now be required to defend this pass; in the war with the Turks it was very hotly disputed. Many old weapons are found buried in the marsh.

A section on the means of remedying the deficiency of water in the Grecian plains precedes the notice of this region.

After this is an account of the Solfatara near Sousāki, with the description of a newly discovered mineral, which the author proposes to call hydro-chrom-silicat.

Loutrāki and its warm springs are next mentioned and the first division of the work, continental Greece, is then completed with a subject of never-failing interest—the Isthmus of Corinth, and the possibility of cutting through it. On the latter subject our author thus speaks:

“The narrow slip of land between the continent of Greece and the Peloponnesus, which is in its narrowest portion about 6000 metres broad, occasioned in the most ancient times, when navigation became more extended, a desire to cut through it, so that ships sailing from the European coast to Lesser Asia and the Pontus Euxinus might be provided with a direct passage without the necessity of making the dangerous circuit of the Peloponnesus. The ancients, who commenced and

completed so many gigantic works, here also undertook to make a canal, but the power of Hellas was broken and it was not finished.

"On each side of the Isthmus a canal has been commenced; most has been done on the western side, where a considerable distance has been hewn through the conglomerate: on both sides the walls are visible evenly hewn, and in the southern wall steps are cut, the rubbish thrown up lies above and forms a large hill. The canal is twenty yards across, cut some distance through the conglomerate, almost level with the sea; the conglomerate to the east is undisturbed. Above this the canal is continued some distance. There are great banks on either side, larger to the south. All is now in ruins and overgrown with weeds. The canal may be traced for a mile or two.

"The conglomerate consists of lumps about the size of a fist, united by a cement of lime and clay; it forms on the western side of the Isthmus an immense bank of about twelve feet high, in which are found on the surface, more to the north, many large calcined oyster-shells, *ostrea*, *pecten*, *serpulæ*, &c., which are exactly similar to the *conchyliæ* of the present time. The upper lumps mixed with this are small and mostly of quartz. This was the last deposit of the sea before the Isthmus was dry. The northern side of the Isthmus is covered with lumps of serpentine, and in the red clay is much sand containing magnetic iron.

"The conglomerate can only be worked through by pick-axes and iron wedges: greater masses may sometimes be separated by a little powder in deep holes, and prepared for carrying away. Below the conglomerate the lumps are only in earth, on the eastern side earth and marl.

"If this canal, in the line of the ancients, be adopted (although a neighbouring hollow to the north appears more favourable), we shall come to small eminences, where it will be required to dig thirty-six feet in order to reach the level of the sea. Farther to the east the coarse lime conglomerate appears by the sea coast, it is eight to ten fathoms deep and broken off abruptly against the sea; below is the earthy marl. In some parts of the canal's course it would be necessary to cut sixty feet deep in order to reach the level of the sea.

"Allowing the canal to be 6000 metres in length, sixty feet broad, and from two to six and even ten fathoms deep to the level of the sea, and four fathoms below the level that large ships might pass, and it might not be too soon filled with sand; at this rate several millions of cubic metres would require to be dug out. With due appointments, however, and a sufficient number of workmen, the work would progress rapidly. To avoid expense from dilapidations, &c. it must be walled in on both sides with cubes from the stone quarries, situated at about three miles distance. The canal, again, must be continued in a straight line and be widened in two places, that vessels may make way for one another."

Experimental observations must of course be first made. Foreigners may be obtained at but slight expense to do the work, that the inhabitants of the land may not neglect their own occupations.

"The people of Kalamāki relate, that when the canal on this side was being dug, blood was found; a sign that the Peloponnesus was not to be separated from the main land. Pausanias, ii. 1, 5, relates, that 'the Corinthian Isthmus extends on the one hand to the sea by Cenchreæ, on the other to the sea by Lechæon. It joins the intermediate land to a continent. Whoever, therefore, ever undertook to make an island of the Peloponnesus, died before the Isthmus could be pierced through. The spot where they commenced may still be seen; but they reached only to the rocky part' (conglomerate) 'and no farther, whilst the place still remains—as nature made it—joined to the main land. Alexander, the son of Philip, who desired to cut through Mimas (a mountain near Erythræ, in Ionia), failed in this one work only;' (also in the subterranean canal by the lake of Copais). 'The Cnidians were warned by an oracle not to cut through the Isthmus.—So difficult is it for man to withstand the will of the gods.'"

"After Pliny, Demetrius, also Cæsar, Caius and Domitius Nero made fruitless endeavours to complete the canal."

The formation of a railroad to transport goods across, where they might be received by other ships, is next discussed, but the canal is preferred, provided the pressure of the water do not form too great an obstacle.

"The water stands, by measurement, seven feet higher on the eastern than on the other side; this being the case, it would be divided in the Corinthian bay, and although some low country would be thrown under water, on the one side, on the other new land would arise, where it is now shallow water; and if on the eastern side, two neighbouring harbours should be rendered useless, yet secure anchoring ground is close at hand, and the advantage obtained immeasurably predominant."

The isthmi appear menaced in every direction. Panama will soon be, report says, severed; and now that Mehemet Ali must give up cutting and slaying in Syria, he may as well amuse himself at Suez, and realize Napoleon's project, by cutting through it to the Red Sea.

The travels through the Morea commence, of course, with Corinth; the spring of Peirene and Acrocorinth being subjects of separate sections. The journey from Corinth to Poros includes, among other matter, the bath of Helena, Sophico, Angelokastro, Piadda, Epidauris, the valley of Trochia, Potamia and Dara. The peninsula of Methana, with its barren soil, is next travelled through, and on taking ship to sail round this peninsula, our author meets with divers whose occupation he proceeds to describe:

"Whilst I was compelled to stay there, a sailing-boat with divers came along the coast; these divers cut, and bring up, the official sponges growing at the bottom of the sea. In order to see these, it is necessary that the water be calm and not above thirty feet deep. Those



who dive after pearl oysters must descend to a greater depth. I will endeavour to picture the manner of diving after sponges, and the dangers that encounter all those who follow this profession ; some preliminary explanations are however first required."

These preliminary explanations are three in number,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ .

The first is, that the divers often seek large marine snails, as *Buccinum Tritonium*, for example, that are found in clefts of the rocks ; these they sell as ornaments.

The second is, that these men are exposed to great danger from large bivalves. The *Chama gigas*, which exists in the Indian seas, is capable of snapping cables and performing other feats ; its shells are of five hundred pounds weight, and its flesh thirty. The danger from diving into the neighbourhood of such animals as these, *Chama gryphoides*, &c., is obvious. Others entangle the diver in their huge floating hairs, from which the knife alone can set them free.

The third remark is upon the dangerous kind of sepia not generally known and therefore described :

" *Septa octopodia*, L. S. *octopus* ; modern Grecian ; *Supiah oktopodi* ; the *polyp* of the ancients : is common in the Mediterranean, has eight tentacles, which are generally, on the coast of Greece, not more than twelve to eighteen inches long, because the animals are taken before they attain any age ; some, however, are an ell in length. These tentacles have a tendinous consistence. The largest in the Mediterranean are near Naples, but the East Indian, and those in the bay of Mexico, attain an enormous size. One of these polyps is sufficient to hold a man firmly, and this accident sometimes occurs to bathers. They move themselves in the water uncommonly fast, grasp whatever living thing comes in their way, and adhere firmly to it by means of suckers on their tentacles, which form a vacuum and cause severe pain. In the middle of the circle from which the tentacles proceed, is a hard black beak, like that of the parrot, which protects the mouth and can be extended beyond its investing membranes ; it is principally used in preparing sea-crabs for digestion. The body of the animal is like an oval bladder. They are brought from the water, on the coast of Greece, principally by means of spearing ; they are then laid on a stone, that all the mucus may run off. To prepare them, when fresh, for eating, they are generally spitted with their long tentacles bound together, and roasted over coals, or steamed and eaten with lemon juice. They taste like crabs, but are not easy of digestion. They may be dried, and, in that state, are brought to market. The Grecians prize these polyps very much ; and, among the Romans, they were considered a luxury ; we therefore often see them pictured on the walls of their dining rooms."

The occupation of the diver is now explained ; and, so interesting does our author consider it, that a separate chapter, of little more than a page, is devoted to it, and the words also

printed in a type larger than that adopted in the rest of the work. We cannot, therefore, do otherwise than quote from this important section.

" On board of a small sailing-boat sat two naked men, tanned by the sun, each braced with a black belt, in which was a large strong knife. They gazed down into the sea ;—suddenly one of them stretches out his arms, and placing the palms of his hands close together, plunges into the wave. The water soon closed above him ;—after a few minutes it was again disturbed, and the diver re-appeared with a large sponge, climbed into his little vessel, threw down his prize carelessly, and again gazed into the deep. Thus, in calm weather, the whole day is spent, until at last, perhaps, the diver descends to rise no more.

" To provide sustenance for his family, to increase the stock of his sponges, the poor man labours until he is overcome with weariness, and the blood streams from his nose and ears, mingling with the green wave : should cramp seize his limbs during the hour of his labour, he falls at once.

" By the rocky shore there are many hollows and crevices, in which the snakes before-mentioned are found. On the floor and walls of these cavities the diver seeks his prey ; but if he be not cautious of the large bivalves, that are fixed with open shells around the entrance, if he approach them too near, they will, for protection, close these shells, and with enormous power grasp the diver. If he succeed not in effecting his escape soon, the cool watery grotto is his grave.

" And if the successful adventurer have loaded himself with the booty, and hastens back to the sunny world, he is open to the attack of that hyæna of the sea, the greedy shark, and the diver and his prey are preyed upon by this new enemy.

" Often, in the bed of the sea, the horrid polyp, with his eight arms, embraces the diver, and soon, with the infliction of burning agony, fixes himself with his suckers ; if the knife do not then soon separate the monster's fettering bands, the arm of death is upon that man of hazardous employment, and no more will he ascend to the world."

Dr. Fiedler now crosses over to the Island of *Ægina*, a full description of which follows. Near the ruins of *Palæochoro* is a volcanic fissure in the mountain, which is fearfully pictured before us in the next lithographic illustration. The rocks upon rocks in wild confusion, the stunted fig-tree here and there, occasional blighted shrubs, with the terrific perspective of nature in ruins, are placed in every detail of stern reality before our eyes.

*Poros* and its vicinity, the island of *Sphæria*, the steep coast of *Kalaureia*, the *Citron Forest* and *Troizen*, next follow.

The journey from *Poros* to *Nauplia*, over *Kranidi* and *Limnes*, includes the island of *Hydra*, the town *Hermione*, the village of *Didymo*, the holy territory of *Asclepias* and the village of *Chili*.

The remains of the theatre of the Epidaurians are thus described: speaking of the holy territory—

"This immense place lies very retired and private, surrounded by mountains; but every thing glorious is annihilated, the theatre of the Epidaurians alone was too large for the barbarians to destroy. It is prudently situated within the holy territory, to the south of the first named reservoir, and occupies the whole side of a low mountain; it is so over-grown with shrubs and vegetation, that it might be mistaken in the distance for a green declivity. At a great height the seats of white marble are well preserved, with a fine polish, only the lower ones are triflingly injured; in the middle of the lowest row stood a single marble seat, like an arm-chair, this is overthrown. The theatre is of great size, the scene, however, small; it is cut off behind by a running brook of water. Pausanias thus (ii. 27, 5) mentions this theatre: 'The Roman theatres excel all others in splendour, it is true, as that of the Arcadians at Megalopolis exceeds in size; but, in harmony and beauty, what architect could dare to measure his works with that of a Polycleitus? for it was Polycleitus\* that constructed this edifice.'"

Nauplia and its fortresses are then described; after which the traveller passes over to Myli.

The cave of the Lernæan Hydra, not far from Myli, is now visited; from the foot of the rock in which the cave is found, there flows the spring of Cephalaris, that at once forms a powerful stream, and supplies several powder-mills placed there in consequence of the deserted situation of the place, that no danger may result from accidents.

The opinions of Pausanias, vii. 37, 4, are next quoted. The cave is thus described—

"Close under the cavern is the new high road to Tripolitza, some twenty feet above which the entrance of the cave is situated; before it is an immense fallen fragment of rock, at the side of which we enter: a dark, long and lofty space opens upon us, and hundreds of bats flit, in the visible darkness, around the head of the disturber. The cavern is formed by the fall of lower lime banks, caused in a great measure by the brook that arises below: what little day-light enters the cavern, reaches it above the rock at the entrance, the same that Hercules is said to have rolled upon the undying head of the monster. According to the fable, the animal was here found by Hercules and hunted with arrows from his lair.

"It is worth while to visit this cavern; it is like an immense and long chamber in the rock; the impression it makes when imperfectly illu-

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\* Distinguished equally as a statuary and architect. His noblest work in the former capacity was the statue of ivory and gold erected in the Heræum by the citizens of Argos and Mycene. Vide Strabo, Book 8. For many and interesting facts connected into one complete mass on him and other ancient artists, see Sillig's Dictionary of the Artists of Antiquity.

mined, as it is in the full light of day without, is deeper than that we bear away from other caves of this kind, as, for example, that in the Pen-telicon. If to the feeling it excites, we add, in our imagination, the Hydra with his fifty heads, swollen with poison, crouching in his den of obscurity; the spot, so appropriate for the purpose, acquires increased interest."

The traveller now offers explanations of the fable; the first assumes the possibility of a dangerous water snake having taken up his abode in the grotto. The small population in those times would have allowed animals, now destroyed while young, to attain a fearful size. To this opinion, the doctor himself clings, and rejects the other, namely, that—

"The spring divides into fifty channels, which, it is true, inundate the land towards the sea: this is to represent the Hydra. The marsh thus formed was never dangerous, or sufficient to be a cause of alarm; it has too much vegetation, and is one of the most harmless in the land; it still exists, and therefore there would be no authority for saying that Hercules overcame the Hydra, and that its heads could not again sprout forth."

The author thus vindicates the trust he reposes in the legends of antiquity.

"On the whole, it is most natural to point out among the gods and heroes of remotest antiquity, distinguished men, whose good or evil deeds have been exaggerated and ornamented by those of their own times, and still more so by posterity; the imagination of man loves the marvellous. If the heroes of antiquity are but air and vapour, how could those bones, those weapons have been described as theirs, which we now discover in their graves? For example, we may mention the grave of Achilles, near Troy, and also many others, if they might be opened, or the place pointed out in which they are to be found."

Without coinciding with our traveller to the full extent of his opinions on this subject, we pass from this to other matters.

The next journey is through the Mustos, over Ajio Petro, to Tripolitza. Another chapter is devoted to Mantinea; Kolinae and the valley of Eurotas are in the next section; soon after Sparta itself.

The Porfido Verde Antico, near Krokeæ, is then considered. Marathonisi, Cape Coulendiani, Lakki, Cape Malea and Cerigo follow in succession.

From the account of the harbour of Porto Quaglio, we must extract the following:—

"On our arrival we saw neither house nor light, once only the stillness of night was broken by the sound of a horn.

"5th. In the morning we were enabled to perceive the extent of the haven, which has excellent anchoring ground, and is fenced in by high

mountains. To the north, on a projection of rock, there is a strong and lonesome monastery; to the east, on the mountain heights, a watch tower. To the south, near the shore and beneath the steep rock, is a white broad building, something like a tower, which Captain Gligora Konchona has lately built for himself. I landed to visit him; he had put on a beautiful new uniform, received me in a friendly manner, and led me into his dwelling. A steep flight of steps led to the door, one story high; at the side of the steps a long beam was placed, parallel to them, against the wall to serve as a rail. The space within the house was not subdivided; raised, as usual, a step above the entrance; upon this part were spread out brown covers, and two pillows; a box with a red cover over it was given me for a seat; against the walls hung pieces of clothing, shirts, fustanelles, pistols, and a new Nuremberg looking-glass, two feet high; beneath it were wooden boxes, chests, &c. In the lower division, near the entrance, were jugs, pitchers, moulds, &c. Two old women were here sifting meal, and afterwards kneaded bread. The few small windows were all stopped up; the only light proceeded from the open door on one side. The captain brought from a cupboard in the wall a little flask of raki, took from a shelf a couple of English coffee cups, in which coffee was made; a large, broken and dry biscuit served as rusk, a glass water-bottle was full of clear sugar, and a jar of honey was produced from a large box; we then breakfasted."

The western coast of the Maina is then traversed; the state of the inhabitants of these barren cliffs in former times must indeed have been fearful:—

"Notwithstanding the troubles to which he was subject, the Mainot would remain in his tower, often in open war with his neighbour, and the feud has endured through generations; when an inhabitant of one tower was perceived, he would be immediately fired at by his neighbour to avenge insult offered by one ancestor to another. Revenge was the feeling that predominated. Girls thus remained for twenty years at home, death threatening them at every step they took away from the shelter of their own towers. Small iron cannon were generally possessed by every owner."

All traces of this spirit have now disappeared, as the towers themselves have crumbled into dust.

Kalamāta occupies the next chapter, after which we come to Ithome and Messéne: the walls of the latter town are still standing; and the great gate, together with the ruins and their neighbourhood, give opportunity for a very pretty lithograph which illustrates this chapter.

A very interesting account of Megalopolis, its rise, progress and present appearance follows. In Megalopolis was the largest theatre of Greece, now standing, deprived of all ornament and not by any means so interesting as that in the holy territory, a description of which has already been extracted.

Soon after, we have a section upon Andrizenä; the claims possessed by this place, and by Arcadia, to the admiration they have obtained, are thus stated:—

“ Andrizenä is called the prettiest spot in Greece; it lies pleasantly situated on the upper declivity of the lower mountains, among gardens and trees, cypresses, in great number, rising predominant. The houses are mostly large, the inhabitants noted for obstinacy. Below this place are vineyards, and in the distance also the lower hills are covered with verdure. Andrizenä, therefore, is, without dispute, the fairest place in Arcadia.

“ But Arcadia:—of this, heated imaginations, that have never seen the spot, have been dreaming nothing but what is fair, delicate, and poetical; why they have done so it is difficult to conceive; for neither the Arcadians themselves, nor the other ancient Greeks, knew any thing of the matter. Here were never delicate forms, here were no picturesque and luxuriant spots. Arcadia is a mountainous tract of country, as such it is blessed with fresh water; it is also, next to Achaia, more full of forest than other parts of the Peloponnesus. The ancient Arcadians went clothed in skins, were rough and warlike, knew not even the meaning of an airy figure; their pastoral life neither was nor is at all luxuriant, we meet with dirty-faced shepherds, whose long shaggy hair hangs about their head, surrounded by a host of snarling savage dogs, that attack us on the slightest approach to familiarity.”

See, then, on how slender a foundation hangs the correctness of one half of our languishing poems; these are the gentle shepherds that recline in these grassy vales, provided with pipes—for music not tobacco—and gentle shepherdesses. Alas! that the dream should ever have been interrupted by such matter-of-fact sentences as these!

The Temple of Apollo at Bassæ, described soon after, forms a very interesting section from which we have no space to quote.

Several chapters are now occupied by purely geological inquiries, intermixed as usual with lighter matter.

Next is the journey from Gastuni to Patras, then from Patras to Diwri, from Diwri over Psophis, Kalawriti to the Styx.

A view of the Styx is the last illustration, and the spot is thus described:—

“ Above, at the steepest part of the mountain, is a broad strip, darker than the rest of the rock, which is throughout of a black hue: this strip marks the course of the Styx. The fall is more remarkable at the end of May, and in June, when the snow is melting; the Styx has no spring at its source. When I saw it, late in October, although it had rained heavily, there was no waterfall whatever.

“ The inhabitants of the neighbourhood call the Styx the black water, because it is of that colour wherever it touches the rock. Below are some small hollows in the rock. The inhabitants of the neighbouring

villages affirm, to this day, that ghosts wander on this spot, and that whoever drank of the water of the Styx would never die; while those who were ill would at once be healed of their sickness. Shepherds, on the contrary, told travellers in 1812 that the waters of the Styx were poisonous, and were astonished to see them venture to drink of it. This water, being snow-water, recently melted, is excessively cold; it would therefore be of course dangerous for those heated with exercise to drink of it."

The information afforded by Pausanias on this subject is next adduced. The poisonous property of the water—its wonderful power of melting horn, bones, iron, lead, silver, gold, &c. of breaking crockery, and other similar statements.

The destruction or capture of five thousand Greeks, who had taken refuge here in the war with the Turks, is then related. The geology of the spot concludes this section, and the following one is devoted to the Gypsum near Zaroukla.

Megaspoleon, the largest monastery of Greece, is fully described; we shall extract merely an account of its general appearance:—

"The only entrance on the side we approached is guarded by a strong wall full of loopholes. A narrow gate, that a pack-horse can scarcely pass, leads us through, and we obtain a view of the monastery. It is built against a steep mass of conglomerate, 120 yards in height, before a broad cave into which it is worked. This cave was formerly the oracle of Hercules Buraikos; whoever made inquiries prayed before the small statue of the god, and then taking four from a heap of dice that were scattered around threw them upon the table. On each dice were marks, explanations of which were given in a list kept on the spot, and thus the answer was obtained. The cave is now completely filled by the monastery built within it. The lower part, in front, consists of strong walls built of square stone; it is upon these that the monastery is built, one dwelling over another. At a great height on this wall are two wooden corridors into which the cells of the monks open, thus rendered darker; each has, generally, two inhabitants."

The monastery itself is then, with all its appointments, minutely described.

The traveller then returns, over Wostitza, to Patras.

One of the principal duties of Dr. Fiedler being to examine the state of the brown coals near Kumi in Eubœa, (which the inhabitants were desirous of parting with,) it is from Nauplia to Eubœa that his steps are next directed.

The island of Eubœa, in a geological point of view, is then fully described; dividing it next into three districts, viz. 1. Karysto and Stura; 2. Chalcis and Kumi; 3. Xerechori and Lithada; each of these is separately investigated.

From the notice of Carysto we shall extract a few remarks upon the Amianthus:—

“ In ancient times great importance was attached to the discovery of this Asbestos, which even Strabo mentioned (x. p. 446) when speaking of Carystos, Marmarion, and Styra: ‘a stone is found in this place which can be spun and woven; clothing is made of it, which, when it is dirty, is thrown into the fire and the flame cleans it in the same manner as water purifies linen stuffs.’

“ It is well known that the ancients used these garments to wrap around their dead, when they burned them, that no portion of the ashes might be lost; but now such linen is too expensive and also out of fashion.

“ The present use of Asbestos is very limited; it cannot be worn as clothing next the skin, as it causes irritation. \* \* \* It may be used for lampwicks, &c. \* \* \* but it would be better to burn cotton, if only for the sake of a little more land being necessarily cultivated for the purpose.”

The next chapter takes, in due course, Chalcis and Kumi; and the next is occupied by the detailed investigation of the brown coals, occupying five and twenty pages.

A visit to the monastery of the Saviour, by Kumi, is related in the following section. Here is a view, which of all other things, is best calculated to give an idea of the nature of the country:—

“ The view from this spot” (an eminence near Kumi) “ is of considerable extent: to the south are low mountains covered only with brush-wood; to the west we look down into a barren rocky vale, with a brook swollen by the rains, that proceeds from the coal district; to the north-west, opposite the steep declivity, is a yet taller chalk cliff; in the blue distance is the Turkish coast by the canal of Trikeri; to the north, and to the east, are the islands of Skyro, Chilidromia, Skopelo, and others; below roars the sea, covering the coast with white surf, and rocky shoals indicate their dangerous presence by streaks of foaming water; the coasts however were barren, not the cry of a sea-mew enlivened the bare cliffs, the sound of the sea only beat unceasingly against the rocks. \* \* \* The dreary stillness was distasteful to us all, and we returned in silence to the monastery.”

The monastic fare is thus described:—

“ We sat a long time by the dull glow of the fire, whilst, from the church without, the choral petition, ‘ Kyrie eleison,’ broke upon our ears. At last the abbot came, with him who had shown us the castle, and a boy brought, after the Turkish fashion, a large copper tray tinned over and surrounded with a margin two inches high; on it were a plate with virgin honey, a plate of walnuts, and a glass bottle with a long curved neck. The boys and monks cracked the walnuts and threw the kernels into the honey, in this they were stirred round with a fork, and so eaten.



"The abbot poured out a glass of strong, sweet raki, and handed it to me with a wish for health. This sweet dish, which is much to be commended, occupied us some time, when we had ended, the monks left, and we returned to the fire.

"After some time, a similar but much larger tray was brought, on which the dishes stood; two carved fowls, steamed in butter and onions, with a large plate of paste prepared in the monastery, and which they called macaroni, cooked in a quantity of fat; besides this was resinous wine, with a glass. The abbot drank first, another then tasted, and the glass went round, each giving and returning courteous wishes for health and happiness. The cup-bearer was a handsome man, such as is seldom found in monasteries; he had a free, open forehead, straight well-formed nose, brown beard, and fine complexion; but his clear eyes were not easily observed, for he looked always straight before him, and never in any man's face. He carried the little glass about constantly refilled, without intermission. A second course consisted of pillau, fowl, a large plate of salad with oil and vinegar, very salt goat's cheese, and an older wine."

Cape Chili is next described, the passage from Kumi to Xerochori, the baths of Hercules, the journey from Lipso to Lithada, and the return to Xerochori, follow in succession.

The visit to a French colonist in Eubœa, with the civilised comforts of sofa, lustres, looking-glasses, &c. is dilated upon with all the rapture of one who, as he says, had been wandering for nearly six weeks.

Such being the case, we are not surprised at reading the enthusiastic expressions of his gratification, scarcely even at seeing the friendly politeness of the colonist immortalized in Pica, a type to which the body of the work does not aspire.

Returning to Xerochori, the traveller then sets sail for the Sporades, is driven back by a storm; on a second attempt succeeds, at great hazard, in reaching them, and there this division of the work ends.

A view of the most important plants of Greece now follows. These are considered in a popular and practical, rather than in a purely botanical, point of view, and supply exactly that information which is not generally found in a botanical work; the available value of the plants is considered; those are noticed which, though not indigenous, might, with advantage, be introduced for use or ornament; and many are especially pointed out as worthy of cultivation. This division of the work is thus arranged:—

"I. Palms.

II. Forest plants.

A. Pines.

*Appendix.* Pines worthy of culture.

B. Those with leaves.

a. Trees.

*Appendix.* Trees of this class worthy of culture.

β. Shrubs and weeds.

*Appendix.* Shrubs worthy of culture.

The vine.

III. Fruit trees.

IV. Grain.

*Appendix.* Herbs for feeding cattle.

V. Vegetables (for food).

VI. Pot herbs.

VII. Medicinal plants,

VIII. Plants used in the arts.

IX. Flowers."

From this table of contents, the manner in which the subject is treated will at once be evident. We shall not go through each in succession, for that would be an unnecessary labour; but will extract a few descriptions, as specimens of the manner in which the separate plants are handled, and quote such passages as may appear of particular interest.

The different trees or shrubs, according to their importance, occupy each more or less of the author's attention. We will take one of the shortest articles as a specimen; among the several poplars is

" P. GRECA. Λευκή, modern gr. THE GRECIAN POPLAR.

" It grows in Eubœa near brooks, by Carysto, Rukla, Ajio Dimitri; in the Morea. It is closely allied to the aspen (*P. tremula*). It grows to a tall and slender tree. The *foliage* is food for cattle. The *bark* contains tannin, and yields, when young, like the leaves, yellow colouring matter; the *fibres* take fire easily, and are used therefore for burning tiles. The *wood* is white, light, and may be used by carpenters, joiners, or carvers, in the manufacture of furniture; also will serve as building material, if it be not exposed to wet. The ashes of its *charcoal* serve for the manufacture of coarse gunpowder: they will, when ignited, continue to glow for a long time."

Among those recommended for culture in the Appendix to shrubs and weeds, we will select one also, as a specimen; under the head "*Spartium*" we have

" S. SCOPARIUM. BROOM.

" Grows to a height of from four to ten feet; is a forest weed, valuable, however, in the following respects. The *flowers* yield honey, and a yellow dye. The *foliage* is eaten by goats and sheep. The *branches* will make hedges or brooms. The *inner bark* makes coarse sacking, even paper. The *wood* is firm, white veined with brown; useful to turners. The *ashes* are said to contain much potass." \*

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\* Thibaud de Berneaud, *Traité du Genêt, ses Espèces et l'avantage qu'il offre à l'Agriculture.* Paris, 1810. 8vo.

A most elaborate and valuable treatise on the vine and the wines of Greece next follows.

It commences with mentioning the wild varieties found in Greece, which, however, proceed merely from seeds carried away by the birds from cultivated vineyards. The fruit of these is small, and often not eatable; the vine is supposed to have flourished in a wild state originally in Arabia Felix, Armenia or Georgia.

Introduced by the Phœnicians into the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, it travelled thence to Sicily and Italy, and from thence to Marseilles, France, and lastly into Germany.

The wild vine is then described, and, after this, the fable of the introduction of grapes and their use by Bacchus; thence varieties of soil, position, and cultivation have given rise to the different kinds.

"The most important thing in connexion with all these varieties, is, *that all the wines of Greece might be good, and the greater number of them excellent, if the vine and its produce were rightly treated.* But it is now generally the case that Grecian wine is hardly to be endured by the palate of a stranger. Dodwell (*Class. Tour*, i. pp. 212 and 144) says, that sour beer in England is far preferable to the resinous wine (*rezinato*) in Greece."

The ancients also adopted this practice of adding resin to their wine; and therefore the staff of *Thyrsus*, bound with green ivy, has a pine cone at its point, which, at the same time, represented a *Phallus*.

So bad is this wine, that the author, on first visiting Greece, imagined that, by mistake, a medicine had been set before him containing turpentine, when this was brought. An estimate is then made as to which is more nauseous, the wine *rezinato*, or the sour, unresined beverage.

A short account follows of the mode of preparing wine.

"In each vineyard is an oblong receiver 6 feet by 9 in length, and 3 feet by 6 in breadth, a couple of feet deep, and lined with cement to make it water-proof; on one of the narrow sides the floor is inclined, that the expressed juice may flow through an opening into another receiver, generally circular, which is a few feet broad, and also made water-proof in the same manner as the upper one. At the time of vintage the ripe bunches are cut off, and thrown into the upper and larger receiver, where they are trodden by the naked feet of men and the oldest women. The juice runs off into the lower cistern, whence it is drawn off into *Ασκι*. These are rough goat-skins, turned with the hairy side inwards, and bound tightly together at the feet; the liquor is poured in at the neck, which is then tightly tied. One of these skins being tied on each side of the pack-saddle, it is thus carried home. Being then thrown into the owner's cask, perhaps he possesses but one, fermentation commences. The better kind of wine is sometimes put

into large jugs. Already in the vineyard, when with the husks, fermentation has commenced, and some of the husks pass into the lower receiver, but when at home, to assist its progress a quarter part of water is added, often more, and as no one knows how long the whole ought to ferment, they wait until no more bubbles appear, and the small vinegar flies are found; the cask is then closed, soon after tapped, and the wine gradually drawn off, the dregs remaining.

"In order that the new wine may keep, a number of green pine cones, or else half fluid or grated resin, is thrown in. This is the resinate or *krassik*, a word generally omitted. When no resin is put to the wine they generally add, as soon as it commences to turn sour, a considerable quantity of burnt gypsum, which unites with the acid, forming an acetate of lime, that is mixed with the wine and makes it sweeter but causes head-ache and illness. The resinous wine also at first causes head-ache, but the action of the turpentine causes it soon to pass away. The new wine is very thick, it induces colic and disordered stomach."

A catalogue, and a long one, is then given of the causes that combine to make the wine so bad; all of which might be remedied. Thus, for instance, in many places the grapes lie trailing upon the earth, which sticks to them and gives the wine an earthy flavour. The birds and the rains, dew and other circumstances cause many of the grapes to rot, these, being used, also impart an unpleasant taste. Through the poverty of labourers the means of carrying on the work, casks, horses, &c. are wanting; those therefore who have none must stand still at their wine making until others are able to lend them: except in Athens there are no cellars in Greece.

Often, also, a variety of vine is planted on a spot where another variety only would be able to flourish.

An article now follows on the wines of Greece in general. The possibility of improving them is demonstrated, the different varieties are mentioned; the manners and customs connected with the planting of the vine, vintage, preparation, and use of the wine, are described. The practical value of every part of the vine is next discussed, and there is no portion left without its use. Brandy is prepared from the remaining juice of the husks; the mode of making it is described: also *verdigris* and vinegar. They serve also as fuel and food for horse and fowls—for corroboration we are referred to the *Journal des Connoissances usuelles*, 1833, Mag. p. 282, and the *Pharm. Centralbl.* 1833, ii. p. 863. The ashes of the husks, even, are used; they form the Frankfort black, employed in making copper-plate impressions. The kernels, especially those of black grapes, yield an oil—Fontanelle obtained six to ten pounds of this from sixty pounds of Italian seed. The roasted kernels have been used as a substitute for coffee, and, with other materials, chocolate has been prepared

from them, which, however, is too expensive, costing more than the best that is obtained from cocoa. The fresh vine leaves are used as a kind of vegetable; chopped meat, rice, eggs, butter, pepper, salt, parsley, and onion being wrapped up in it and cooked, receive an agreeable acidulated flavour. French economists have proposed young shoots of the vine for making cords, &c. &c. The ashes of the wood form a beautiful blue colour for painters and artists.

The endeavours of King Otto to improve the culture of the vine are then mentioned, the introduction of vines from the Rhine and Burgundy, &c. The mode of cultivation is described, and the account of the vine is concluded with various tables.

The first table exhibits the different varieties of vine in Zante; there are forty of them, and each is described after the following plan.

" 1.) *Αγουσιιάτης* or *Μαυροδάφνη*. Berries, large, dark blue. Wine, very good. For the table, much prized. Ripe, at the usual time. Soil and locality, dry.

" 2.) *Κοτζανίτης*. Berries, white, full. Wine, yellow, strong, aromatic. Soil and locality, dry and poor. Peculiar to Zante. When mixed with No. 1 will keep well.

Where necessary also the derivation of the Greek term is given as *Κονδοκλάδι* (*κοντα κλαδω*), because it is cut off near the stem.

The next table, contrived in a similar manner, contains the foreign vines that might be cultivated with advantage in Greece.

These are subdivided into A. those of Germany, and B. those of Southern Europe. Those of Germany are ranged in two divisions: a) Those with low and often branching stem, the clusters small and dense; b) Those with considerably higher and stronger stem, having the clusters large and loose. Among the former, seven in number, are Champagne and Burgundy; among the latter, sixteen, is Muscatelle. A list follows of writers on the vines of Germany.

The vines of Southern Europe, including those already cultivated in Greece or the neighbouring Ionian Islands, are divided into a), the clusters with round; and b), those with long berries. Among the former (twenty-six) are the Malaga and Lombardy vine, from the latter of which port wine is obtained; among the long berried clusters is the *V. tempestiva*, which yields three harvests (in September, November, and January). Vid. "Considerations sur une Variété exotique de la Vigne, sur sa Précocité, et ses trois Rapports Annuels," by Borger, in the *Annales de la Soc. Lin. de Paris*, Sept. 1826, vol. v. p. 421, also the *Literaturblatt für Botanik*, vol. i. p. 146. Of the *V. semperflorens* also, the intro-

duction of which is recommended, they say in Sicily, "*Tri vati di sciorta, chi fa deci manu.*"

A table of references of statistics and miscellaneous matters completes the view of the vines of Greece.

The next division is occupied by fruit trees ; these, as being of practical value, are considered at great length.

The olive comes first. Its history, culture, the varieties of oil and modes of preparing it, the means of improving its culture in Greece, the legends connected with it, the mode of preserving the ripe fruit, &c. &c. are discussed, as carefully as we have already seen the subject of the vine. At the conclusion is a table of the varieties of cultivated olive in Zante and Cephalonia ; giving their modern name, the size of the tree, form of the leaves, quality of the wood, characters of the fruit, produce of oil, value for the table, comparative frequency of their culture and particular remarks. The next table is of the more excellent species of olive in France, Italy, and Spain.

The fig is then described, also at length, with a list of the varieties worthy of culture. The mulberry, and fruits of the orange tribe, occupy a considerable space, and the others are described more or less fully according to their importance. Between the apricot and the almond, we know not why, but probably by accident, a list of the principal writers on Pomology and those on insects hurtful to garden and forest trees, which should have come at the end, is placed.

The division upon the different kinds of grain commences with observations on agriculture and its vast influence on mankind.

The soil of Greece is then considered as the first necessary preliminary.

"The soil of Greece, excepting a few points, e. g. the Plain of the Lake Copais, the Plain of Pamisos, that of Drymalia in Naxos, &c. is in general poor and not very fertile, but the climate is excellent, and with a little industry the earth yields abundant produce."

Lime, clay, and in several places volcanic products, form the basis of the soil.

The agriculture of Greece is then considered.

"It is, in two words, almost patriarchal. The plough differs, in no respect, from that described by Hesiod ; it has not been improved for three thousand years. The earth is furrowed to the depth of about three inches and the seed is sown, so far is well. A harrow to cover the grain evenly and carry off the roots and weeds dug up by the plough, rollers, &c. are unknown. My pioneers made the peasants a small model of a harrow ; they at once perceived its value and prepared to adopt it, but many complained that they had no cattle and must still, as before, use the hand rake.

" October is the month for sowing, the field is so full of stones that they generally predominate over earth, the rains of winter come on, the plant appears above ground ; in June is the harvest, the produce generally tenfold. The corn is cut down with sickles, bound in small sheaves, and carried home upon horses, much being lost on the road among the bushes, &c. It is next thrown on a round and even place which is solid and sometimes plastered, here it is trodden by horses, less frequently oxen, driven in a circle—only in a few places, as Ajio Petro in the Morea, the corn is threshed ; then, however, only by very clumsy instruments. The grain, thus trodden out, is purified by sifting ; the short broken straw, Achera, is the usual food for horse and cattle.

" The corn is ground by water-mills ; more frequently, however, windmills are employed. The millstones are light, and impart to the flour a quantity of their sand. The addition of water to this flour, without acid, forms a dough, which is left to stand during the night, and baked on the following day. They often make a cake, a couple of inches thick, lay it on the hot part under a fire, and cover it with hot ashes ; sometimes it is baked in the same manner between two plates of iron. It is a great pleasure to them to eat this doughy cake as hot as possible.

" The greater part of the bread is made of barley ; white, wheaten bread, but always heavy and half baked, is found in the monasteries. The best white bread was formerly obtained in Hydra and at Poros. Rye bread is rarely met with, the people do not like it. Whenever horses get better food than usual on their journeys, it is barley, oats are only very seldom to be procured."

The next section is devoted to the consideration of manures, and after that the mode of improving the Grecian agriculture.

To effect this the plough must be altered, the fields manured, the rotation of crops must be attended to, for, the same grain being continually reared on the same soil, the quality becomes year after year less valuable.

Among the various means suggested by Dr. Fiedler, for turning the minds of the people into a right channel, is to take advantage of the curiosity which now prompts them to read every newspaper they can get at, and thus fill their heads with politics, by placing in their hands a periodical paper of another kind, that shall contain all matters that may interest or instruct the agriculturist.

Each kind of grain, with whatever is necessary concerning it, is then described ; after this those weeds which, if neglected, injure the crops, if rightly used are of great advantage, as affording the lightest and most natural manure. These having been described, a chapter is devoted to the method of turning them to advantage. And the section following this, describes the advantages possessed by vegetable over the more common manure.

The last-mentioned is, that "no field is so free from weeds as that in which weeds are employed for manure."

Works on manure are then mentioned, and the view of the grains is completed: Indian corn and rice occupying considerable space.

The meadow land of Greece is described, before entering upon the plants that serve as food for cattle.

Of meadow, in the strictest sense, there is none, a few plains only in Messenia or southern Arcadia, may bear that name. Even green spots are rare. The plants grow isolated, there is consequently no hay to cut, and the trodden straw, a little barley, with the dried herbs of spring, form the sole nourishment for the starving cattle.

The herbs grown for the use of cattle occupy scarcely any space—there are so few; here and there only, a field is found cultivated for the purpose, with lucerne, buck-wheat, or clover. Much is said in recommendation of attention being paid to this subject for the improvement of the labour of the cattle, also of the milk, the cheese, butter, wool, &c.

The introduction of many is recommended, and others that are indigenous, but neglected, are brought into notice.

The grasses are next described; after which are various valuable tables and estimates connected with the subject, in its practical bearings.

Vegetables and herbs, for human food, occupy the next division.

Medicinal plants, classified roughly, according to their properties and uses, are next described: few of these are popular remedies, for the people have little notion of curing themselves.

We cannot be surprised, having, in various parts of the work, seen our author's devoted confidence in the fabulous and imaginary writings of the ancients, to find him advocating the doctrine of Paracelsus, concerning the "Signature" of plants: that, when any part of a plant has, in one of its parts, similarity with any organ of the body, the plant will have a direct influence upon that organ; for example, the blossom of *Euphrasia officinalis*, appears like an eye; "its operation in certain inflammations of that organ, is *therefore* wonderful."

Among the plants used in the arts, there is little doubt which a German would place first; we accordingly find, before cotton, flax, hemp, the dyes, &c., *Nicotiana*,—tobacco. It would have been better placed among the medicinal plants, to be correct in principle, but as it was written for the smoking community, it might, consistently, have been ranked with the vegetables necessary to man. It would be superfluous to say that this subject is



thoroughly investigated, even down to the method of smoking. Witness the following quotation :

" In order to smoke properly, the head of the pipe should be correctly filled, and the whole correctly lighted. The first of these matters appears very simple, but it is not every one that understands it ;—take, with two fingers, some long fibres of tobacco, so that all the fine part falls, put it into the pipe bowl, fill it up then with tobacco of any kind, and press it down with the thumbs. A small hillock must still rise above the surface of the bowl. Take now a perfectly glowing coal (in preference to a piece of burning tinder), lay it exactly in the middle, so that the tobacco shall ignite equally below and at the sides. Having now consumed not more than half the tobacco, the rest must be knocked out, as the tobacco below has taken up some moisture, and is no longer so agreeable in scent or flavour; but it is not to be knocked out carelessly, the ignited tobacco is taken from above and placed upon the newly filled bowl, so that many, passing the greater part of the day in coffee shops, during the whole time they smoke, require but a coal to begin with. We thus see whether the pipe has been properly filled and lighted, for if not, the burning mass cannot be taken out. Poorer people smoke their pipes out to the end, but nowhere here, as in many lands, are the ashes in the pipe again lighted."

Here is the philosophy of smoking! Who will not profit by it?

The flowers of Greece are described in the last section; the uses to which flowers have been applied, in all ages, shall form our concluding extract :

" Bacchus was held by the Grecians as the God of Flowers, as well as of trees and the vine; he dwelt sometimes in Phyllis, the land of flowers, sometimes on the rose-decked Pangæon, occasionally in the rose gardens of Macedonia and Thrace, was called, therefore, Anthios, —the flowery. Before he had flowers, ivy circled his head,—Venus crowned him when he returned from India. He took the chaplet that Ariadne on Naxos had woven from the Thesëion, and walking beneath the sky at night, threw it up to the stars, where it yet shines forth.

" The Gods first made use of flowers in the form of a coronet, and Zeus himself was crowned by the other deities, after the war with the Titans. At first, therefore, flowers and chaplets were the exclusive decoration of the sacred statues, priests, sacrificers and sacrificed; they even served as an offering.

" In later times, heroes and meritorious persons were crowned, independently of the service of the altar: the victors in their games received coronets of flowers, and these sweet decorations soon formed a part of the jovial and intellectual festivals of antiquity.

" Lovers hung their chaplets at the doors of the chosen ones; crowned with flowers the plighted pair stood before the altar; crowns of flowers decorated the portals of the newly married couple. Crowned with flowers, the soldier advanced to battle; crowned with flowers, the conquerors returned. \* \* \*

"Most of these customs remain to Europeans in the present day : our churches are adorned with flowers and coronals. Flowers are the first offerings of love ; flowers give life to the wedding, the birthday, and the feast ; flowers are the last gifts that are strewed upon our graves."

Examples and anecdotes of this are given. A few works on flowers are recommended, and a list of general works on the plants of Greece concludes this volume.

In the numerous extracts we have given, it has been our desire to set before the reader, as far as possible, the means of forming a sufficient idea of the faults as well as the merits of this valuable work. The faults are very few, and in no way interfere with the work itself ; if we meet with occasional credulity, and what, to us English readers, may even appear absurdity, we soon forget it in the sound sense which forms the basis of the book. It bears the stamp of truth in every statement, and we arrive at the conclusion with a correct idea of the state of Greece, presented to us without the aid of any fictitious ornament ; there is even, if possible, too little of the latter, for the style is, perhaps, too straightforward and too independent of decoration, which the author never attempts without failing most signally. We might name several passages in illustration, the rhapsody on patriotism, for example, when speaking of the pass of Leonidas ; this, however, is, after all, a minor consideration, and none who reads Dr. Fiedler's *Travels in Greece* can close the book without feeling thankful to the author for the amusement, as well as interesting and valuable information, that it cannot fail to have afforded. We earnestly hope that it may tend to expedite the work that is evidently nearest the author's heart, the restoration of now ruined Greece to its former flourishing condition.

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ART. VI.—*Sued-oestlicher Bildersaal. I.—Der Vergnuegling. Herausgegeben vom Verfasser der Briefe eines Verstorbenen.* (The South-Eastern Picture Gallery. Vol. I.—The Voluptuary. By the Author of *Letters from One Deceased.*) Stuttgart. 1840.

AFTER an interval, we believe, of about four years, Prince Puckler-Muskau presents himself once more before the critical tribunal, in the character of author. As he is never a dull writer, and often an amusing one, a new book from his hand is always welcome. His witty highness, however, affects to look down from his aristocratic elevation, with somewhat of disdain, upon

the world of criticism; and this disdain is shown at times by a disregard for the conventional rules, by which other writers feel themselves restrained, and which, if THE PRINCE could submit to such plebeian trammels, would take nothing from the gracefulness of his effusions, and add very considerably to their value.

The present is the first volume of a series that may run to an almost indefinite length. The title implies that we shall have to accompany the author on his wanderings through the Levant to Upper Egypt, and thence to return with him and his Abyssinian protégé through Syria, Asia Minor, and Turkey. When we consider that his first instalment of pictures has brought us only to Malta, it would be somewhat rash to estimate the length to which it may please him to stretch out his gallery.

The book before us is an odd book. It is not *all* fiction; but much of it is avowedly the offspring of the author's imagination, more is evidently mere mystification, and a large portion of what remains may safely be set down as apocryphal; yet all this fanciful embroidery is worked into a plain canvas of reality, and that with so much art, that the uninitiated reader is frequently at a loss to know whether this or that thread belongs to the original groundwork, or to the gay decorations that have been insinuated into the fabric.

The work professes to relate occurrences in the author's life. We have not, indeed, a consecutive narrative of his peregrinations, and many of the occurrences related are so evidently mere fiction, that we hardly know where to draw the line between what is to be received as true, and what is at once to be deemed romance. Such a plan is more convenient to the author than to his reader, and in the end as likely to be detrimental to the fame of the former, as to the satisfaction of the latter. A book of travels, we know, often contains much that is not true; for a traveller is sometimes intentionally deceived, and sometimes misconstrues the information he receives. Against *errors*, therefore, the most careful traveller is often unable to guard himself. The reader of a book of travels, however, may at all events expect his author to steer clear of goblin stories, and incidents that might have happened to Sindbad, but have certainly not been heard of in our own prosaic days.

Our author already, in his preface, gives us a hint of the liberties which he means to take with truth. The times when beasts and birds discoursed so learnedly on morals and philosophy, are indeed gone;

"But," says the prince, "I have found that marvels enough remain for him who knows how to seek them; and there still survives *one* mighty magician, the only sovereign at whose court I ever solicited a

place. I am not one of his grandees, for Nature denied me the power to become one; but, in a little way, I labour faithfully, and do, like a good child, as well as I can. This mighty ruler is known by the name of *Phantasm*, and boundless are the limits of his realm. His emissaries fly to the black void where the light of the last star fades into darkness; the gorgeousness of the earth, the depths of the abyss, the widely-spreading ocean, the unmeasured space of heaven, the awful regions of hell,—all are subject to his sway, and every reality receives from him a new poetic vestment. It is with this magician's passport that I travel. The rising and the setting of the sun are made more beautiful by his approach; through his magic glass I contemplate every landscape; and man and beast, evil and good, are illumined by his light, and their recesses made clearer to my gaze. The beautiful grows more lovely, the horrible even acquires a charm, and day as well as night are filled with enjoyment. Now you know your guide; follow if you will."

We do *not* yet know our guide, however. The above warning gave us no idea of all the queer byways through which he intended to lead us, nor have we the least notion of the sort of dance that awaits us when we have once been persuaded to follow him to the mysterious regions of Egypt. What riddles he may put into the mouths of his sphynxes, what odd tales he may read in inscriptions that have baffled a Champollion, or what nooks and corners he may unfold to our gaze in yet unopened pyramids, are matters that we may already speculate on, though it would puzzle us to guess them.

Before we enter on the body of the book, let us say a few words on the title. In a picture-gallery there may of course be portraits and fancy pieces, allegorical groups and historical scenes, but there must be order in the arrangement, or the whole will often produce a painful effect. Should we see one of Guido's Holy Families placed between a portrait of Mephistopheles and a picture of Venus caressing Adonis, we should take it for granted that either a fool or a scoffer had presided over the distribution; but what should we say to the painter that would mingle a scripture subject, and a scene from Lewis's *Monk*, on the same canvas? Such an absence of order might be endurable in a broker's shop, but would be disgraceful in a gallery. Yet this, or something like it, is often done by our author, as we shall show before we dismiss him. There is a second title to the book, *Der Vergnügling*, a word of the Prince's own coining, and which, we feel, is but poorly rendered by the English word *Voluptuary*. The Prince would not have us look on him as the servile votary of pleasure, but rather as a *master* in the art of enjoyment; not as a slothful sybarite, who would tax the ingenuity of others to invent new entertainment for his palled senses, but as one who carries

with him a talisman, by whose aid ease and labour, luxury and privation, can alike be made sources of gratification and delight.

The book opens at a watering-place (*ein Bad*), but one whose name is unknown to the fashionable world; one to which neither Murray nor Galignani has yet published a guide. The place is called Kurbess, and lies on the northern coast of Africa, somewhere apparently near the site of ancient Carthage, though, as the Prince has made it the scene of some very marvellous events, the real site of Kurbess may be in fairy-land, a country of whose geography the world in general knows very little more than it does of the dominions ruled by Prester John. As we are favoured, however, with a lithographic engraving of Kurbess, with a meditative donkey in the foreground by way of a principal figure, we may presume this newly-discovered watering-place to have a local habitation as well as a name. At the present day, however, Kurbess is certainly not much frequented by the gay world.

"It lies on a beautiful bay, opposite to the ruins of Carthage, which are about eight leagues off; to the side is seen the roadstead of Goletta, and dimly in the horizon the towers of Tunis. A few ruins only, and some wretched huts, unprovided with any convenience, and tenanted only by Arab fishermen, stand singly along the sandy beach, behind which rises a line of black rocks. Not a tree is to be seen far or near; and every kind of vegetation, with the exception of a few evergreen shrubs, had faded to a dull grey before my arrival. How gracefully this melancholy contrast worked upon me, who had just come from the vintage on the Rhine, and from the golden harvests of Germany! I rioted in the enjoyment of privation. How easy, too, was it to observe the regimen prescribed for me, when, if I had been ever so well disposed to disobedience, I could not easily have procured any thing beyond bread, milk, eggs, an occasional roti of mutton, and a few apples. My solitude also was very nearly complete, since, with the exception of a few Arabs, there was but one guest beside myself to take the waters; just enough to make one fully conscious of one's solitude, and yet have some one to harter reflections with."

This one guest is a mysterious personage, perhaps altogether fictitious, who appears destined to play the second part in the dramatic tableaux, of which the first parcel has just been presented to us. We say the *second*, for our Prince is not the manager to assign the *first* to any but himself. He has ever been the hero of his own works, round whom the subordinate characters are grouped in a manner to withdraw no portion of public attention from the chief performer. This one guest, we are told, passed for a German, and called himself Count Erdmann, a name which, we are given to understand, was probably assumed. As the Count is one of whom we are not likely to be rid in a hurry, it may not be amiss to begin by introducing him more formally to the acquaintance of our readers.

"He appeared to be of the same age as myself, (the Prince, according to the Almanach de Gotha, is fifty-five years old,) tall, of an imposing appearance, with an agreeable voice, and may formerly have been a handsome man; but he appeared now dreadfully disfigured by the blow of a club, received in a battle with a wild horde in the interior of Africa, which blow, as it descended with full force on the very centre of his face, had obliged him to cover nearly one half of it with a large patch. This, I own, gave him at first a repulsive appearance, but his intelligent eyes and agreeable manners led me soon to forget his deformity. He was a complete illustration of that pretty saying of the Indian: 'There is an alchymy in a man's behaviour, that can turn every thing into gold.'

"Though he seemed to be rich, he lived as simply as myself, and had only one attendant, a herculean negro from Tombuctoo, whose singular costume was not less striking than the truly demoniac fire that sparkled from his eyes, and the disquieting expression of his fearfully ugly face. The only luxury that the Count allowed himself, was to convert his room, with much cost and trouble, into a kind of ornamental garden, by means of a number of beautiful aromatic plants. All this care and expense, however, was incurred for the sake of a three-legged camelion, (the animal had lost one leg in consequence of a wound,) which he fairly doted on, and always took to bed with him at night, locking it up by day in his domestic conservatory, before which the abominable negro would lie like a dog at the door to keep watch."

Such is the introductory sketch of Count Erdmann, who, we shrewdly suspect, owes his existence to the author's fancy. With this companion he gossips away the better part of the volume, many sentiments being put into the Count's mouth, of which the Prince may not always have thought it prudent or convenient to adopt the undivided responsibility. Politics, philosophy, blasphemy, and *morality*, are strangely mingled in these dialogues, which, whatever other imputations they may be liable to, contain some acute remarks, and are seldom guilty of dulness. We will give a specimen of the Count's small talk. His companion has just been making a few observations on the difficulty of taking the first step towards wisdom, by subduing prejudice.

"You are right, (replied the Count, smiling,) philosophy is a difficult study, and sure to rebound from a prejudice, like an arrow from a shield of adamant. Unless indeed the prejudice have outlived itself, and then a spirited and well-supported attack may do wonders. Just as a tower that has been secretly undermined, crumbles beneath a comparatively slight blow. It is only at such a period that a wise man would venture to encounter a prejudice; he who does so sooner, must be a fool or a saint. But the harder the battle, the greater the man, provided he be successful, for in this, as in other cases, success is the standard to go by. We see something of the same kind now going on in England, where Daniel, or rather *Samson*, O'Connell is tugging away with all his might at the ancient and venerable edifice of the British constitution. A re-

former he certainly is, but whether a Huss or a Luther, the result only can show."

A few remarks follow about radical dinners in Scotland, monk-hunting frolics in Spain, and French infernal machines, but these only serve as a preface to a well-merited compliment to Sweden,—a country in which a mighty political revolution is now in progress, but of which, as it has been unaccompanied by "glorious days" and street massacres, the journalists of the rest of Europe know about as much as they know of the court intrigues going on in the palace of his Celestial Majesty at Peking; still it is not the fault of the present review that more is not known, since we have devoted a large portion of our pages to the illustration of the land and its legends.

"Own to me (loquitur Count) that there has rarely been a nation more happy in the free choice of its sovereign, and that few monarchs have solved a difficult task more nobly or with more genuine glory than the Swedes and Bernadotte. I have a complete collection of his speeches, and have found it highly instructive to compare them with the royal speeches and proclamations delivered in other countries, from Napoleon's days down to our own. Every man called on to govern will find in those of the Swedish monarch a rich store of practical wisdom, nor will they be found useless if applied to the occurrences of daily life. I admire, I venerate a monarch, who knows his mission accurately, is resolved to fulfil it, and, without exercising any power not entrusted to him by the legitimate principles of the constitution, knows always how to choose, with as much energy as prudence, exactly those means that are most conducive to the attainment of his ends. How different the style of this King from the inflated bombast of customary common-places. Here is a passage from his last speech on closing the Diet, when, in consequence of much ill-judged opposition, he deemed a warning not superfluous:— 'The thing *most* necessary to a nation,' said the northern sage, 'is Order; the second, Love of Country; the third, Justice, not resting on the sword, but on the strength of Reason.'"

After so pompous an exordium we might have looked for some more profound remarks than those here given as a specimen of royal wisdom and eloquence. The King of Sweden is well deserving of respect; but to estimate the real value of our author's praise, it must be borne in mind, that he (not Bernadotte but Puckler-Muskau) contemplates a journey to Sweden next year. The Prince, no doubt, is perfectly disinterested in his encomiums, but we cannot altogether forget, that some years ago, when he was travelling in Egypt, and writing articles for the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, nothing could go beyond his enthusiastic admiration of Mehemet Ali.

The conversation between our hero and his mysterious friend did not always run upon such prosaic matters as the kings and

doings of this world. The Prince has just been relating an anecdote of a gross act of sacrilege committed by three foolish young men in an English church, where they played a rubber of whist, at midnight, on the communion table, with a corpse just dug from the grave by way of a dummy. The Count thinks there is nothing exactly criminal in the act, though it certainly manifests very bad taste. *Ich kann sie*, he says, *nur für eine bestialische Tollheit, aber keineswegs für ein Verbrechen ansehen*, and this opinion he supports by the argument, that to constitute a crime there must be a decided injury inflicted upon some living being. Any comment on this gross outrage, on both dead and living, which we do not believe to have occurred, of course is unnecessary. Two pages further on, we find the Count quite an admirer of the *frolic*, to which no ordinary share of courage (!) was necessary.

“ ‘ There was danger in it, great danger, even for him to whom the world of spirits is closed, and who believes only in an excitable nervous system, susceptible of feverish phantasies.’

“ ‘ How do you understand that ? ’ said I, smiling ; ‘ do you then believe with Swedenborg and Cagliostro, that there are chosen ones to whom the world of spirits is unfolded ? ’

“ ‘ Of that I know nothing,’ replied the Count carelessly, ‘ but that there are supernatural beings, who are capable of appearing to us, and of holding converse with us, under a human form,—that I certainly do believe, and that for a very simple reason, because I have more than once been in the situation myself.’ ”

In reply to some natural expressions of surprise, the Count continues :—

“ ‘ Judge for yourself. I will relate to you a fragment of my own life, from a happier period than the present. The inscrutable and mysterious world was then favourable to me, now it persecutes me, and if you knew how near it is at this moment to yourself——’

“ Just then, our antique clay lamp from the ruins of Carthage being about to expire, I saw the Count suddenly break off, and point in an authoritative manner to the door, which was behind my back. I cannot deny, that, in spite of my unbelief, a cold disagreeable feeling at this moment seemed to creep down my back, and I turned hastily and involuntarily round ; but I immediately withdrew my gaze, turning, I fear, somewhat pale, when it met the hideous glare of the negro's feline eyes, who was standing close behind me. The Count probably rebuked him or instructed him about something in a language quite unknown to me, the tones of which were singularly disagreeable, whereupon the man, crossing his arms humbly upon his breast, withdrew from the room. I could not help observing, that at the moment when he closed the door, the lamp, without any visible cause, seemed to revive, and thenceforward burned with a clear bright flame.”



The Count proceeds to tell his tale, and tells it well. He had, according to his own account, succeeded, when young, to a large but heavily encumbered estate, which, under his youthful management, soon became more heavily burthened than before. When his money and credit were exhausted, he went to the country, fell in love, and saw some wonderful sights,—but let him speak for himself. He had a little hunting-lodge in the forest inhabited by a steward, who managed the estate more for the creditors than for its owner, the latter only retaining a few rooms for an occasional residence. The only luxury he still indulged in was an aviary, in which he kept some curious birds, that were great favourites with his lady love.

“ ‘ After a joyful welcome from my honest Henry, who lived in the house, I had just thrown myself down on my sofa, opposite to which was a large open window, that commanded a view into the verdant mazes of the wood, and was abandoning myself to a host of mingled reflexions on the past, the present, and the future, when suddenly the old gamekeeper rushed into the room, and, with a look of utter consternation exclaimed : ‘ The Pasha is coming.’ ”

He goes on to explain the meaning of this exclamation. There was a legend, it seems, in the country, about some ancestor, who had turned Turk in his days, and now made his appearance once every hundred years, with a numerous retinue, bringing either good or evil fortune to those to whom he addressed himself, Whoever uttered a word to the spectre became a dead man immediately, and yet it was difficult to avoid a conversation without giving offence, the old renegade being exceedingly talkative, and as fond of putting questions as good old George the Third, of blessed memory.

“ ‘ I had of course, like a true child of these our unbelieving days, looked on all this as a silly nursery tale, and, accordingly, I laughed at the comic terror of the old hunter ; but who shall describe my astonishment, when, on turning to the window, I saw the ground in front of it swarming with life. Elephants with splendid canopies, hung round with curtains of purple and gold, from behind which hours of paradise appeared to be peeping ; camels with costly hangings, with all the paraphernalia of oriental luxury piled in baskets on their backs ; horsemen, richly clad, with turbans on their heads and scymetars by their sides, firing off, in quick succession, their richly inlaid muskets, and dashing to and fro, in martial evolutions on their Arab steeds ; golden chariots drawn by lions and tigers ; negroes, in gay attire, leading along giraffes and other animals never before seen by me ; and in the middle of the noisy rout, attended by a retinue of which I could not see the end, the Pasha himself, towering above the rest, and sparkling with such a profusion of jewels, that the eye could scarcely endure the blaze. \* \* \* In a few seconds the door of my room flew open, and the spectral Turk, attended by two of his suite, entered the apartment.’ ”

The old Turk then begins to cross-question our count, who, faithful to the rule prescribed by the legend, keeps his mouth shut, and replies only by signs, till the old fellow loses patience, bounces out of the room, and revenges himself on his taciturn host, by twisting the necks of all the rare birds in the aviary. Nevertheless, the visit on the whole has brought good luck with it, a number of fortunate events following closely upon its heels, and re-establishing the count's fortunes. The marvellous narrative at an end, the prince rallies him, and treats the tale as a fiction or a dream.

" ' Ay, truly ; a dream ; ' said the count, half aside, in a hollow tone. ' A dream ! What else is our whole life ? Would there were fewer dreams ! Ever new dreams—and the awaking often so terrible ! ' "

" Concealing his face with both his hands, as though overpowered by the violence of his feelings, he sprung up, and rushed into his chamber. I did not see him again the whole evening.

" Not only that evening, but for several days afterwards, the Count remained invisible, after which he undertook a journey of nearly equal duration among the mountains, whence he returned in excellent humour."

Now, such vagaries as these might be all very well in an avowed work of fiction, but they are a positive deformity in a book which professes to give an account of veritable occurrences.

In return for the Count's autobiographical romance, the Prince treats his companion with the communication of a humorous essay on the difficulties of being a good servant, under which denomination he includes,—ministers, generals, footmen, and " more particularly courtiers and aides-de-camp." We would fain give the essay entire, but our limited space will not allow of our doing so. He winds up a series of whimsical directions, by telling his readers that nothing is more useful for a servant who wishes to acquire all the delicacies of his profession, than to study assiduously the proceedings of a poodle dog, but warns the aspiring student not to hope ever to reach the same stage of perfection that instinct has enabled the poodle to attain, nor to flatter himself that he will ever be able to inspire his master with that warm affection which is often lavished on the accomplished model.

At nearly each interview, some fresh mystery is connected with the Count. He is taken ill. The Prince visits him, though scarcely able to support the oppressive perfumes of the conservatory bed-chamber. Here we make a nearer acquaintance with theameleon ; and if we have been taught to look on the negro as an attendant imp of darkness, the extreme docility and extraordinary intelligence of the cameleon are such, that we may take it for granted the little reptile is, at the least, a familiar spirit.

In exchange for the Count's story about the Pasha with the

endless tail, the Prince manufactures an assortment of adventures, and passes them off as having occurred to himself. This episode is by far the most tiresome part of the book, and not the less so on account of its length. It is a common-place piece of business, very little above the average of our magazine stories, and, for our own parts, we were well pleased to find the Count cut it short by going to sleep over it, which so offended the author's pride, that the fragment was allowed to remain unfinished.

One evening, the Prince, having just left the Count in bed for the night, wandered along the sea-coast, where he was not a little surprised to see him in a sort of spectral boat, in company with his ugly "nigger," and a Turkish lady. The Prince ran back to knock at the door of the Count's room, and was not surprised to find that his knocking elicited no acknowledgment from within. The other inmates of the house, however, had not seen the Count go out. The next morning the latter came to visit him, when the following is the conversation described as having ensued:—

" 'Was it you who knocked so violently at my door yesterday evening?' he asked, in an unconstrained manner. 'What was the matter?'

" 'You heard me knock then?'

" 'No, I did not, but my negro told me of it, and said he did not open the door, because I had just fallen asleep, and he feared to awaken me.'

" 'You may have your own reasons, Count,' rejoined I, 'for giving this turn to the affair; but I am sincere enough to tell you, that I saw you put off from the shore.'

" 'Saw me put off? What do you mean? In truth, I dreamed something of the kind.'

" 'Your dreams must be very vivid, for I saw you, with my own eyes, get into a boat, in company with a lady, and put out to sea.'

" 'Good Heavens! I don't understand you. Pray put an end to the jest, and explain yourself more intelligibly.'

" 'You are obstinate, but it can help you nothing. Do you wish for more details? Your negro and another servant, whom I never saw before, handled the oars, and a man completely enveloped in a red cloak sat at the helm.'

" 'At these words the Count turned as pale as a corpse. 'What is that you say? A man in a red cloak at the helm!' he exclaimed, in a suppressed tone of voice, and with evident symptoms of deep emotion. 'Impossible! Allow me to leave you a moment. I'll be with you again immediately.'

" 'He went hastily into his room, and left me alone for about a quarter of an hour, more puzzled than ever by the strangeness of his manner. When he returned, there was a remarkable expression of seriousness and resolution in his demeanour.

" 'Think what you choose,' he said, 'of the vision you have seen, but

as a well-meaning friend I entreat you, and as a man of honour I demand of you, that as long as you remain in Africa, you observe towards all men the most inviolable silence on this subject. In whatever light you choose to contemplate it, the secret is not your own, but that of another.'

" 'I will give you the promise you require, Count, with pleasure.\* \* \*

" The Count appeared moved. ' No mortal can afford me help,' he then said, with a bitter smile, ' but I am not insensible to your friendly treatment. Perhaps we shall, not the less, be brought hereafter into nearer relations to each other than we now expect, though, for your sake I do not wish it. But let us break off this theme now.' "

All this is in wretched taste, but there is more of it that is still worse. One morning the Prince awakes and learns that the Count is gone, having been fetched away by his old acquaintance the renegade, and having left a friendly note behind, containing only these words: " Adieu! the Pasha commanded me! "

Having lost so pleasant a companion, and being now himself the only remaining Badegast at Kurbess, the Prince very soon grew tired of his own society, and accordingly embarked for Malta. His account of his residence on the island, one would suppose, would be free from all these absurd spectral mysteries; but no, the Count is felt at every moment to be near him. The Prince makes a midnight excursion out to sea in an open boat, and the same spectral bark that he had seen off the coast of Africa, shoots suddenly by him. He makes up his mind to go to Greece, and, on returning to his hotel, finds a letter on his table in the Count's hand, warning him that great calamities will happen to him if he go to Greece, but that he will have every reason to be pleased with his journey if he repair to Egypt. But enough of all this impertinence. It constitutes the great defect of the book, and at every moment raises a doubt in the reader's mind, as to what he is and what he is not to believe, of what would otherwise be an amusing narrative.

On the passage to Malta, the Prince finds leisure to criticise some modern writers, and, among others, revenges himself upon Lady Morgan by pulling to pieces one of her newest effusions, winding up his philippic by expressing a strong doubt whether Lady Morgan ever had an opportunity to study *high life* anywhere else than *below stairs*.

Our author seems to have reconciled himself very easily to the confinement imposed upon him while performing quarantine at Malta. He enjoyed every possible luxury, without being under the necessity of subjecting himself to any social constraint. He there wrote, as he tells us, the greater part of the present volume; slept by day, and worked or amused himself by night; received visits at the grating of his chamber like a nun in a convent, though few

of his visitors broke in upon his solitude, for as he rarely left his bed before the evening, he was not often *at home* when his friends called. Sir Frederick Hankey, the Governor's Secretary, made his first call at nine in the morning, and was told that the Prince had just retired for the night; his next call was at three in the afternoon, and then the Prince was sleeping soundly, and could not be disturbed. "The last time that he called on me, was at about five in the evening, when my guardian (every captive in quarantine has one assigned to him) shrugged his shoulders, and said I was not up yet, which elicited from the Englishman, as I afterwards learned, a most energetic ——" but for Sir Frederick Hankey's imprecation on the visual orbs of the distinguished traveller, we must refer our readers to the book itself. "Of course," adds our author, "had I been aware of the honour intended me, I should have better known how to show my sense of it."

Our author seldom fails to take advantage of an opportunity to display his singularity. The quarantine is a kind of prison from which other men are anxious to escape at the very first opportunity. Not so our Prince. He had been working away very diligently during his imprisonment, and yet when his time was up, his self-imposed task was not accomplished.

"In the evening my guardian announced to me, with the cheerful look of one who imagines himself the bearer of agreeable tidings, that on the following morning I might be at liberty as early as I pleased. But as I was desirous of concluding the work I had in hand, and felt myself quite comfortable where I was, I completely staggered the poor fellow by applying for permission to remain in my quarters another day. Indeed, had it not been for the fear of making my singularity too conspicuous, I would gladly have spent another week in statu quo, whence I conclude that a passable prison may sometimes be very endurable, and often even to be wished for.

The first use he made of his liberty was to make an excursion out to sea, in order, we presume, not to lose the effect of the approach to Valetta by water.

"At first I passed through the whole of the quarantine harbour, I contemplated the long line of ships that lay there, among which I particularly noticed the Americans, a fine Neapolitan frigate, and a remarkably elegant French steamer; I enjoyed the neatness of the quays, the clean English look of the houses, and the fine road leading between them, animated with cavaliers and calesines. I then made my men row towards the large harbour, the first aspect of which is certainly one of the most magnificent in the whole Mediterranean. The deep broad expanse of water, with its two branches projecting far into the land,\* is

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\* There are in reality four inlets to the left, as you enter Valetta harbour from the sea. The first lies between Fort Ricasoli and the Bighi Palace; the second between the Bighi Palace and the Castle of St. Angelo; the third between the castle and Point Sanglea; and the fourth between Point Sanglea and the race course.

completely encircled by strong forts, splendid palaces, and the four towns, which together form the capital, Valetta lying to the right, and Vittoriosa, Isola and Burmola to the left. Valetta, the most considerable, and which frequently gives its name to the whole, rises boldly along the side of its rocky mountain, with orange groves upon its terraces, and the whole crowned by several steeples, by the long arcades of a public walk, and by a temple, erected in the antique style, as a monument to General Abercromby. The other three towns project into the harbour, and thus form the two inlets described above.\* The points of the triangles are protected by two rocky forts, of which one commands the entrance to the harbour. \* \* \*

"I landed at the custom-house, mounted several hundred broad steps, and was struck by the stately appearance of the straight macadamized streets, with their palace-like houses, and the side pavements introduced by the English. The alberghi, as they are called, of the ancient knights, are particularly conspicuous, and would be deemed an ornament even in Rome or Florence. Though I cannot participate in the ecstasy of the *Contemporaine*, who declares Malta the finest city in the world, I certainly think that, full as it is of historical recollections, its appearance at once rich and singular, cannot fail to strike a stranger, particularly if he happen to arrive from Africa. \* \* \*

"People are exceedingly hospitable at Malta, and I spent scarcely a day there on which I was not invited out to dinner. Good cheer and good wines are more esteemed and better understood than in larger cities. I speak of the English, for all the principal civil and military employés are English, the impoverished Maltese living very retired, I may almost say concealed, in their palaces, where they receive neither foreign travellers nor foreign conquerors. To the latter, however, they have no objection to come when invited, and I had therefore many opportunities of seeing some very delightful women from among the natives, but also many singularly antiquated figures. \* \* \*

"The revenues of Malta are at present sufficient to defray the whole charge of the administration, though, according to English custom, the salaries are high. The expense amounts to £90,000 a year, after paying which the government has a surplus of £10,000. Most of the public officers live in palaces, the like of which one would vainly look for in Downing-street, and the island itself, with its twenty-two casals or town-like villages, is one of the most populous in the world. The taxes are complained of as exorbitantly high, but in what part of Europe is that not the case? \* \* \*

"When I came to walk about the town, that I might become better acquainted with its peculiarities, I was surprised to see that the finest buildings, particularly the alberghi, mentioned above, were disagreeably disfigured by the defacement of the armorial bearings that had formerly adorned them. This piece of Vandalism was committed by the French, and presents a melancholy contrast to the more generous con-

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\* Burmola does not project into the harbour. It is Fort Ricasoli that commands the entrance.

duct of the Turks, who, after the sanguinary capture of Rhodes, dearly as it cost them, respected all the arms, insignia and inscriptions on the public buildings of the valiant knights, so that many have been preserved to the present day. Considering the low price of labour, and the skill of the Maltese stone cutters, I am surprised that the English government, or even some governor out of his private funds, should not have effaced this blemish by restoring the ancient ornaments. It would be creditable to the country, and would command the gratitude of every cultivated mind, for these armorial bearings, in their proper place, independently of the romantic and architectural, have also an historical value."

The ruined condition of these knightly escutcheons is not without a valuable political moral, but their restoration would be far from removing from Valetta every visible trace of Gallic Vandalism and rapacity. The Church of San Giovanni was once resplendent with ornaments of gold and silver, but the French, during their brief occupation, found means to appropriate all such convertible materials, with the exception of a large silver screen, for the preservation of which the church is indebted to the ingenuity of an attendant, who, by covering the precious metal with a coating of paint, concealed its value, and preserved it from the disinterested apostles of liberty and equality. These acts of plunder were the more disgraceful to the French, since Malta became theirs, not by conquest, but by capitulation, or, as Prince Puckler Muskau denominates it, perhaps more correctly, by treason.

The Prince was evidently made a lion of during his stay in Malta. Invitations followed each other in quick succession, and a large part of this portion of his book is occupied with an account of the dinners, balls and pleasure excursions with which he was entertained. He seems to have profited so far by former rebukes as to have restrained his satirical humour when he mentions the names of his hosts; the shafts of ridicule are mostly levelled only against an incognito, and where a name is given at full length, it is invariably accompanied by encomiums. His social sketches are often amusing enough, but as the space which we can devote to the book, owing to the lateness at which it reached us, is necessarily limited, we shall confine the few extracts we can still make to matters of more importance.

He was invited, by Sir Thomas Briggs, to inspect the arsenal.

"Here we were certain there would not be wanting English cleanliness, order, and an arrangement combining elegance with a strict view to the end to be aimed at. It produced a singular effect to see a ropewalk seven hundred and twenty feet in length, in an upper floor, with a place as large as a riding-school, extending over the neighbouring houses, for making and repairing sails. The vaulted work-rooms, lofty and well-aired, were

all provided with iron doors, to prevent the extension of any fire that might happen to break out. Iron, indeed, is employed as much as possible, even the tar barrels being composed of that metal. The nails, well assorted, are kept in large sacks, and the sheets of copper are piled up crossways, with as much neatness as so many quires of writing-paper. The workmen are well paid. Those sent out from England receive 5s. 6d. a day, the Maltese 3s. to 4s."

After a breakfast given by the director, the party went on board the steam frigate *Medea*, and thence to the *Caledonia*, of one hundred and twenty guns.

"I was received with military honours, and the captain, a jovial old gentleman, was certainly a most entertaining Cicerone. The *Caledonia* is two hundred and forty feet long, fifty-five broad, and her mainmast is two hundred feet high. She draws twenty-five feet water, and rises thirty-five feet out of it. All this is given in round numbers. The two lower decks were lofty enough to allow of my walking along them without stooping, which is not the case with the *Montebello*, the crack-ship of the French navy, that I had inspected some time previously. The admiral's ship has nearly a thousand men on board, including marines; and the exemplary order and neatness that prevail everywhere cannot be too much admired. There was comfort everywhere, and in many places even luxury and refinement; yet the captain assured me, that, by night or by day, seven minutes were always sufficient to get the ship ready for action, with ammunition for forty broadsides on every deck. In the front part of the ship, the arsenal was arranged with surprising taste; not only the arms were hung up in a manner to form a multitude of figures and devices, but even the nails had been so distributed as to form inscriptions, among which I immediately noticed the immortal Nelson's last signal, on the morning of the battle of Trafalgar: *England expects every man to do his duty*. Under the arsenal is the cistern, with five hundred tons of water; and by the side of the latter were stored up the six months' supply of provisions. Even the hospital deserves to be praised, for its scrupulous cleanliness, and its elegance combined with convenience. Nor was a library wanting, for the amusement of the sick. A spirit of liberality breathes through all the arrangements of the British navy. For breakfast, the men are allowed a pint of chocolate; for dinner, a good rich soup, with vegetables, a pound of meat, and a pint of rum, bread and cheese *à discretion*; in the evening, tea, &c.\* These allowances are so abundant, that they cannot be all consumed; and the admiral assured me himself, that at Malta alone 4000 cwt. of rations for the fleet remained undrawn every quarter of a year, for the amount of which the crews were indemnified in money. A ship like the *Caledonia* is a little world in itself, and few objects afford so imposing a standard for

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\* There are not many of our readers who will not immediately detect the inaccuracy of these statements with respect to sailors' rations. A pint of spirits would be an extravagant allowance; but at a station like Malta, a pint of wine is generally allowed instead of rum. Nothing is *à discretion*. Jack is liberally supplied, but every thing is weighed out to him.



estimating the progress which civilization has made in our time. When we left the vessel, I received the compliment, by order of the admiral, of a salute of fifteen guns.

"The *Canopus*, eighty-four, having been just painted, appeared even smarter than the *Caledonia*, though less gigantic. This was originally a French vessel, and was taken by Nelson, at Aboukir, where the English had not a single vessel of the line of more than seventy-four guns. My visit to the *Vernon* frigate, however, afforded me most interest. This vessel, built by Captain Symonds, is the first specimen of a new system of naval architecture. She is constructed nearly in the form of a dolphin, broader at one end than at the other; and as her keel runs out sharply from her bottom, she draws less water than other vessels of the same class. She is a large frigate, and might, at a pinch, be matched against a ship of the line. She carries fifty thirty-two-pounders; and her upper deck is fifty-two feet broad, being nearly the same breadth as that of the *Caledonia*. By order of government, the *Vernon* is frequently matched against other frigates, to try her comparative sailing qualities, under various circumstances of wind and weather; for many old and distinguished naval officers are still opposed to the new principle of architecture. Opinions are very much divided; but the result of the experiments hitherto made seems to be, that the *Vernon* takes the lead before a strong wind, but when the wind is moderate, other ships can beat her."

After inspecting a few of the wooden walls of Old England, the Prince visited the naval hospital, on shore, a splendid building, which elicits his warmest commendations, though he condemns the external architecture; but, when speaking of the munificent spirit that reigns throughout all the internal arrangements, he is untiring in his praises. The barracks for the garrison, likewise, excite the Prince's admiration, and these are matters of which a Prussian of high rank may be supposed to know something. Here, however, as on board of the men of war, his remarks are superficial, and on more than one point he has misunderstood the information given him.

In almost every respect he considers the treatment of the British soldier more liberal and humane than that which prevails in the Prussian army. He more particularly instances the facility with which every private English soldier obtains access to the commanding officer of his regiment, in case of having any remonstrance or complaint to bring forward. In Prussia the very reverse appears to be the case. There, we are told, "if a captain have any representation to make to the commanding officer, he must first obtain his major's permission; the senior lieutenant must first obtain his captain's permission; after which the captain must apply to the major, and so on. But what trouble is not the poor private subjected to, before he can obtain such a favour. First, his application must be made to his corporal, then to his

serjeant, then to his ensign, then to his lieutenant, and so along all the steps of the ladder ; so that it is often a week's work for the soldier to get leave to speak with the commander of his regiment, HIS FATHER, as many of these gentlemen are wont so sentimentally to denominate themselves. I am aware that many objections will be made to the English plan. Some will say that our people are not sufficiently enlightened for it ; the same argument which was formerly employed in our country (and, singularly enough, still is by the English) against the abolition of flogging."

It is strange, that after an occupation of nearly forty years, nothing has yet been done to Anglify the population of Malta, an end that might easily have been attained by the establishment of a good English college at Valetta, with two or three well conducted English public schools. Up to the present moment scarcely anything has been done to nationalize the island, and in the courts of justice, advocates are allowed to plead in Italian before an English judge, though Italian is quite as much a foreign idiom to the natives as English would be. At one of his visits to the court of justice, our author was not a little diverted to hear an English attorney-general replying in his own language to the bad Italian of a little Maltese lawyer, while the jury were listening very gravely to the eloquence of both, without rightly understanding the drift of either.

We have a spirited description of a storm, during which the Prince crossed over to the neighbouring island of Gozo, in an open boat.

" I had brought with me from Malta a letter of introduction to Mr. Somerville, the Civil Chief of Gozo, who visited me about noon, and volunteered, in the most friendly manner, to accompany me as my cicerone, on the tour which I proposed to make round the island, in order to inspect its antiquities. Nobody could be better suited to the office than Mr. Somerville, himself a distinguished and enthusiastic antiquarian, who had formerly resided, as vice-consul, at Tripoli. We first started for the castle, of which the antiquities have mostly vanished, and which would now offer little to interest the stranger, were it not for the beautiful prospect it commands over the whole island. Gozo is so fertile, and so carefully cultivated, that, though it comprises a surface of less than one and a half German square miles, it supports 16,000 inhabitants, and yet even within this limited extent there are many tracts of naked rocks. The fields, as in Malta, are fenced with stone walls, but, not being so high, do not mask the view. Trees, I am sorry to say, are seen as little in one island as in the other. The ground is covered by tolerably elevated hills, nearly all of equal height, with flat summits, that present a most singular appearance, and owe their origin probably to an earthquake. In the centre of these earthly bubbles, there arises one mountain with a peak, apparently a spent volcano. The basis is mostly chalk or sand-

stone, forming a steep, broken, romantic line of coast, that often rises from the sea to a perpendicular height of six hundred feet. On one of the loftiest of these rocks, the remains of a Roman road are found, breaking suddenly off on the verge of the sea, showing that some great revolution of nature must have destroyed a portion of the island, even during the Roman domination. Many even believe that Malta and Gozo were at one time connected with the African coast. \* \* \* Under the Romans, Gozo was a little independent republic (*municipium*) under the name of Gaulus, and enjoyed the right of coining money; some specimens of the ancient coins, which are frequently found, were presented to me by Mr. Somerville."

A couple of days of rainy weather confined our author to his inn, where he amused himself with a few volumes of the *Saturday Magazine* that constituted the library of his host. This affords him a theme for some very just remarks on the beneficial effects of the better kind of the cheap periodicals, that have exercised, no doubt, a powerful influence, of late years, by greatly augmenting the mass of the reading public. The first fine day was taken advantage of, to make an excursion to the Giant's Tower, as it is called, a Phœnician temple of much interest. The building is supposed to owe its name to the enormous size of the stones that compose it. Antiquarians believe it to have been a temple of Astarte, the Venus of the Phœnicians.

"By a series of excavations, undertaken chiefly by Mr. Somerville, from 1821 to 1823, the whole form of the edifice has been laid open, and has been found to cover a space of not less than 1600 square feet. It is deeply to be deplored, indeed severely to be censured, that, from a motive of petty economy, the government should have left its work incomplete, and not even have incurred the expense of an enclosure. The melancholy consequence has been, that a monument of the most remote antiquity, one the fellow of which might vainly be sought throughout the world, has already been robbed of some of its most beautiful ornaments, while many of the colossal stones of which it is composed, have been broken up and carried away by the inhabitants, in order to be applied to the construction of their huts. In a little beggarly German state such a thing might admit of an apology, but in a country subject to Great Britain it is truly disgraceful!"

A tolerably elaborate description of the temple follows, for which, however, we cannot spare room. The enormous size of the stones employed in the construction, leads the Prince to make the remark, that, as no material of the kind is to be found in the vicinity, the whole must have been conveyed to the spot at an enormous expense of labour; "it is therefore not to be doubted," he adds, "that in those days men must have been acquainted with mechanical means of transport, of which the knowledge has been lost to their descendants; at the present day, all the revenues of Malta would be insufficient to cover the expense of such a building."

Another remarkable specimen of ancient architecture existed in Gozo a few years ago, and was supposed to date back to the same period as the one just spoken of. It was for the most part below the level of the earth, and was believed to have composed one or more tombs. Many highly interesting antiques had been found there, and "Mr. Somerville suggested to government the expediency of buying the ground, which might have been done for a few hundred colonati. An offer was made to the owner, of one hundred colonati less than he asked; this offer was refused, and the negociation fell to the ground. Since then the whole has been destroyed, and when we visited the spot, we found several workmen engaged in breaking up the two last remaining columns. Is not this Vandalism?"

The island of Gozo has often been supposed to have formed the fairy realm of Calypso. A cavern by the sea-side, still shown to strangers as her grotto, does not, however, present any thing deserving of remark.

Intellectual cultivation appears to be at a low level in Malta. There is a public library, and its contents are said to be valuable, but the librarian, it would appear, considers his appointment a sinecure, and reserves the books for his own use or that of his friends. No less than six times during his stay in the island, did Prince Puckler Muskau endeavour to obtain admission there, but the jealous guardian of the literary harem was not to be induced to admit the stranger into its concealed recesses. The few book-sellers' shops were vainly ransacked in search of a guide-book, nor was there any where to be met with such a work as a History of the Knights of Malta; "but what I thought most marvellous was, the utter impossibility, in spite of all my efforts, of meeting with such a thing as a map of Greece, a map of the Turkish empire, or even a general map of Europe!"

We have endeavoured in these few pages to present our readers with as fair an abstract as we could, of a book which might have served as a favourable introduction for a new author, but which will certainly not improve the literary reputation of the "Deceased," as he is frequently called by the German press. The account of the author's stay at Malta is by far the best part of the work, but even that is disfigured by the constantly recurring apparition of the mysterious Count. This introduction of a supernatural agency into a modern book of travels has an indescribably silly effect, and naturally awakens a most uncomfortable suspicion as to the extent to which the author may have allowed his imagination to furnish embellishments to his narrative.

- ART. VI.—1. *Acts of the Governor and Council of Liberia.* 1839.  
 2. *Liberia Herald.* Volume IX. Monrovia. West Africa. 1840.  
 3. *Life of Jehudi Ashmun.* By Ralph Randolph Gurley. Washington. 8vo. 1835.  
 4. *Speeches concerning Liberia, at the Anti-Slavery Convention.* The Anti-Slavery Reporter, London, July 15, August 12, and September 9, 1840; and *Clarkson's Letter*, ib. 23 Sept.

THE civilized settlements called *Liberia*, in West Africa, now firmly established along about 300 miles of coast between Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle, with a considerable territory, at some points forty miles inland, with an African trade, and a moral influence of far greater extent, were founded in 1821, by an unchartered society of American citizens, for free coloured people from the United States, and for free native Africans. Of the last, some are people from the neighbouring tribes, and others are prize slaves, liberated by the government of the United States, and sent to Liberia, in order to be provided for, if they cannot at once be restored to their homes. For this purpose money has long been annually voted by Congress; and the legislatures of particular States have, from time to time, made grants in aid of the resources of one or more of the settlements at Liberia, whose political existence, however, is only recognized in this way by the supreme authorities of America. The principal funds arise from subscriptions by white people, but there are also some local taxes.

The ships of war of the United States are appointed, occasionally, to visit them; but their constitutions have sprung from the will of the voluntary bodies called Colonization Societies, formed since 1816, in various States, and from the consent of the settlers.

Although there is nothing in the constitution of the United States to prevent a colonial settlement, or new *territory*, to be founded beyond sea, such is not yet the character of Liberia, which has hitherto been assuming rather the form of a new people than that of a colony belonging to an old one. Nevertheless African produce from Liberia is admitted into American ports as domestic.

Contemplating similar proceedings, in point of nationality, in Texas, at Natal in South Eastern Africa, and up the Niger, the proceedings at Liberia have a peculiar interest, and the considerable success of those proceedings here, in spite of great obstacles, calls for a careful examination of the means which have produced this good result. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that these

settlements from the first, although observed with friendly solicitude by many eminent persons\* in Great Britain, have attracted less notice than their relative importance demands from the government of this country, from the philanthropist, and from the public at large. Not to impute indifference on such a subject so widely without some proof, we refer to negative facts proper to support a charge of this grave kind. In all the inquiries by Parliament, and in all the communications made by the Crown to both houses upon the slave trade, and upon colonial administration, in reference to coloured people, numerous as they have been in the last nineteen years, there is to be found no evidence of any systematic intercourse between them and our West African colonies, or our fleets of cruisers perpetually sailing near the steadily increasing settlements of Liberia, although such communications would not fail to be eminently useful, since the condition of things under our West African policy by no means justifies a disregard of convenient means of improving it. However important the services which have been rendered occasionally by British officers to Liberia, and which have always been well received, the systematic intercourse so much needed either has not been encouraged by our government, or it has been treated as too insignificant a matter to be laid before parliament.

Again, in regard to the lessons to be learned by the philanthropists from Liberia,—in Sir T. Fowell Buxton's writings, in support of his plan for civilizing Africa, by what Lord Ashley† pithily described to be "*government without dominion*," but which we venture to designate as, *dominion without government*, no details are given in those writings to show the peculiar character of the most extensive territories ever settled by civilized people with the former express principle for their chief rule. This omission is the more striking, since the American Liberia and the British Sierra Leone, founded for the same benevolent objects, have notoriously had the most contrary results, and must of necessity offer useful points of comparison, in order that the proved good and bad courses of proceedings be respectively adopted and rejected in the new benevolent settlements at present projected for Western Africa by Sir T. F. Buxton and his friends. An equally important body of philanthropists, the *Anti-slavery Convention*, comprizing above 500 individuals from all parts of the world, met in London in June last, inserted *Liberia* in the programme of their inquiries; but by no means did the topic justice, "the

\* One of the settlements at Liberia is called after the name of Lord Bexley, a liberal supporter of the original Colonization Society, and Edina is another name of a settlement, in compliment to other contributors in Edinburgh.

† At the meeting in Exeter Hall, presided over by Prince Albert.

*pora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*, is an old motto eminently applicable to our times; and we trust confidently to the good feeling and strong sense of the white millions of America to rescue them from their present false position, as vindicators of the rights of man and equality, which they will not allow to be universal. It is because its fatal influence fosters prejudices which tend to make amalgamation difficult—thus we lament two radical faults committed by the founders of Liberia; 1st, in treating the coloured people of the United States as not living in *their own country*—but as belonging to Africa, whither, upon that theory, all of them ought to be taken; and 2dly, in encouraging at Liberia the prohibition of whites to settle there. For the millions of coloured men now in America, who will never, as we believe, by any persuasion, or any circumstances, be induced to go away, the American homes ought to be made not only tolerable but productive of every good prospect; and every white trader, or other white man who might happen to wish to become a citizen of Liberia, ought to be freely received.

With these large admissions to the abolitionists in favour of the American blacks, we are prepared as largely to defend Liberia as it stands, *a signal proof of the African's capacity to be a citizen of a free state*. There is one grave charge, which we are persuaded was made under an incorrect view of facts, we mean the assertion of an eminent abolitionist upon the authority of a naval officer, that "the slave-trade is carried on at Liberia *without any hindrance*."—(*Proceedings at the Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 208.) This charge was made on the authority of one naval officer; but it was directly contradicted by the favourable testimony of another just returned from the country in question, (*ib.* p. 173.) *Although slaving on this coast still defies controul at Liberia, as it long did at Sierra Leone*, it has been encouraged by individual colonists in spite of the government, not with its assent.

Again, that on the whole, *in the United States*, the colonization proceedings have been exceedingly mischievous, as is argued by some parties, we believe; but this is a complex question, which will not now be entered upon further than by the remark, that if the settlements at Liberia have exhibited the capacity of coloured men for self-government under difficult circumstances in a good light, as we also believe they have done, then a fact is established, which will go far to remove all doubts as to the equality of the races; and this is a great point to be set to the credit of the American founders of Liberia, against the fearful evils which have attended the experiment.

In January, 1822, after various attempts had been made to settle some of the people of colour of the United States in Africa,

the agent of the Colonization Society purchased from the natives a tract of land, including Cape Montserado, in lat. 6 N. long. 11 W. on the west coast, for the first settlement. With much trouble, arising from "the duplicity of the natives," who soon began to oppose the settlers, a small party obtained possession of their purchase, after a slight contest; and in a few months the agents, two whites, having been obliged by ill health to quit the country, this first party, 100 in number, was left under the directions of a man of colour, Elijah Johnson. In August, 1822, before any further hostilities had taken place, a few more settlers arrived, making 130 in all, of whom 35 only could bear arms, and 18 of the new emigrants were liberated Africans; but with the small reinforcement came one of those extraordinary men whom nature fashions for great emergencies. This individual, Jehudi Ashmun, accompanied this second party upon a trading speculation on his own account, with charge of the party for the voyage, and a commission to stay as governor of the settlement, till released, in case the first white agents should be absent.

It was through an extraordinary course of events that Ashmun was become an African trader, and the chief functionary in Liberia. He was born in Champlain, in the State of New York, in 1794, of a respectable family, but with moderate fortune; and the condition upon which he was permitted at his earnest entreaty to have a classical education, was, that the expense of it should be mainly defrayed by his own exertions. He distinguished himself as a student; and derived much benefit from a debating society which he attended. He gave instruction at a school to obtain assistance in discharging his college dues; passed some time in early youth in the office of an attorney, with a view to practising the law; and at nineteen the turn of his mind was decidedly religious, and his hopes were bent upon following the examples of Schwartz, Van Der Kemp, and Brainerd, as a missionary to the heathen. At this period he was unrivalled in talents and literary acquirements of every kind, whilst the energy of his character was exhibited by the ability and spirit with which he organized and commanded a body of volunteers to resist the invading British army on Lake Champlain in the last war. In 1816 he concluded his studies at college with great distinction. From this period for three years he mainly contributed to the success of a theological institution in the State of Maine, which owed its foundation to him, and in which he held the professorship of classical literature until April, 1819. An essay which he wrote at this period, to induce the trustees of the institution to give it an enlarged and permanent character, "proves," says his respectable biographer, Mr. Gurley, "how comprehensively he was accustomed to survey, at this early age, human nature and human affairs." (*Life*, p. 33.)



As a licensed preacher he was now also distinguished for zeal and fervour. Some unhappy involvements in affairs of the heart, not very clearly explained by Mr. Gurley, alienated the friends of Ashmun, and banished him, with a young wife, in poverty from Maine to Baltimore. We infer from the details in the life before us, that nothing criminal had occurred; but that the prudent maxim, to be sure to be well rid of the old love, before you take on with a new, was not sufficiently observed upon this occasion. After three years of extreme and anxious difficulty, he plunged into a commercial speculation to Africa, in order to get wealth to pay his debts. He had failed in an attempt to open a school at Baltimore, after incurring the expense of hiring a house, and issuing public proposals for that object. A second failure in a weekly paper of a religious and missionary character added to his perplexities. A third undertaking, the establishment of the Theological Repertory, had better success, but ultimately led him into too extensive pecuniary engagements, which, with liabilities on other accounts, made the African expedition a last resource. In the pages of the Repertory, Ashmun reviewed the proceedings of the Colonization Society, and although he admitted that to some persons, "superficial observers," its object was of *limited and even questionable utility*, "he insisted that its beneficial consequences might be traced up to the highest pitch of moral magnificence." This eulogy he justified by his own agency in the enterprise.

At Baltimore, Mr. Ashmun had attached himself to the episcopal church of the United States, and so highly was he esteemed that a bishop of that church expressed himself willing to make an exception in his case to the ecclesiastical rule, which disqualified a candidate from holy orders, if placed in his circumstances. Having published an important volume, the life of the Rev. Samuel Bacon, who was a martyr to his zeal for African civilization, and died on the west coast, Ashmun became more intimate with the prospects of Africa. This volume did not sell, and its failure adding to other increasing difficulties, aggravated by disputes with his colleagues in the Repertory, he finally determined to go thither for a commercial purpose. We have seen the critical state of the infant settlement at Cape Montserado at his arrival in 1822; and he at once commenced operations to save it.

Finding the agents gone, he assumed the government, and his first act was, we believe, unprecedented in all colonial history: it was the opening of a record of all important transactions, which all might consult, and of which copies were sent home.

"This journal," says he in the first page, "I judged fit to open on the day of my landing, and intend that a copy of it shall always remain in

the colony, open for public inspection and use ; and a duplicate, agreeing with the former even to the paging, shall be from time to time sent home to the board, as the best and only effectual means of keeping them fully informed of what passes in the settlement."—*Life*, p. 124.

The man who could establish this daily watch upon his administration deserves all the success Ashmun enjoyed, and it is almost unnecessary to add that he advocated a newspaper being published in the colony, which however was not effected till 1830. He next attempted to enter into friendly relations with the neighbouring chiefs, some of whom sent their sons and others to labour and be taught with the settlers. But it was necessary to prepare for the defence of the new town against a ferocious and unprovoked attack, which Ashmun did with a degree of vigour and ability rarely equalled and never surpassed. During two months, rough but effective fortifications were constructed for the half-dozen cannon fit for use; the heavy surrounding forest cut in front of the lines ; and the little force of thirty-five musketeers marshalled for battle. Pending these preparations in the midst of the rainy season, disease afflicted the settlement. The devoted wife of Mr. Ashmun, the only other white in it, died ; and he himself recovered with great difficulty from the fever. At length, early in November, it was ascertained that the hostile chiefs had resolved upon their measures. On the 7th, intelligence was received of an intended attack in four days, the plan being left to the head warriors and concealed. Until the 10th, every night was passed by the settlers on watch. The enemy from at least 700 to 900 strong was in motion ; and at sun-rise they surprised an advanced post. But their avidity for plunder was their ruin ; and whilst they were occupied in plundering, the settlers rallied. The cannon produced an awful effect on the assailants.

"Imagination," says Mr. Ashmun in his despatches, "can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more effectual state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare. 800 men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder presenting a breadth of rank equal to 20 or 30 men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, at only thirty to sixty yards distance ! Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh ! The fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away, and the whole host disappeared."—*Life*, p. 139.

The settlers lost several of their men and two women ; and seven children were carried off by the assailants. Some of the natives soon became friendly ; but peace was not restored until after a second attack on the 30th of November failed with great loss. On this occasion the settlers had but one man killed ; and Mr. Ashmun escaped, although his clothes were pierced by three

bullets. Happily, Major Laing, the English traveller, casually visited Liberia a few days after these events, and by his considerate and active influence, peace was made between the Americans and the natives. He also consented to a midshipman, Mr. Gordon, and eleven seamen volunteering to remain to help defend the settlement. Eight of these brave men, with their gallant officer, soon sank under the effects of the climate, upon which occasion, Mr. Ashmun said, in his report of their deaths to Lieutenant Rotheray of the British navy,

"To express the grief I feel, that a measure so full of benevolence as the leaving this little force with us, should have so disastrous an issue, it is superfluous to attempt, as I should but wrong my own feelings. We have derived from the presence of these unfortunate men a great benefit. It assisted in a powerful manner to allay the warlike spirit of the natives, inspired a fresh spirit of resolution into our people, and relieved them for nearly three weeks from a part of their almost insupportable burthens. I shall rest it with the honour of my government, to make such an acknowledgement of the favours rendered by the officers and other agents of yours along this coast, as justice and a proper estimate of the beneficial influence of international favours given or received, plainly indicate."—*Life*, p. 152.

For the six following months Mr. Ashmun performed all the arduous duties of his station most exemplarily, himself the only white resident in the little colony; never sparing himself in any point to make it independent and respectable, and always urging with great earnestness his principals at home to send over a supply of civil, medical, and missionary helps, proportioned to the number of the proposed emigrants.

In order to induce his government to promote the abolition of the slave trade, he described all its horrors in his despatches.

"King Boatswain," says he in one of them, "was paid for some young slaves, and he makes it a point of honour to be punctual. Not having the slaves, he singled out a small agricultural trading tribe of most inoffensive character for his victims. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants, accomplished the annihilation of the whole tribe. Every adult man and woman was murdered, every hut fired; very young children generally shared the fate of their parents. The boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the trader."

On another occasion, Ashmun headed a party which destroyed the most extensive slaving establishment on the whole coast, blowing it up with 2,500 barrels of gunpowder deposited there for the trade. He was temporarily relieved from official labours by the arrival of a new agent from the United States, but resumed the duties of the chief post at the departure of that gentleman ill. During the interval, (from May to December, 1823), Ashmun

returned to his books with extraordinary vigour; he determined to study law as a profession, and in his private journal he says,—

“While going through the first volume of Blackstone, I read Junius, the History of England by Anquetil, Dr. Robertson’s America, the third volume of Marshall’s Life of Washington, Hamilton’s political writings, a part of Robertson’s Scotland, Voltaire’s Essays, the Pioneers, and Madame de Stael’s Delphine in French; besides a variety of historical and political tracts.”

These studies were facilitated by the provision of a *good library*, being part of the original plan, in Liberia.

In December, 1823, the new agent departed, leaving him again governor of the settlement, but without a regular commission. In this second command fresh difficulties arose. Bills drawn at a former period for the public service, at a time of extreme need, were returned by the Society unpaid. Ashmun’s pecuniary vexations in the United States had excited distrust against his integrity; his exertions in Africa were not duly appreciated; and his arrangements in regard to the allotment of land among the settlers, a capital point in a new colony, were disturbed.

The constitution of Liberia at this period excluded them from a sufficient share in the administration, which, added to the public misfortunes, render it little surprising that the discontents of the people should have nearly amounted to rebellion. The discredit unjustly attached to Mr. Ashmun by his principals, gave a personal direction to the popular discontent, and the gravest charges were sent home against him.

Broken in health, and thwarted in his government, he left the settlement for a short period, until his appeals to the United States could be heard. At the Cape de Verd he met a commissioner, sent from Washington to settle the discontents of the people at Liberia. One of the charges against him was, that he had absconded with the public money. He met it by at once returning to the colony, where his full explanations, and a sudden turn in the popular feeling, convinced the commissioner of his unblemished integrity, no less than of his admirable qualities as a governor. Nevertheless, the favourable report of this gentleman, the author of the life before us, whose sagacity and candour on this occasion deserve to be mentioned in the highest terms of respect, was ill received in America, where calumny was still doing its last bad work. Soon, however, justice was done to Ashmun, and among the individuals the most eager to do it was found in particular an honest man, who, led by his unfortunate convictions before, had been one of his severest judges, but now joined as zealously to acquit him and do him honour.

Mr. Ashmun was much aided by the commissioner, Mr. Gurley, in reframing the constitution of Liberia in 1824; and to the

*popular* character, which it now for the first time assumed, and has ever since maintained, we attach very great importance. Generally speaking, discontent has been banished from the country from this period. There have been great difficulties, much speculation at more recent periods, unhappy disputes with the natives, and even slaving; but civil dissensions have ceased, and settlement after settlement has been founded upon the *popular* model with steadily increasing success. This is a most important point; and it deserves a more detailed examination than can be afforded it in these pages. It is the more important also as Mr. Ashmun himself began by doubting the qualifications of the coloured people for a share in the concerns of the government—(*Life*, 214). But after a sufficient time of trial, he says of the improved plan—

“The participation of the magistrates and council in the deliberations of the agent, and the administration of justice, has tended to form the individual officers to a modesty of deportment and opinion which they never manifested before, and to secure to the government the united support of the people. Our laws and regulations are multiplied with a most cautious regard to the exigencies to be provided for; but once established, they are conscientiously carried into complete effect. I witness, with the highest pleasure, an increasing sense of the sacredness of law—and as far as I know, the feeling is universal. The system of government has proved itself practicable.”—*Life*, p. 231.

Schools were increased, emigration from the neighbouring tribes extended, trade into the interior and coastwise improved, and communication with the chiefs became more and more satisfactory.

At a second visit which Mr. Ashmun paid to Sierra Leone, after the success of his administration had established his name in high repute in Western Africa, he made interesting suggestions to the governor respecting “the mutual advantages to be expected from a more cherished and intimate commercial intercourse than had yet been cultivated.” It appeared that orders in council interfered with such intercourse; and we are induced to make a long quotation from Mr. Ashmun’s letters on this occasion, inasmuch as it is part of Sir T. F. Buxton’s remedy for the ills that affect Africa, to adopt the *free-port* principle advocated by the American philanthropist on this very spot so many years ago.

“In a third letter to Sir Neil Campbell, Mr. Ashmun expresses the hope that the object of an unrestricted trade may be viewed as of such interest, not to Liberia only, but to Sierra Leone, as to authorize a particular representation to his Britannic Majesty’s government. He informed his excellency, that Liberia could not be viewed as a colony of the United States; that it had sprung up under the protecting care of a benevolent society; ‘that individuals could be named, to whose coun-

cils and influence the settlements of Liberia in part owe their origin, whose splendid talents, moral worth, and high official rank, make them conspicuous amongst the brightest ornaments of Great Britain and continental Europe ;' that the constitution of this colony was designed to prepare the people for all the rights and privileges of self-government ; ' and the ultimate and permanent object of the establishment, the improvement and benefit of the African race ;' and in conclusion observes,

" ' This explanation of the character and intention of the establishment of Liberia, will, I flatter myself, clear the *main* proposition which I have the honour to submit in these papers, from all objections arising out of the supposed political relation of Liberia to the United States of America, and present it to your excellency and the executive of England as an infant community, appealing in the weakness of its separate and solitary existence to the magnanimity, not to say the justice, of the British government, for an exception from certain commercial disadvantages, under which the United States, by acts in which the colony could not participate, has placed itself.

" ' It must readily occur to your excellency, that, from the nature of the African trade, the demand in the colony of Sierra Leone for the merchandize of Liberia, (of which a most important part consists of certain articles, not the produce of Great Britain or any of her colonies) will ever be urgent :—and on the other hand, that a similar demand for English manufactures must ever exist, and continually increase with the extension of trade, in Liberia. Permit a free trade, and both colonies enjoy an important accommodation and invaluable advantage. Prohibit such an interchange, and a most important vent for the staples of trade in which the colonies will respectively abound, is reciprocally closed up. For restriction on one side must, by a natural course, be followed by answerable restrictions and prohibitions on the other. But from the proximity of the colonies, which their growth and extension must every year increase, another evil of a fearful character must, I apprehend, unavoidably grow out of the restrictions *on one hand*, and the temptation to great pecuniary advantages on the other : I allude to that most pernicious of the perversions of commercial enterprise—smuggling. And in this uncomfortable anticipation, I deceive myself, if I have not the result of every experiment made on human nature, under similar inducements, for my authority.

" ' In conclusion, your excellency will pardon a zeal which in its efforts to secure an important benefit to Liberia, should advert to the advantages of the proposed measures of accommodation to the colony of Sierra Leone. It probably will not be questioned, that the proposed free intercourse between the sister colonies will prove much more conducive to the prosperity of Sierra Leone, *separately considered*, than the actual restrictive system. And has not the colony of Sierra Leone some peculiar claims on the indulgence of its paternal government ? Does she not derive such claims from the truly liberal and even charitable nature of the work—the work of colonizing Africa, and restoring her exiled children to their home and country,—which led to the establishment of the colony ? Has Sierra Leone no claims to special indulgence on account of

the great sacrifices, struggles, and even sufferings of its people to preserve and carry on their colony, from the period of its origin nearly down to the present time? And has not the justice of the British government always generously recognized these claims? But which of these considerations will not, with the enlightened philanthropy of the age, amount to an argument of easy and obvious application to the congenial colony of Liberia?' "

In 1828 Mr. Ashmun, worn out by disease and toil in a residence of six years in West Africa, found it necessary to return to the United States, where he died a few days after his arrival. A sincerely religious man; his death was tranquil and full of hope; but to his last hour he was more anxious to fulfil his duty to others, than to prolong life for any selfish satisfaction to himself. He died as he had lived, an eminently practical and useful man.

Liberia has, we repeat, steadily prospered from his time, not however without many drawbacks, as we have intimated. The character of the people, brought up in the United States under great disadvantages, is admitted by their best friends to be among the principal of those drawbacks; and suggests very serious reflexions upon the principle of *separation* from the whites, which we regret to find is persevered in at present, although it is discussed with some earnestness among the settlers themselves, whether it will not be useful to change their exclusive law on this head. It appears that the natives call the Liberians, familiarly, *white men*, considering their civilization to have elevated them to a supposed higher station in society; and it has been warmly charged against the civilized settlers, that they are not always indisposed to treat the more ignorant natives with something of the hardness which they have themselves experienced from the really white men. If this be true, it suggests a new hint in favour of the opinion, that safety will not be secured for the savage by *separating* him from the white man; and justifies the call for a *system of government* that shall equally respect all classes, and restrain all alike from oppressive measures, and degrading principles. The experience of Liberia now, we repeat, resembles that of Sierra Leone in the matter of slaving. Redeemed slaves from the United States have taken to slave-kidnapping in Africa, just as one redeemed by Granville Sharp in 1789 did, and just as Sir T. F. Buxton's from the West Indies will, if *left alone*, as he proposes. Our conclusion is, that for black elevation, there must perseveringly be *black and white political amalgamation*, as well as political equality; but this equality and amalgamation must be brought about through the supremacy of *good government*, which Herder declares so finely to be "the most difficult of all the means of civilizing mankind."

It is satisfactory to hear that Liberia is about to be visited by Dr. Madden. We heartily wish him health to complete the inquiries, which no man knows better how to make. His report will be looked for with anxious interest by all who have a confidence in the ultimate civilization of Africa. The relations of Liberia with our West African settlements will, of course, have his close attention; and of their intercourse as far as regards the *young women of the American colony, things have recently reached our ears which we hope he will disprove or denounce*. Is it true, or false, that the harems of *British white subjects* in West Africa are extensively supplied from Liberia?

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ART. VIII. *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates, pergestellt und erläutert.* (Archives of the Athenian Navy, restored and illustrated. By August Böckh.) Berlin, 1840.

THE distinguished scholar, whose work is now before us, enjoys almost the exclusive privilege of that deep intuition into antiquity, that flings the past a living present before the sight. In his former productions he has made use of many a deeply hived store of research, and to confer on him the title of the *Attic Bee*, were scarcely sufficiently descriptive of his merits, since he draws not from living sources of exquisite flavour, but, like Horace, from such only as have in them the mellowness of antiquity "*interiore nota*." With him the violet crowned city rises in all her ancient life, the deep lines of her philosophers, the rapt poetry of her bards, the fine policy of her institutes, the interior constitution of her republic, her orators, her generals, her courts, tribunals, navy, navy boards, dock-yards, arsenals, stores, ships with their tackling and gear, all are presented to the view with such a fidelity of vision, that we are compelled to own that even modern Athens, with all the accurate description of Dr. Fiedler, is scarce clearer conveyed to the view by the distinguished and observant tourist, than the ancient city is delineated by Böckh. The present work needed such a scholar to illustrate it, and though it may not attain large circulation or high popularity, from which it is excluded by its very nature, still will it remain the text book of the scholar, and be added to Fynes Clinton, Thirlwall, Müller, Wacksmuth, and the host of worthies who have illustrated the several points of that city, which must ever maintain a dominant interest among mankind for that intellectual glory, the imperishable possession, which no change of circumstances can ever alienate from her, or lost and sunken Italy. We are free to



confess, that although the pure Attic literature has engaged our attention from earliest youth with undivided interest, that we are now illuminated on many an ancient question, not more by the singularly discovered fragments, to which the present work owes its origin, than by the perfect force of illustration on the part of the reader of these ancient documents, our author, and which appear to have awaited the arrival of a genius adequate to their discussion and interpretation, and in the very period in which such an individual was flourishing to have been disinterred from their grave of ages.

The following are the details of the singular discovery at Athens, to which the present work owes its origin. In October, 1834, the foundations of the first royal magazine were laid in the Piræus, on a point of land running into the basin on the south side of the harbour. The workmen, in the course of their excavations, came upon a series of bases to columns, at a depth of about two feet from the surface. The architect, Herr Lüders, of Leipzig, immediately formed sketches of them, and the government directed that the works should be immediately discontinued if these antiques were found to be valuable. Herr Ludwig Ross, professor of the University of Athens, who has the charge of inspecting all newly discovered monuments, and to whom we are indebted for numerous others besides the present, immediately proceeded to the spot, and found four roughly worked pedestals of columns 0.70 metres in diameter, and about 2.60 distant from each other, formed of sandstone, inserted in a foundation work of the same material, the line of the series running from south to north. Near the second and fourth there stood to the east two blocks of a bluish white marble, hollowed, like water troughs, and a groove or gutter, formed of flat plates of blue coloured marble. These plates, which reached from one extremity to the other, were fortunately, on the arrival of the Professor, only disturbed in one instance, in which the workmen had broken the slab into more than twenty pieces. Herr Ross found its lower surface covered with an inscription, for the most part defaced, but in which he easily recognized an account of the persons employed in the arsenal. He caused all the remaining plates, three in number, of which two had suffered by previous ill usage at a remoter period, to be carefully taken up, and on inspection found them to contain similar inscriptions. This discovery led him to the conclusion, as he himself informs us, that the edifice in question belonged to a late Roman or Byzantine period, when the memory of the ancient greatness of Athens and regard for antiquity had sunk so low, as to induce them to convert these precious remains to the simple purposes of moder-

construction. Having arranged with Herr Lüders for the discontinuance of the proposed magazine on this site, Herr Ross proceeded during the winter of 1834-5, to copy the inscriptions, but from press of business this work proceeded but slowly. The exigencies of government requiring the excavation of some ground to the east of the column enumerated, it was then discovered that they formed part of a quadrangle, along the inner side of which ran the water conduit, formed of plates inscribed and of large urns of marble.

On the news of this discovery Herr Ritter von Prokosch Oster (whose awful name we shall not abuse from his zeal for antiquities) offered to accompany Herr Ross, and the two savans proceeded to the Piræus, and were rewarded for their pains by returning with four mules laden with inscriptions. Herr Ross conjectures the Skeuothek of Philo (for an account of which we refer our readers to Vitruvius, who says, p. 7, Præf. s. 12, "*Philo scripsit de ædium sacrarum symmetriis et de armamentario quod fecerat Piræi in portu.*") Sillig also contains a short notice of him) stood near this spot. And to the question of what has become of this immense structure, Herr Ross replies demanding why we trace such slight remains of the once mighty mass of the Piræus itself. Had the Vandal Byzantines, who appropriated the inscriptions in question to these base uses, gone one step further, and not placed them with their faces to the earth, not a vestige would have been preserved; but fortunately, as if to shun the reproaches of the writing, they kept the engraved side downwards. The inscriptions on all the tablets were transmitted by Herr Ross to Böckh in 1836, and consigned to his editorial management, every part being carefully copied by the learned professor for this object; of these we have with the present volume a series of plates, containing all dug up on the same spot, except Nos. 3 and 18, which differ from the rest, in being of Pentelican marble. No. 3 was found in Athens itself, near the castle probably; No. 18 was dug out from the castle in June, 1837. The Academy of Sciences immediately offered Böckh their assistance in editing the inscriptions. Other occupations delayed the publication on his part until the present year, but at last they have seen the light in one consecutive series, absolutely necessary from their close connection with each other, with notes, restorations, corrections and emendations by their learned editor. Our readers must be prepared in the investigation of the inscriptions to find that they have not been printed entire: this, from the size of the tablets, was impossible in ordinary compass; but if they wish to see the form of the entire slab, they must fit the leaves under each other. In the second part of the book they will find the inscriptions with the

editor's corrections and restorations. The editor has also been careful to make them as far as possible illustrative of each other. After these observations we shall proceed in the first instance to transcribe our author's table of contents, and then select from it such chapters as we conceive are eminently useful to an accurate understanding of the Athenian navy, and, in fact, of ancient naval architecture, equipment, stores, gear, &c.

“ CONTENTS.

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- IV.—Comparison of the more complete accounts, Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17, their chief parts defined, and sequence established.
- V.—Of the administration of the navy and official authorities.
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- VIII.—Certain parts of the ships, fittings (gear) in general, leather work and other miscellaneous objects, and the machines and engines.
- IX.—Wooden fittings (gear) in particular.
- X.—Hanging gear, &c. &c.
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Text of the Records, with Introductions and Annotations.

- No. I.*a*—Inventory of ships, drawn up by the inspectors of wharfs or dock-yards for the year Olymp. 101, 4.
- II.*b*—Similar inventory, about same period. Inventory of ships at Munychia ; part of a record of delivery of accounts, drawn up by the inspectors of wharfs, not earlier than Olymp. 105.
- III.—Fragments of a similar inventory, and list of debtors, probably from a record of delivery of accounts of same period.
- IV.—Inventory of ships and fittings (gear), which the inspectors of wharfs for the Olymp. 105, 4, or 106, 1, found (upon the wharfs or in dock-yards), and at sea, as also of outstanding debts.

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- IX.—Fragments of an inventory of ships of the 107, 4, Olymp. or 108, 1.
- X.—Schedule of debts for fittings (gear) called in (i. e. that have been liquidated), ending with the year Olymp. 109, 3.
- XI.—Record of delivery of accounts of inspectors of dock-yard, Olymp. 112, 3.
- XII.—Fragments of similar records not later than Olymp. 113, 2.
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- XIV.—Ditto ditto „ 113, 4.
- XV. & XVI.—Ditto ditto „ 114, 2.
- XVII.—Great fragment of ditto, probably of Olymp. 114, 3.
- XVIII.—Extraneous fragments from the castle.

From the above, we purpose making extracts from the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters, and we regret to say that they will necessarily be considerably abridged of their solid contents; but still enough, we trust, will be indicated to demonstrate to our readers the great research of the author and the immense value of the remains.

Chapter 5th, on the Administration of the Navy and Official Authorities.

The inscriptions establish, with respect to the inspectors of the docks, *ἐπιμελῆται των νεωριων*, that they are charged with the superintendence, custody and materiel of the navy. These inscriptions represent them as annual officers, and their year of office the same with the usual civil archontic year. Their number is represented as ten. Böckh rejects the idea of a triennial administration. Concerning the business of the inspectors of docks, the grammarians seem little informed. One only says and from conjecture, *Νεωριων αρχην: ἦν ἐν τις αρχων, ὃς ἐπεμελεῖτο των νεωριων και των σκευοθηκῶν και παντων τῶν περι τας ναῦς σκευῶν*. Their functions are the custody and inspection of the ships and stores, which they gave out and received back, and the superintendence of the docks and arsenals. With the inspection of ships and stores the testing of their quality was naturally combined, for which they employed an experienced *dokimastes*. It was only accidentally that they had for any time the custody of stores not immediately belonging to the naval service, such as engines of war, No. XI. which were afterwards committed to one of the generals. They noted down also the

debtors to the dockyard, and inscribed their names on the Stele, which was then exposed to public view. In connection with this part of our author's argument, Demosthenes must be consulted throughout, and especially the Orat. cont. Everg. et Mnesib., where the fraudulent conduct of Theophenus in naval transactions is well exposed. One of these inspectors, Satyrus, demands payment of thirty-four talents. All these circumstances come out from the inscriptions. They sold also stores, but by a decree of the council, and purchased *new*: ταῦτα ἐγράθη κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς XIV. b. 190. The council also sells stores in another inscription, XIII. b. 155. They likewise attended the transfer of stores, and in some cases to the building of ships, although not alone in the exercise of this privilege.

Like other similar boards the ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων, the inspectors of docks, had the chief jurisdiction (ηγέμονιαν δικαστηρίον) in affairs relating to their own department. Olymp. 105. 4. The Diadikasia, or summons to pay for stores owing, which the Trierarch, by virtue of the people, demanded from the person indebted, belonged to them in common with the ἀποστολεῖς, but in a less degree to these last when the calling in of stores was connected with the departure of ships. The important oration of Demosthenes contra Everg. et Mnesib. may here again be consulted with great advantage. The inscription XVI. b. gives information on three points: 1st. The inspectors of docks presided over a judicial court on the subject of stores due by one of the treasurers, which his brother had failed to deliver; 2dly. That they had a secretary or writer to keep their books and accounts; 3dly. A public officer, δημοσίος ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις. Their pecuniary administration is singular; they always leave to their successors the third part of a mina. XI. h. The payments on account of debts received and brought to account by them are charged to the Apodekts, the receivers of all the state revenues. They likewise paid to others besides the Apodekts, when properly authorized to receive money from them. These records furnish no account of their expenditure. Besides the ταμίας τῶν τριηροποιικῶν we find two others named in these inscriptions, ταμίας κρεμαστῶν and ταμίας εἰς τὰ νεώρια. The business of this treasurer was to convey stores into the arsenal and inscribe them on the Stele, which was also the business of the inspectors. We find also in the decree of the council a ταμίας without farther designation. XVI. b. 127. Considerable affinity seems to exist between this officer and the ταμίας εἰς τὰ νεώρια. All ταμίαι were annual officers. The council of 500 had the construction of ships, which office they discharged by the τριηροποιοί, who were chosen, at least in some cases, from the tribes, one out of each. The τριηροποιοί do not

appear in these inscriptions. Their treasurer in Demosthenes, *των τριηροποιων ταμιας*, is found written *ταμιας τριηροποιικων*, an indefinite expression like the *ταμιας των στρατιωτικων, τα θεωρικα*, &c. Demosthenes shows that this officer had the charge of public funds. The author then proceeds to enumerate various officers of this character, whose names occur in the inscriptions; and various offices performed by them are then described, but in XVI. c. 30, the council demand money of the *ταμιας τριηροποιικων*. The writing stands thus with the author's restorations in brackets—

Γ(ΑΡΑ) ΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΤΡΙΗΡΟΠΟΙΚ(ΩΝ)

ΤΤ Μ

(ΚΕ)ΦΛΛ(ΑΙΟΝ Ω)Ν ΕΙΣΕΠΡΑΪΑΜ(ΕΝ)

(ΧΡΗΜΑ) ΤΩ ΝΕ(Π)ΙΚΗΦΙΣΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΡ(ΧΟΝΤΟΣ)

The council had not only the construction of ships and furnishing of gear through the boards, but at times caused these to be supplied by persons chosen extraordinarily from themselves. Mnesicles, of Kollytos, appears from inscription X. c. 167, *αιρεθεις εκ της βουλης*, under the Archon Archias, Olymp. 108, 3, from whom a great many stores are enumerated as received which were owing. When Euænetus, in Ol. iii. 2, was Archon, the council caused ships to be *girded*, an operation which we shall explain under *υποζωματα*, in the 10th Ch. XI. a. 55, &c. When the directors of the *θεωρικα* possessed the chief influence in the administration generally, and in the docks they also caused ships to be built. Æschines ascribes the construction of the arsenal to the Theorika board; it was certainly completed by him as treasurer of the administration. The completion of the docks and wharfs is likewise ascribed to him. Constitutionally the inspectors of docks could not overstep their lawful authority, but were obliged to defer to the council or people for a decision: when requisite, the council deputed persons to the management of the docks, and the people also named extraordinary commissioners. Demosthenes, Ol. 110, 1, (which marks the era of these inscriptions to be that of the celebrated orator), was made *επιστατης τε ναυτικου*, but his measures were to be submitted for the assent of the council and people. Legislation upon nautical matters proceeded, as every thing else did, from the nation. The trierarchy, in particular, was regulated by laws, and by laws the authority of the ordinary board was determined. Thus in Ol. 105, 4, the trierarchic Symmoriai were regulated by Periander. Taxation was added to the Trierarchic functions by a law of Demosthenes, which repealed an earlier one. The law Hegemon, of the period between the battle of Chæronea and Olymp. 112, 3, diminished the influence of the Theorika board; and in these inscriptions, by a singular circumstance, this law is in-

serted; XIII. *b*, 155. The council sells, in Ol. 113, 3, stores in pursuance of this law. By its decrees delivery of old stores takes place. It had the power of sending vessels to sea; XIV. *b*, 10. We shall transcribe this as an important historical fact confirmed by these inscriptions. *την δε βελην της Π επιμελεισθαι τε αποστολε κολαζουσαν της ατακτηντας των τριηραρχων κατα της νομης.* It was, however, also empowered by the people, since in the same inscription, 35, we find *την βελην κυριαν ειναι ψηφισθαι μη λυσαν μηθεν των ψηφισμενων τω δημω.* Our classical readers will doubtless notice the word we have marked. The word proves the usage in the Olym. 113, 4, of *μηθεις* for *μηδεις*. Mathiæ states, "that the late Greek writers, e. g. Aristotle, write *υθεις*, *μηθεις*, from *ετε*, *μητε*, which, however, is not genuine Attic." We rather doubt the soundness of this observation. This was an inscription unquestionably of the period of Demosthenes as well as a public document issued by Athens herself. At any rate we throw the point forward for the discussion of others.

Our next subject of consideration is the 6th chap., "On Localities and Buildings."

Besides the Phalerian harbour, of which little notice is taken here, and which fell into disuse from the time of Themistocles, Athens possessed the harbours Munichia (often written *Μενιχια* in these records), and Piræus; which last consisted of three closed harbours, Zea, Aphrodision, and Kantharos. Strabo states that the Athenian harbours were *πληρεις νεωριων*, among which he counts the Skeuothek of Philo. Of the harbour of Kantharos the Scholiast of Aristophanes observes, *εν ω τα νεωρια εξηκοντα.* In the last passage *νεωρια* clearly means docks, *νεωσοικοι*; in the first, docks and arsenals. In this word Donegan is quite correct to a certain extent, and has given an accurate view of its meaning, but not defined the topography clearly. Polybius calls a dock *νεωριον*. No. 2 does not refer to docks; but at 72 of this inscription (for Böckh has his references wrong at this part) the Neorion appears as a place for the preservation of wooden stores. In No. XIV. *d*. 103, it is used in the singular, as a place in which *αμβολοι*, rostra, beaks, were deposited. Here it evidently implies a building, or range of buildings. In No. 4 of the inscriptions, *τα νεωρια*, decidedly mark out the whole extent of dock premises, including the arsenal, which is mentioned especially, and yet included in this generic term. Böckh includes, under *τα νεωρια*, or wharfs, the whole space enclosed within the fortified harbour, in which the docks and storehouses (arsenals) are contained, together with other places in which the ships were hauled up high and dry, but not docked; as well as the places where the ships were built, *ναυπηγια*, which must have been situated there.

Donegan has lost sight of this latter point, which is all required to make his description accurate. We next pass to *ἐπίσιον*. In Homer this signifies (Odys. ζ 265) a place in which a ship was laid up for shelter against the weather:

— πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐπίσιόν ἐστιν ἑκάστω.

Covered docks were built by all the great naval powers, Samos, Corinth, Rhodes, Syracuse, and Athens. The docks of Athens cost 1000 talents. Strabo says they were 400 in number. Each dock held but one ship, and as the number of ships exceeded that of the docks it is quite evident that some must have been in the open air. In No. 4, which is of (Olymp. 105, or 106, 1) ships, are mentioned as lying in the open air. Inscriptions XII. o. are highly important; they give the total number of vessels in the harbour; in Munychia, 82; Zea, 196; Kantharos, 94: total, 372. Strabo therefore speaks either of a time prior to Euclid, or gives the sum in round numbers.

A naval arsenal or storehouse is called *σκευοθηκη*. In the earliest inscriptions, No. IV. XI. &c., which reach down to the 108th Olymp., the Skeuothek is mentioned as one *par excellence*, in which hanging gear, *κρεμαστα σκευη*, was laid up, whilst the *wooden* lay near the ships in the docks. Some of this last lay in the before mentioned Neorion. The Skeuothek of Philo cannot be held to be the one mentioned in these inscriptions; it is an older one and appears in Olymp. 112, 3, No. XI. m. 160, as *ἡ ἀρχαία σκευοθηκη*. Timbers for building were then stowed in it: stores it probably no longer contained; these were then laid in the new arsenal. Olymp. 113, 3, No. XIII. Timber it soon ceased to contain, and it was shifted to another place.\* We may therefore infer that the old Skeuothek was pulled down about this time. Besides this old Skeuothek, in No. XI. o. we find *σκευοθηκαι ξυλιναι σκευεσιν τρηγων*, temporary wooden buildings, which we soon lose from these inscriptions. These and the old Skeuothek served for putting away stores. The celebrated new Skeuothek appears at last uncontestedly in our inscriptions. In No. XI. p., and in various others, it is evidently mentioned and distinguished from the old one, under the appellation *ἡ σκευοθηκη*. Many materials are enumerated as remaining from the building of the Skeuothek. It was obviously used in Olymp. 112, 3, though not wholly finished until that period. It is undoubtedly the celebrated work of Philo, calculated to contain 1000 ships. Strabo, Plutarch, and Appian call it the Hoplothek. Otfried Müller has sufficiently proved (*De Monumentis Athenarum*) that Philo flourished in the time of these inscriptions. Leake's *Topography* contains a full account of the



edifice, to which we will only add some remarks on the period of its erection. Æschines says, *contr.* Ctesiph. 57, Steph., that the directors of the *θεωρικα* had built the Skeuothek whilst they possessed their chief influence. This can only relate to the one in question. It was suspended in its course under the Archon Lysimachides, and completed by Lycurgus. This administration was in Olymp. 109, 3, to 112, 3; or 110, 3, to 113, 3. The Panathenian structure falls into the same series of years. The commissioners charged with this undertaking are probably those named in XI. n. The commissioners named are persons charged with the construction, since Lycurgus could not superintend every thing in person. In connection with the delivery of materials for the Stadium, and indeed before and after stores are mentioned, which Democrates of Itea, XI. c. 5, had received in succession as treasurer of the money for the construction of Trieres. It is apparent, therefore, that the above stores for the building of the Stadium were delivered out in the same years. The treasuryship of Democrates happens under an Archon NIK . . . which can only be Nikomachus, Olymp. 109, 4; Nikokrates 111, 4; or Niketes or Nikeratus, 112, 1; in case the latter was not rather called Aniketus. Cf. Fynes Clinton, F. H.

Besides the storehouses we find as places for stowing away materials, *οικημα μεγα το προς ταις πυλαις*, probably a slight built magazine. The gate is, perhaps, Leake's magnificent gate of the fortified triangle on the west side of the Piræus, extending as far as the extreme northern tongue of land near the arsenal of Philo, in the opinion of the same writer. These inscriptions seem also to have been found in the vicinity of that triangle. Different from this *οικημα μεγα*, is another, *οικημα*, XI. b. 169, called also in another place to distinguish it, *οικημα, υ δ σιδηρος κειται*. There was besides, at the castle, a magazine in which gear for 100 Trieres was kept. Concerning two localities of the wharfs, the *τελεγονειοις* and the *κρημνοι*, we possess very little information. We shall now proceed to Chap. VII. which relates to ships.

The usual war-ship of the time of the inscriptions, is the Trieres. Since these ships were chiefly used in war, they are generally understood under the term *νηες*. In these inscriptions the Trieres are merely termed *νηες*, and only ships of other rates are expressly defined. The transports for stones, *ιππηγοι, ιππαγωγοι*, are also Trieres, and often expressly described as such, XI. i. Of smaller ships only 30-oared ones appear, *τριακοντοροι* once, *τριακοντεροι*, and twice *τριακοντοροι*. Occasionally public boats are mentioned, *ακατοι δημοσiai*, XI. c., probably the same as the *πλοια υπηρετικα*, sea-craft used as message-boats. Cf. Dem. Æschin. Plat. Larger ships than Trieres were first built among the Greeks, in

Olymp. 95, 2, by Dionysius I. tyrant of Syracuse, who made considerable progress in naval architecture. The Carthaginians, however, had preceded him in the construction of *τετρηπες*. Aristotle ascribes to them the invention of Tetreres, and Dionysius had Carthaginians among the foremen of his workmen, whom he drew together from all quarters. Diodorus also informs us that Tetreres and Penteres were built under Dionysius, with the express observation that Penteres had not been previously built. Since, therefore, Mnesigeiton ascribes their invention to the Salaminians, Dionysius either employed an architect of that nation, or the attempt to build such ships at an earlier period had been little regarded. Dionysius II. had even Hexeres (Ælian), the invention of which Xenagoras attributes to the Syracusans. After Alexander the Great these larger ships came into general use, and it is well known, as Polybius remarks, that the first Punic war was chiefly carried on with the Penteres. The Athenians at first neglected the employment of large ships, probably because they hoped to effect more by swiftness and skill than by the size of their vessels. At the beginning of Olymp. 106, they had v. IV. evidently only Trieres; shortly before Olymp. 112, 3, they began to use Tetreres. Stesileides had been Trierarch of a Tetreres, XVI. a. 190. He was already dead in Olymp. 112. 3. XI. a. 205, for his heir (*κληρονόμος*), is there named. The state had already a number of Tetreres, 53 in dock, 11 at sea, which was augmented by constant construction. Thus we find some built under Euthykrites, 113, 1. The first Penteres mentioned in the records are in Olymp. 113, 4, XIV. k. three in number. In 113, 3, we do not find any. The reading of *πεντηρες*, in Herodotus, which appears to contradict this view, Böckh corrects to *πεντηρης*, on the authority of Schömann, which we think a questionable emendation. The sacred ships, the holy Trieres, were, as many passages show, comprehended in the Athenian navy; the Delian Theoris belongs to these. The transport which was used, in the time of Socrates and Plato, for the Delian Theorica, was held to be the same in which Theseus had sailed to Crete. Plat. Phæd. It had been preserved by constantly replacing the decayed timber, so that it was used by the Dialectician as an example of organism which remains the same, although the component parts be continually changed. It existed under Demetrius of Phalereus, but according to Plutarch was a 30-oared vessel, *τριακοντορος*. It is nowhere stated that this ship was converted into a Trieres; on the contrary, it appears under Demetrius to have still preserved its pristine form. The Enneres at Delos, mentioned by Pausanias, can have no connection with it, but was a ship for state occasions at Delos, like all the

smaller Panathenian at Athens, and was the largest of those used for state occasions, but not built for sea. If, however, the original Delian Theoris was of 30 oars, there was, nevertheless, a Trieres, called Delias, but whether this was the oldest sacred Trieres cannot be determined. In the age of Pericles and later in that of Demosthenes, there existed two sacred Trieres, the Salaminia and the Paralos. The Delian is sometimes identified by writers with one, sometimes with the other. The identification of the Delian Theoris with either, exclusively of the other, from the Grammarians alone, is a matter of great doubt. These inscriptions, however, prove decidedly that the Delias, Salaminia, and Paralos, were separate vessels. We find besides the Trieres Delos, a *new* Trieres Delias, II. 29. XIII. 65; a Delias. Paralia, a Trieres, appears IV. c. 35; a Paralia Tetreres, XII. XVI. XVII. The Salaminia frequently as a Trieres, in XVII. a. 118, as a Tetreres. Although the name Paralos does not appear in these records, yet there is no doubt that the Paralia is the same. We have thus three of the above-named holy Trieres. We find in IV. b. 15, a Trieres Theoris besides, and in XIII. XVII. a Tetreres Hiera. The number of ships used for the Theorica does not seem, therefore, to be confined to two or three. The Ammonis, or Ammonias, which Aristotle and Dinarchus had seen, and which Protopogenes had painted, may, perhaps, have been omitted accidentally in these records. At later periods the Antigonis, Demetrias, and Ptolemais appear. Ships of smaller size than Trieres are only occasionally mentioned, and are omitted in the grand total of ships of war. The whole number of large ships amounted to—

Olymp. 106. 1. iv.	.	.	.	.	343 Trieres.
— 112. 3. xi.	.	.	.	.	392 Trieres.
— . . . .	.	.	.	.	19 Tetreres.
— 113. 3. xiii.	.	.	.	.	360 Trieres.
— . . . .	.	.	.	.	Tetreres.
— 113. 4. xiv.	.	.	.	.	360 Trieres.
— . . . .	.	.	.	.	50 Tetreres.
— . . . .	.	.	.	.	3 Penteres.
— 114. 2. xv. xvi.	.	.	.	.	363 Trieres.
— . . . .	.	.	.	.	Tetreres.
— . . . .	.	.	.	.	Penteres.

Demosthenes remarks, in Olymp. 106, that Athens could send to sea, if necessary, 300 Trieres. He is amply borne out in this assertion by the inscription. Lycurgus, who superintended the armaments for war, brought forward 200 Trieres ready for sea, partly by repairing old and partly building new. In Olymp. 114 the Athenians decreed that 40 Tetreres and 200 Trieres should be fitted out, which also accords exactly with the above inscriptions.

After Olymp. 113 the number of Trieres was allowed to decrease as the importance of Tetreres became manifest. The state had also gear for a great part of these ships. The reader can gather from the inscriptions what relation the existing stores bore at each period to the number of the ships. The quality of each ship is described against it. Some, namely the *ἱππηγοί*, are declared unserviceable, *αχρηστοί*. It is generally shown whether the ship is old or new, whether tried and approved (*δοκιμός*), wanting repair, repaired, or unrepaired. In some cases *ασκευός*, without gear. The Trieres were divided according to the station or dock they occupied. One division is also made according to the soundness (efficiency) of the ships *πρωται*, *δευτεραι*, *τρίται*, *ἐξαιρετοι*. Collation of passages will show that this refers to the ships, and not to their gear. The *ἐξαιρετοι* are of course the picked vessels; the best after them the *πρωται*. Yet the *ἐξαιρετοι* are put after these numerical classes, IV. In Olymp. 87, 2, a thousand talents of the money at the castle had been put aside expressly for the purpose of defence against attack from the sea, and 100 of the best ships *ἐξαιρετοι* selected (Thucyd. 2, 21), for the purpose of defence against attacks from the sea. We find no division of the ships made according to the years in which they were built; but IV. b. 65, the newest ships of the years of the Archon Cephisodotus, Olymp. 105, 3, are classed as separately among the *ἐξαιρετοι*, and it is sometimes stated that a ship belonged to those built under such or such an Archon. The names of the ships are, without exception, feminine. *Οἰσός* seems indeed to be masculine; but *ἡ οἰσός* was also used. Delphis is not Delphinus, but the Delphian. Phos is certainly not *το φως*, but a feminine term, *φως*. Aristophanes describes the Trieres as maidens, *παρθένης*. Knights, 1313. The Romans called their ships by masculine names as well as feminine. Schömann has treated of the origin of the names. The most remarkable of them all is *Συμαῖθα*, a word sufficiently well known as a woman's name by the Megarian Hetæra and Theocritus's fair enchantress of the same name, but the ship could hardly be named after any living woman. Symæthus is the name of a Sicilian river, and deity presiding over it (with the Romans Symæthum), and upon it was a city of that name, or differing at the utmost in the termination. There was also in Thessalia a city *Συμαῖθα*. The difference in writing with *i* or *υ* does not militate against this, even if no importance is attached to the fact, that the name of the Sicilian river is sometimes spelt with an *i*. The *i* in *Συμαῖθα* is long, the *y* of Symæthus indeed is generally short in the Latin poets, but in Æn. 584, it is found long. I have accented the ship's name *Συμαῖθα* as a paroxystone, which is certainly its accentuation as a woman's name in

Aristoph. and Theocr. The name of the Thessalian city is in Stephanus a proparoxytone. Double names to ships are not found in these inscriptions; but according to Pliny the Ammonias was also called the Nansikaa. Again many, even contemporary ships, had the same name; it was therefore expedient to add the name of the builder, which however is not always the case, and not at all in the earlier records. Against foreign ships captured in war the name of the builder is of course not inscribed: XIV.*a*. 150, is an exception, *τριακοντορος αιχμαλωτος . . . Ευδικη ερχ(ον)*. The names of the ships and the builders are frequently mutilated or entirely wanting. Most of the restorations and corrections (of the text) are justified by comparison with other passages. The catalogue which Ruhnken has drawn up may be compared with our author's. Among the names of the architects we distinguish *Αρχωνως*, from which *Αρχωνιδης* or *Αρχωνειδης* is derived; another instance of the analogy between the names of master builders and artists and their occupations. Archeneos erected structures Olymp. 113, 1, and is perhaps the same person as the one in Demosth., although the mention of him in Demosthenes is of more remote date. He may have been a grandson, or at least relation of the Nancleros Archeneos, who lived at the time of the anarchy in the Piræus.

Here follows the catalogue of the ships, but this, though well meriting a careful perusal, we pass, and proceed to Chap. VIII. "On some parts of the ship, ship gear in general, leatherwork, and other miscellaneous objects and engines and machines of war."

The gear was partly placed near the ships, partly laid up elsewhere. Of the solid parts of the ship, which were not ranked among the gear, mention is seldom made, because they were rarely separated from the ship. Of these, the beak-head is one, *εμβολος*. Some of these are given up into store on the wharfs, but the greater part have evidently remained as fixtures on and have been given up with the ships. Four such beak-heads, sold in XIV., XVI. *l*. and *u*. weighed together, as far as the figures are preserved, 3 talents and 35 minæ, and fetched rather more than 520 drachmas. A beak-head would thus have weighed less than a talent, very little for such an effective implement in war, even if we understand a commercial talent of 100 common minæ, which cannot be assumed as certain. The worth of the metal, compared with that of the silver, reckoning the beak-head as of 100 common minæ, would be 1.80; if as of 54 common minæ, the metal would have been nearly as dear again, for the workmanship would hardly be allowed for in such a bargain. These prices for metals not being precious are too

high for those times, and the weight of the beak too small. Böckh conjectures that the figures marking the weight are imperfect, and that 4 talents have been effaced, perhaps also 10 minæ, but hardly more. The προμβολις occurs next, which is defined to be a wooden part of the ship over the beak, in front of the second keel. Another part of the ship οφθαλμος, appears II. 68, 75. On this Pollux says, το δε υπερ το πρυχον ακροστολιον η πτυχις ονομαζεται και οφθαλμος, οπου και τενομα της νεως επιγραφουσι. The Scholiast of Apollonius of Rhodes, calls this πτυχη. This Eye was thus in the fore part. In an ancient vase, in which the ship of Ulysses appears, it is clearly painted on the left in the front, but very deep, see Montfaucon, Wilkinson, &c.; and on one of the small ships, in an Egyptian museum, on both sides of the fore part. Although the expression of Pollux infers only one eye, we must, nevertheless, from the ancient monuments, and for the sake of symmetry, believe that there were two. In common language the holes for the oars are called οφθαλμοι, as also τρηματα or τρυπηματα, Aristoph., but this signification will not apply to the passage in these inscriptions. τραφηξ is mentioned No. II. 40, as wanting. τραφηξ is the border, the upper work of the ship's side—το της νεως χειλος, Hesych. In small craft there are likewise the σκαλμοι, or thwarts, to which the oars were fastened. In large ships openings were made for the regular line of oars below the upper scantling of the side, as for the oars of the Thranites. In the inscriptions τραφηξ, as we have said, can only be the upper part of the ship's side, without reference to oars, except that in extraordinary cases the oars were used from the deck. Upon the side must have stood the παραβλημα and the breastwork, as will be explained in Ch. X. Of the benches for oars, of which we could wish to gain more knowledge, little appears. No. II. 40, Εδρα καπης ζυγιας are found, by which we discern that the Zugites had particular seats, and did not sit upon the ζυγοις, which ran obliquely through the ship. In No. II. 73, is των ζυγων κακαπηνται πεντε, but we learn from this nothing of the arrangement of the oar benches of the Zugites. One ship is termed αζυξ, if the reading is correct. In XIV. b. 45. Olymp. 113, 4, one is mentioned, built Olymp. 113, 1, under Euthykritos, and found good (δοκιμος), furnished with hanging, but not with wooden gear. This αζυξ was a Tetreres, and given up by a decree of the council: it must, therefore, have had a Trierarch, who was probably forgotten by the writer, but certainly the same who subsequently obtained gear, and supplied the ship with a sail. The same αζυξ occurs XIII. a. 9 d. Olymp. 113, 3, in one at sea, and built in Olymp. 113, 1, whose Trierarch had obtained wooden gear, viz. a mast. In one other part the term

again occurs. *Αζυξ* probably implies a ship without oar work, *ταρξος*. Among things sold in XIV. *υ*. appear *ιχριωτήρες*. The passages where the *ιχρία* are mentioned have been collected by others. They were undoubtedly like the scaffolding, with seats on stages; the floor of the deck (*κατασθρωμα*), either of the entire ship, or a part of it, according as the ship was completely decked or not. Here the *ιχριωτήρες* (Passow, Donegan, and the Lexicographers, are presented by us with another word) are similar to the *στρωτήρες* also in signification. Of insignia and tutelæ, nothing is found in the inscriptions, unless *παταικοι* in VII. *ς*. 6, may relate to these. *Πатаikoι* are known as Phœnician tutelæ, but *Πатаikoς* was also a Greek proper name. The proper gear of each ship is divided into wooden, and hanging or rigging, (*σκευη ξυλινα και κρεμαστα*). Xenophon speaks of woven (*πλεκτα*) gear besides, which is not found in these inscriptions, but is included under the hanging.

Before we proceed to describe these, it is requisite to observe that all ships of the same rate were built of equal size and similar form, so all gear belonging to the state could be fitted to any one of the ships, and the wooden was frequently shifted from one vessel to another. Particular gear was kept for ships of different rates. That of *Τrieres* could, however, as hereafter shown, be used in part on board other ships. The leatherwork or hide work requires further mention. The ancients used hides very generally in their naval service. Thus *δερρεις*, *διφθεραι*, are reckoned among marine stores. Pollux, I. 93, X. 134. To these belong the *διφθεραι* in the arsenal, XI. *η*., found (*αδοκιμοι*) and the *ασκοι* sold, in XIV. XVI. *υ*. And Aristoph. *Acharn.* mentions hides among the things requisite for the outfit of a fleet. Independent of their use for the preservation of fluids, they were employed to cover the seats of the rowers, some parts of the ship and objects in it. They were nailed outside vessels of war to protect them, and were used for the defence of the crew. Pollux, I. 30. The border of the sail was trimmed with them, for which purpose the skins of certain animals of the sea were taken, out of a prejudice in their favour. Plut. *Symp. Qu.* IV. 2. 1. The *ασκωματα* frequently appear in a more restricted sense as gear, No. IV. among the hanging gear: they frequently remained in the stern of the ship even after it had been dismantled. The *ασκωμα* was doubtless a leathern covering to the oar-holes, especially the under parts, to hinder the friction of the wood, and was carried some way down the ship's side. Thus the jests in Aristoph. *Ασκαμ' εχεις πυ περι τον οφθαλμον κατω*. *Acharn.* Bekk. 97. A ship provided with them receives the term *ησκατωι*. Sometimes they were not fastened on until the ship was about to be used, and

were kept ready for any vessel in the arsenal, IV. *c.* 32; or else the board had money to purchase the *ασκαματα*, which is often the case with ships without Trierarchs, called *ανεπικληρωτοις ασκαματα*; or their value are given to the Trierarchs, XIII., who were obliged to return them or make them good. In XIV. *u.* *στροφοι* and *στυπτειον* are sold. *στροφοι*, ropes, out of which the thicker cables were made. Very little timber, iron, or wood comes under our notice. Lead is distinguished as *μολυβδος* and *μολυβδιδες*. XI. *m.* The last was in smaller, probably round masses; but whether for the ships and as ammunition for the dolphins, for instance, which were originally engines for casting, or merely for the construction of the Skeuothek, cannot be decided. Military engines are not enumerated among the ship gear. These come probably under the military department. All were committed to the general that were even accidentally in the docks. XI. *m.* One decayed *mechanoma* is sold and does not again appear. XI. *b.* 159. We furnish Donegan with another word, not *μηχανημα* but *μηχανωμα*. It occurs in Theophrastus and Hesychius. There are also parts of catapults from the Eubœan Eretria, where these were probably framed for the use of the Athenian army in the last Eubœan campaign, Olymp. 109, 4, against Clitarchus of Eretria and Philip. The Greeks had long before used these engines since Dionysius I. Diodorus, XIV. 42. Pliny says the Syrians used them earlier. The Tyrians and Carthaginians invented the ram and the tortoise for sieges. The parts of the catapult that appear are the *βασεις*, often found in the writers on mechanics, the *πλαισια*, which are doubtless the same as the *plinthia*, and *σωληνες*, or tubes in which the darts were placed. The darts belonging to the catapults are the *βελη ηκιδωμενα*, with metal points (*ακιδες*), the *ανηκιδωτα και απτερωτα*. The term *ανηκιδωτος* used by Æschylus is defined by the grammarians to be *ανευ ακιδος*. The *σχιζιαι βελη*, or often and better written *εις βελη καταπαλτων*, are shafts of wood, not worked with arrows. The scorpions mentioned in Parthia are, like the catapults, *ευθυτονα*, for shooting arrows, and essentially different from the later ones, which were used for hurling stones. Roman authors also observe, that these darts were cast from scorpions. Vitruvius draws no distinction between scorpions and catapults. In these inscriptions, however, the scorpions are distinguished from the catapults, the more ancient being doubtless the *ευθυτονα*, which were in the form of an archer's bow. To these scorpions belongs a heavy bow, too strong to be bent by the human arm. The bows covered with leather (*τοξα εσκυτωμενα*) of our inscriptions are doubtless these. By the tubes, *σωληνες*, of the scorpions we must understand not the *σωλην πελεκινοειδης*, but in a more ample sense the



whole shaft of the scorpion. Among the instruments lastly we find *αστραφιστηρες*. Another donation to the lexicographers. Hesychius has *αστραφιστηρ οργανον τι ως διοπτρον*. Donegan has neither of the above. Vossius regarded it as an instrument for levelling, the chorobates of Vitruvius. *Αστραβίζειν*, the grammarians say, implies *ευθυνειν*, *απευθυνειν*, *ομαλίζειν*, derived from *ασραβης* for which also *αστραφης* is used, hence *αστραβίζειν*. This instrument was probably used in sieges. We now proceed to Chapter IX.

*Of Wooden Gear.*—By the complete wooden gear (*σκευη ξυλινά εντελη*) of Trieres and Tetreres, XI. n. are understood the *ταρρος*, *πηδαλια*, *κλιμακιδες*, *ιστος*, *κεραϊαι*, and *κοντοι*. These only are comprised in the inscriptions in the gear issued out and delivered back in X. Among those issued to the Trierarch, appear *παρασταται* of Trieres. Latterly these were given only to 30-oared vessels, Tetreres and 30-oared vessels had particular wooden gear. Yet Trierarchs, when exchanged from Trieres to Tetreres, or from Tetreres to Penteres, took with them the wooden gear issued to their first ship; consequently gear for a ship of one rate must have been serviceable for another rate. This can well be conceived of all but oar-work, and even the oar-work of Trieres could have been used in the three lower tiers of larger ships, and that of Tetreres in the four lower tiers of Penteres.

*Ταρρος*—the oar, *remus*. *ταρρος* or *ταρσος*, signifies the broad leafy part, blade of the oar—*palma* or *palmula remi*. Thus Herodotus, VIII. 12, *τας ταρσους των κοπμων*, and by synecdoche came to signify, in the technical languages of the inscriptions, the whole of the oar-work with the exception of the rudders. A single oar is called *κοπη*. The Trieres, as is well known, had three rows or tiers of oars—the *κοπαι θρανιτιδες*, *ξυγμαι*, and *θαλαμναι*. The speech of Ægysthus in the Agamemnon, when he applies the expression *προσημενος νεστερη κοπη* to the chorus, Bl. 1607, illustrates admirably the thalamites or lowest tier. But in what manner these tiers were placed with respect to each other has been disputed. Count Carli supposed that the Thranites sat in the highest part, but aft; the Zygites lower, but amid-ship; and the Thalamites lower still, on to the fore. That the lines of the rowers ran along the whole length of the ship, and were directly under each other, is clearly shown; first, by the indecent expression of Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1105; the drawing of the ships on Trajan's column, on the Præneste tables, and various vases and monuments. Ancient monuments show also that the tiers were not placed perpendicularly under each other; and there is no doubt, as Melvill has shown, that in Penteres and

Tetreres there were four or five rows above each other, and that each oar was worked by one rower. The three kinds of oars mentioned in the inscriptions are of different length and quality. Those of the Thranites were the largest (who, on account of the heavier work, from their position, received additional allowance); Thucyd. VI. 31, (Arnold)—*ἐπιφοράς τε πρὸς τῶν ἐκ δημοσίου μισθὸν δίδοντων τοῖς θρανITAIS τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ ταῖς ὑπερσειαῖς*. The shortest oars were those of the Thalamites. The *ζυγίαι* were of medium length. The oars of one row had all one range, touched the water in one line, although of course the Thranites dipped farther than the Zugites, and these than the Thalamites. We can determine from these inscriptions the number of oars to each row in Trieres. The regular number of *καὶ θρανιτιδῆς* is 62; *ζυγίαι* 54, and *θαλαμιαί* 54. The Trieres was therefore impelled by 170 rowers. The number of the Thranites is greater by eight than of the other tiers, clearly because the upper part of the ship allowed more space. Polybius reckons in one ship of the Roman and Carthaginian fleets, which consisted mostly of *Penteres*, 300 rowers, and 120 *Epibates*, which was their regular crew. One large vessel, an *Octeres* of Lysimachus, had 100 rowers on each side in each tier—1400 altogether; and the *Tessarakonteres* of Ptolemy Philopater held 4000 or upwards.—Plut. Dem. 43. The complement of a Trieres, which however was not always full, was 200. Though we are yet far from the mastery of that hitherto insoluble problem, the construction of the ancient trireme, yet these inscriptions have cleared away much difficulty, and teach us the right way to look at the question. The handling of the sails and rigging may have been by the oars-men; but the officers, with the exception of the steers-man and other similar persons, can hardly be included in this number. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that when used as transports, they held many more people. *Ἰππηγοί* were first used by the Persians in the Persian war, Her. VI. 48, 95; and at Athens, for the first time, in the Peloponnesian war, and were built from old ships. Thucyd. Although included among the Trieres, they were distinguished by their build, and were more expensive, and had different gear. The inscriptions do not inform us how many horses they could hold. Finlay, in his excellent treatise on the Battle of Marathon, estimates ten horses in each *ἰππηγός* of the Persian fleets; the testimony of Thucydides proves that in the Peloponnesian war an Athenian ship of this description held thirty horse-men, and consequently as many horses.

*Πηδαλία*.—The Rudder. The ships of the ancients had two rudders. Lucian. Bip. Toxar. *Οἱ Σκυθαὶ δὲ, ἀλλὰς ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῷ σκαφῷ ἤδη πλεοντός, ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι τῶν πηδαλίων*. Act:

Apost., on which passage we shall make additional observations, *ανεπτες τας λευκτηριας των πηδαλιων.* Ch. xxvii. 40.

*Κλιμακιδες.*—Wooden ladders. Two to each Trieres and 30-oared vessel. In a Dieres upon a vase of Micali, there is a ladder in the vicinity of the rudder.

*Κοντα.*—Poles for punting or propelling the ship when in shallow water, and for sounding the depth. These are generally three, laid by the side of the ship in the docks, the regular number for a Trieres.

*Παρασταται.*—Props for the support of the mast at the bottom of the vessel. Two to each Trieres, so long as they were in use. After No X. no longer used, and had become useless by some new arrangement of the ship. Another word on which the lexicons furnish no naval sense as well as Klimakides.

*Ἴστος.*—The mast. The ancients had ships with one, two and three masts. Thus, the *Alexandreia*, built by Hiero the younger, was three-masted. These masts were called the first, second, and third. The first was the largest, and so on. In general, among the gear issued in these inscriptions, only one *ἴστος* is mentioned. From XI. r. it appears that the gear was thought complete, for Trieres and Tetreres, when this mast had been issued. Thus it was left to the Trierarch to supply. The second mast which might be used, though it was not absolutely necessary, may be inferred from its name, *ἴστος περινεως*. It is commonly supposed that the larger mast was called *ἴστος ακατειος* or *ακατιος*. Pollux gives this name to the *ἴστος μεγας και γησιος*; adding, however, that some considered the *ακατιος* to be the smaller mast, so does Hesychius. The same error concerning the word *ακατειος* occurs with the yards and sails, as we shall shew. This word is not in Donegan, who totally misapprehends most ancient nautical matters. The inscriptions prove decidedly the meaning of *ακατειος*, as also that the Trieres had two masts. In No. II. 92, *ἴστυ μεγαλε* and *ἴστυ ακατει* are wanting to a Trieres, &c. At an early period it seems two masts were issued to a Trieres and delivered to the Trierarch; but since Olymp. 107, or near it, only one, and then the distinction of the two terms were gradually lost. The masts of the Tetreres were stowed separately. For a 30-oared vessel appear two *ἴστοι*, and down to a very late period. XVII. a. Olymp. 114. Of these the large one was planted in the middle of the ship, the smaller was a foremast. Even in the large ships, the mast, at least to a very considerable height, was of one piece. The price of the large mast probably, with the necessary hoops and all appendages, was 37 drachmæ, II. 49, 50, &c.

*Κεραται.*—The Yards.

Yards of two kinds were issued to the Trierarchs for the

ιστος *μεγας*, and the *ακατειος*, for the former of which there were several, and indeed for both masts. The yard is sometimes called *κερας*, the ends of it, *ακροκεραια*, horns, and the middle part *συμβολα* or *εμβολα*, which last names may seem to denote that they were formed of two pieces joined in the middle one over another. They may likewise signify that the middle part was fastened to the mast. Pliny informs us that the yards were made of a great size and of one beam. "Quamvis amplitudini antennarum singulæ arbores sufficient." XIX. 1. The ancients had undoubtedly both single and joined; one of these last is found upon a Relief in Pompeii. It is horizontal, and has a square sail. They were generally slung at right angles with the masts in ancient ships of war; and Ausonius, in his description of the letter T, says "Malus ut antennam fert vertice sic ego sum 'T.'"

We now proceed to our last selection from Ch. X. which treats of Rigging or Hanging Gear.

By rigging or hanging gear for Trieres *σκευη κρεμαστα εντελη*, XI. r., is meant for Trieres, *υποζωματα*, *ιστιον*, *τοπεια*, *υποβλημα*, *καταβλημα*, *παραρρυματα λευκα*, *παραρρυματα τριχινα*, *σχοινια οκτωδακτυλα*, III., *εξδακτυλα*, III., *αγκυραι*, II.; and the same for Tetreres with the exception of the *υποβλημα*, which does not appear in the lists of gear issued to Tetreres, and was latterly disused in the Trieres. The *σχοινια* issued (XI. r. to XIV.) to Tetreres are expressly marked *τρηγιτικα* and all other hanging gear, for Tetreres was different from that of Trieres, although in many cases this last was furnished to the larger vessels.

*Υποζωματα*. *Υποζωμα*, middle part of a rudder, Donegan. *Totally wrong*. Many modern writers have taken the *υποζωματα* to be the certain wooden parts of the ship, others the side planks, others a wooden cincture running under the ship from one board to the other. Scheffer, who has refuted this last opinion, has taken them to be wooden girdles stretching fore and aft. In fact, the Scholiasts of Aristophanes and Suidas define them, *υποζωματα*, *εισι δε ξυλα των νεων*. Schneider was the first to understand by the term *cable work*, which is completely proved by these inscriptions, as they belong to the hanging gear and are loosened. The name itself proves that they are girths under the ship. The *υποζωματα* were strong cables running horizontally round the ship from the bows aft. There were several of them at certain distances from each other. Athenæus, the mechanic, says of the Tortoise of Hegetor, (s. 6), *υποζωννυται δε ολος ο κριος οπλοις οκταδακτυλοις τρεισι*, (rather *τετρασι* as Schneider has observed); and of another machine (s. 10) *η δε γερανος υποζωννυται και βυρσουται ομοιως τω προσηρημενω κριω*. Vitruvius thus explains this *υποζωννυται* (X. 15, 6), "A capite autem ad imam calcem tigni contenti fuerunt funes quatuor

crassitudine digitorum octo, ita religati quemadmodum navis a puppi ad proram continetur:" a clear description of the hypozoma. Isidore (Orig. XIX. 4, 4) says, " Tormentum, funis in navibus longus, qui a prora ad puppim extenditur quo magis constringantur. Tormentum autem a tortu dicta restes funesque." Plato clearly shows the extent of the hypozoma. Rep. X. s. 616 .c., *ειναι γαρ τουτο το φως ξυνδεσμον του ευρανου, οιον τα υποζωματα των τριηρων ουτα πασαν ξυνεχον την περιφοραν*. The description of the Tessarakonteres of Ptolemy Philopater will be of great use in illustrating this subject. This ship was from 48 to 53 ells high, 280 long, and 238 ells in breadth. She received twelve *υποζωματα*, each one 600 ells long; which is however an average length, as the lower hypozomata were naturally shorter than the upper ones. The length of these hypozomata shows clearly that they ran fore and aft round the ship, and the expression *ελαμβανε* shows that they were issued as gear and were not fixtures. These are the cables which according to Horace, Carm. I. 14, 6, held the ship together when in a storm.

" Et malus celeri saucius Africo,  
 Antennæque gemant? ac sine funibus  
 Vix durare carinæ  
 Possint imperiosius  
 Æquor?" (Doering).

On this important passage Doering has not given the faintest observation that bears upon the point in question. The hypozomata are distinctly visible in the direction which Böckh describes in a small relief in the Museum of Berlin. It is the fragment of a ship of war, and the forepart of the vessel. About it are four hypozomata. The upper one is a strong cable carried round it directly under the akrostolion, at the same depth as the embolos, which consists of three sword-shaped parts, and in a line with each of these parts are three other hypozomata. Of the middle one only the end has been preserved, which in all four is shaped so as to fall away from the rest of the *υποζωμα*, and the remainder has been worked by a more modern hand, because it had suffered. Judging from the two which are in the best state of preservation, these three lower *υποζωματα* consisted each of two rather thinner cables, which were laid close to each other, and were fastened in one common end. Moreover, the three lower hypozomata only run as far as the sword-shaped part of the embolos, and consequently not entirely round the ship, but round by far the greatest part of it. The upper *υποζωμα* stretches to the very margin of the relief, but is broken off at the point where it stopped. It was doubtless an ornamental part at which

the hypozoma was made to end. When Pollux, 1, 89, calls the middle part of the rudder *υποζωμα*, which is elsewhere called *φθειγ* or *ειζα*, (Donegan's mistake as cited above,) this undoubtedly refers to some binding by cables of this part. The hypozomata lay in the arsenal, and were only issued upon the ship's being fitted out; they were even taken on board in order to be applied when wanted. *Υποζωννυαι* is thus applied, Act. Apost. xxvii. 17.\* Elsley, on the Gospels and Acts, in his note on this passage, is completely mistaken, for he makes no reference to the *υποζωματα*. Cf. Polybius, Appian, Apollonius of Rhodes. Many ships lay ready girthed in the docks, from some the girths were taken off and given to other ships. The number of them was in proportion to the size of the ships. Trieres had certainly more than three, and assuredly four.

*Ἰστιον*.—Sail.

With the complete gear issued, there was never given (with the exception of one passage in the inscriptions) more than one sail for Trieres and Tetreres, namely, the sail for the first or large mast, (XI. r.) Thirty-oared vessels had no sails laid up for them in the arsenal, and received none from the state; when one sail was given, which was only done upon a special decree of the people, it had first to be made. This only happens once out of four cases, XIV.; but the Trierarchs of other ships had doubtless the right by that decree of the people to demand the sail, although they do not seem to have exercised this right. The sails are either fine or coarse (*λεπτα*, *παχια*); the first being most expensive and in smaller quantity. In the account of gear given or received back there frequently occurs the expression *σκευη κρεμαστα εντελη ιστιον των λεπτων*. One sail sufficed for the service of the ship, but the Trierarch could add to the number, and subsequently several were kept in the docks. It is only from X. c. 45, that we learn that a Trierarch received more than one sail, *ιστια*, at an early period for one ship. But as every ship had two yards for the great mast, and two for the second, *ιστος ακατειος*, two sails were calculated for each mast, those in the great mast and yards being called *ιστια μεγαλα*, and in the second *ιστια ακατεια*. Besides these sails on both masts, there was undoubtedly a third smaller one above the upper sail, which is probably the artemon. In these inscriptions there is nothing found concerning the artemon, the *dolon* which was in the fore, nor the *epidromon*, which was aft.

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\* Our readers will, we trust, be enabled to attain from the above a clear understanding of the passage in the Acts, xxvii. 17, "*υποζωννυαι το πλοιον*," which implies to brace up the ship by the action of the *υποζωματα* over the entire hull, and also of verse 40, which implies the loosening of the previous bracing, and the command of the *υποζωματα* over the rudders fore and aft.—E. F. Q.

Flags and streamers do not appear either, but were left to the Trierarch. As the three-cornered sails of galleys and such ships, upon oblique or slanting-yards are called *Vela Latina*, this might at first induce the belief that the sails used by the Romans were triangular, as they are found in the pictures of the middle ages; and this idea might thence be held of the Greeks. But, in truth, this is an error; the Athenian, and almost all the ancient ships of war, even the Roman, had square sails upon horizontal yards; several examples of this may be adduced. Bayfius has copied from an old marble monument a ship with a straight yard; Mountfaucon likewise. A relief found in Pompeii shows distinctly a ship with a square sail and yard; the ship of Theseus, in a painting upon the walls of Herculaneum, and also other monuments, have a square sail set straight, &c. We may remark that among the tackle given to the ship in these inscriptions, although only one sail is computed, there were many cases of articles given in pairs, such as two *ἱμάντες*, two *ὑπεραι*, two *πόδες*. These can only fit four-cornered sails; two *πόδες*, of the same size or shape would fit only such. A three-cornered sail is the Supparum of the Romans, which the Scholiast of Lucan indicates "*vela minora in modum Deltæ literæ.*" Isidore, xix. 3. 4. Supparum, genus veli, unum pedem habens.

*Τοπεία*.—Cordage of the rigging; the *τοπεία* are different from the *σχοινία*, and are never found confused with them in the inscriptions. The *τοπεία* being behind the sails, and the *σχοινία* before the anchors. Suidas and Hesychius make them synonymous, but their place and use were distinct; the sail was hoisted up the mast by the *τοπεία*, which were fitted with blocks and pulleys (*τροχιλῖαι*); as each separate rope was fitted in a particular direction for a particular use, the name *τοπεία* (local ropes), seems to be derived from their nature. In No. xi. are enumerated how many and what lines were comprised among the *τοπεία* of a Tetreres, which were the same as for a Trieres. As in xi. the great mast and sail only are understood, it follows that the *τοπεία* can only be meant for these and for the great yard; and when a second yard was given, it by no means follows, that the corresponding cordage was given also; the parts of the *τοπεία* were the *καλωδία*, or *καλοὶ*, meant for the standing rigging which supported the mast; another standing rope was the *προτονος*, used from Homer to Lucian. In Homer there are two, one aft, the other forward. Odys. β, 1452; Ilias, α, 434. There was one which went from the *καρχησιον*, to the forepart of the vessel.

*ἱμάντες*.—Two for each ship. These were ropes which held the yard horizontal at the requisite height, running obliquely from each end of it to the mast, and from thence through a block

fastened in it down to the deck below; they are in these inscriptions the same as the *περουχοι*.

*Αγκοινα*.—When for the Tetreres *διπλη*, they joined the middle of the yard to the mast, and guided and assisted its elevation; they were formed of two ropes, but whether single for the Trieres is uncertain.

*Ποδες*.—*Πους* was a rope at the lower extremity of the three-cornered sail, and at the two (lower ends) of square ones, which drew the sail aft, and enabled it to belly.

*Υπεραι*.—Braces. Two for each ship. Ropes by which the yards are moved horizontally, fastened, one at each end of it, and thence running below.

*Χαλινος*, which was certainly among the hanging gear, but its real nature is difficult to define; probably a rope by which the whole apparatus of the sail was hoisted or let down; a hauling rope, which was fastened to the middle of the yard, went through a pulley in the mast above, and drew up or let down the yard and the sail, and this *χαλινος* is represented thus at Pompeii.

*Παραρρυματα τριχίνα*.—The ancients had many contrivances to deaden the fury of waves, or missiles; for which they employed wood, skins and hurdle-work of willows and ropes. These *παραρρυματα* are stuffs formed of hair and flax, used sideways upon deck, and one behind another, for further power of resistance in II. 31. *Παραβληματα* are nailed on (*κατηλασσαι*). In this inscription there is found an *επιθημα θαυρακειον*, which seems to form part of the ship itself, and, as the word signifies was doubtless a breast-work upon some part of the ship's side. Such a work, although very low, is seen upon the ship of Præneste. The *επιθημα* is doubtless a board bent inwards; the *παραβλημα* and the *θαυρακειον* are different from the *παραρρυματα*, and do not constitute gear.

*Καταβλημα, Υποβλημα*.—Of both these only one was given to a ship. The *καταβλημα* to Trieres and Tetreres, and the *υποβλημα* to Trieres alone. The nature of these is very difficult to determine. *Καταβλημα* denotes, in the theatre, a covering around the *περιακτους*, which represents decorations, Pollux, IV. 131. According to Polyænus, Strateg. IV. 11, 13. Chabrias caused coverings (awnings) to be put upon the ships, to protect the hull and the crew from the waves, and to prevent the men from looking upon the sea that they might not become depressed; and for this hides *δερρεις* and *φραγμα* are mentioned, which were raised up, but the passage is too corrupted for us to extract any clearer information, and the question is still more obscure from the *παραρρυματα* having been used for the same purpose. The *καταβληματα* and *υποβλη-*



ματα must have been employed at different parts of the ship, and at different altitudes, for the παραρρυματα. It may be observed, than an υποβλημα is found, XI. 1, for the ιπηγοι.

Σχοινια.—Thick cables. Two kinds appear, αγκυρεια, of which there were four, and επιγυα for mooring the ship to the shore, land-cables; these last being fastened to the stern and secured the ship on land to the Δακτυλιος. The highest number found on board one ship is four. The word has been written by the grammarians επιγεια, επιγαια, απογεια, απογαια; but Porson's decision, that επιγυα is the correct term, has been fully borne out by these inscriptions. These cables were formed of several small ones worked together. The epithets οκτωδακτυλα and ιξδακτυλα are used of them to denote their strength or thickness, and of each kind four are given both to Trieres and Tetreres. As the anchors of the Trieres, from the slight construction of the ships, could not be very heavy, and the hauling ashore would require a strong cable, I should conceive the ιξδακτυλα were for the anchors, and the οκτωδακτυλα for the after cables; of these δακτυλοι sixteen went to the foot, and the epithet applies to the circumference.

Αγκυραι.—The ancients had wooden anchors, even in the time of Archimedes, for the largest ships. That the great Eikoseres of Hiero had four wooden and eight iron anchors. Those given to the Trieres, in XI. r. are of iron. The complete number of such gear for Trieres and Tetreres, was 2. The wooden stock or transverse beam, was wholly wanting in ancient anchors. In the ship on board which St. Paul was a prisoner, described in the above cited chapter in the Acts, the sailors dropped four anchors from the stern, which, however opposed to modern usage, was undoubtedly the ancient method of letting fall the anchor at that period.

We have thus arrived at the end of our design, and can only regret that we are not enabled to exhibit to our readers further extracts from this distinguished Archæologist. The remaining portion of his book contains equal masses of classical research, with those exhibited in the chapters reviewed. We have in our extracts adhered pretty rigidly to the text of our author, abridging and condensing as we proceeded, and throwing in either the passage he had referred to, but not quoted at length, or else adducing such others as we considered pertinent to the argument. The whole naval terms of our Lexicons become greatly affected by the singular remains he has so nobly illustrated, and our Lexicographers will do well to profit by the hints we have thrown out. To any desirous of information on the recondite

subject of the ancient Trireme, we shall feel happy to communicate the result of extensive researches on this subject, and which have been singularly confirmed, like the *επιγρᾶ* of Porson, by the living reality of these inscriptions. We trust our Universities will not be slow in availing themselves of the labour, investigation, and ingenuity, displayed in the present work, and that it will be deemed worthy to occupy a place by the side of the "*Œconomy of Athens*," to which it is an admirable pendant. It is a work well worthy of being published by the University, and so filled with learning from deep, and almost concealed fountains to the youthful student, like the Phalaris, that although at the first sight it may appear to deal too much in the minutiae of antiquity, by establishing even the site of an Athenian storehouse, yet will it give him that zest for patient investigation, that will make him accurate in his deductions, and fit him to take a clear view of all the business matters of existence that may afterwards fall to his charge. For however it may be the fashion for those who do not understand the value of classical information to abuse it, (and we have seen a deplorable instance, in the chief abuser of this study, in the leader of the diffusion of knowledge school, at least of his ignorance of what he censures,) we fearlessly maintain that nothing more conduces to sharpen the intellect, and whet up the faculties, than the classical course of studies as pursued by a Böckh, or a Niebuhr. The nation that maintains nearly the highest intellectual rank, is fully aware of this advantage, and her press teems with productions the labour of life after life, developing the past, and showing excellent intuition into the present,—productions, that in this country are neither known nor appreciated; and frequently in this latter case, from a want of that reading, without which persons lack relish and gusto for their excellent quality. We deprecate strongly this feeling, and are quite aware that a revival rather than a disuse of these pursuits is advocated by the leading minds of the age, both in England and Germany.

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ART. IX.—1. *Vues, Discours et Articles sur la Question d'Orient.*

Par A. de Lamartine. 8vo. Paris.

2. *Un Mot sur la Question d'Orient et sur le Moyen de la résoudre au profit du Commerce et de la Civilisation.* 8vo. Paris.

THE eastern question having had its solution in the complete but tardy compliance of the Pacha of Egypt with the demands of Turkey, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain, we shall endeavour to trace the history of the negotiations which preceded this act of submission, and to show the interest which England has in the arrangement which has been obtained. So much has been written on the position of the question up to the moment when the European Powers took the dispute between the Sultan and his rebellious vassal into their own hands, that we shall merely, by way of introduction, remind our readers that the Sultan having been at one time at the mercy of the Pacha of Egypt, his resources proving unequal to a successful contest with his vassal, the aid of Russia was applied for, and a treaty called the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was entered into, by which exclusive privileges were granted to the Emperor of Russia on the express condition that he should give support to the Sultan whenever he might be called upon to do so. Towards the latter end of the reign of Sultan Mahmoud, Mehemet Ali was again in open rebellion to his sovereign, and having obtained the complete command in Syria, an army was sent by the Porte to drive him out of that province of Turkey, and bring it back to the lawful dominion of the Sultan. The battle of Nezib took place, in which the forces of the Pacha, under the command of his son Ibrahim, gained so complete a victory that the road to Constantinople became open to the Pacha, and fears were entertained that he would march toward the capital. It does not appear that the Egyptians were indebted for this success exclusively to superior courage and skill. Both armies were in an undisciplined state, which would have made them an easy conquest to an European army of comparatively small numbers; but the Pacha had the advantage of past successes on his side, and many of the Turks, believing in a prophecy that the reign of their Sultans was approaching to its end, fought under the influence of a despair which was sufficiently strong to discourage, but not desperate enough to supply the place of the confidence which is inspired by reminiscences of success. The Pacha of Egypt did not follow up his victory as was expected by some of his partisans and admirers, for he knew that if his troops were to march in advance the Sultan would apply for aid to the Emperor of Russia, and

that the signal victory of Nezib must in that case be soon followed by as signal a defeat. He was also deterred from advancing by the remonstrances of the French government; the French cabinet, dreading the extension of Russian influence in the East, which an intervention in favour of the Sultan would necessarily give, sent agents to Mehemet Ali to inform him that if he attempted to invade the dominions under the direct sovereignty of the Sultan, not only Russia, but also all the other powers of Europe would interfere against him, and that the necessary consequence would be the loss of his own dominions and a new territorial settlement in the East. Russia had, at this period, a large army in readiness to advance to the assistance of the Sultan, and by the treaty between the two powers she had a right to intervene. The intervention of Russia, however, was dreaded by all the other powers; for they could not imagine that the Emperor Nicholas was sufficiently magnanimous to assist his ally without stipulating for concessions in favour of Russia; and it was felt that in the fallen state of the Porte a further degree of influence in the affairs of the Sultan, on the part of Russia, would necessarily make her paramount in the East, and eventually convert Constantinople into another capital for the Czar. Under the suggestions of the different European ambassadors at Constantinople, and at the same time perhaps dreading also the friendship of the Czar, the Sultan was induced to abstain from calling upon him for aid and to enter into negotiations with Mehemet Ali, to whom he made important concessions, and even promised the hereditary government of the countries which he already held as the nominal but really independent representative of the Porte. At this state of the question Sultan Mahmoud died, and was succeeded by Abdul Medjid, his son. The negotiations continued in the first days of the reign of the young Sultan, but they were soon broken off; and Russia having offered to surrender all her right to exclusive intervention in the affairs of the East, and to co-operate cordially with the other powers for maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and preventing the shock to the balance of power in Europe which would be the inevitable result of any exclusive influence of one European more than another in the East; the young Sultan made preparations for an attack upon Mehemet Ali in Syria, and a Turkish fleet was fitted out with instructions to sail and rendezvous at a given spot. The admiral betrayed his trust, and passed over to the Pacha with the fleet.

This defection gave increased confidence to the Pacha of Egypt, and hopes of being able to dictate with success to the Sultan: but it served also to bring matters to a crisis with the European

sovereigns, who had taken the Sultan under their protection; and a treaty was entered into between Turkey, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia; in which it was laid down as a principle, that the Pacha of Egypt should be compelled to evacuate Syria and other portions of the Turkish territory then in his hands, reserving only to himself Egypt and the Pachalic of Acre, of which he was to have the hereditary sovereignty, on condition of his immediate compliance with the conditions of the treaty which was signed in London on the 15th July by the powers here mentioned, France having refused, although she had been the first to propose the conference which led to this treaty, to become a party to it, on the ground that although she had declared that she would co-operate with the other powers in maintaining the balance of power in Europe and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, she did not allow that the one or the other would be secured by what she was pleased to call the spoliation of the Pacha. The conclusion of this treaty on the part of England was regarded by the French government as a breach of the alliance between England and France.

There has been a great deal of cant in France, and indeed in England also, about the rupture of what is thus called the alliance between the two countries. In order to expose this cant, we shall endeavour to show what that alliance was, and then enquire as to whether the rupture, if rupture there has been, is to be ascribed to the English government or to that of France. Immediately after the accession of Louis Philip to the throne, which had been rendered vacant by the Revolution of July—a revolution brought about by the ill-conceived attempt on the part of the ministry to put down the incendiary press—General Baudrand, an old officer of the empire, was sent to England on a special mission, to announce officially to the British government the accession of Louis Philip, and also to assure the English ministry of the determination of the King of the French to exert his influence towards placing France in a position which should excite no distrust as to her intentions in the minds of the other sovereigns of Europe. General Baudrand was not the man who should have been selected for this mission, if a wily diplomatist had been necessary; but Louis Philip, who was undoubtedly sincere in the assurances which he gave, for on the faithful fulfilment of them depended the security of his dynasty, felt that for so straightforward a mission he could not do better than appoint a straightforward man, which General Baudrand certainly was. The King of the French was playing *carte sur table* at a round game for political *ecarté*, where success depends mainly upon terrifying the antagonist or guessing his meaning by his looks, there were Tal-

leyrands enough in France—a diplomatist of that order would on such an occasion have been misplaced—the mission of General Baudrand was productive of the most satisfactory results to the citizen king. On his arrival in London he called immediately upon an English gentleman who enjoyed the confidence of the French minister for foreign affairs, and consulted him as to the course which he should pursue. This gentleman advised the General to pay a visit at once to the Duke of Wellington, who was then at the head of affairs. “To him,” said the adviser, “you can speak freely; he will take no advantage of your frankness, and you will find him as frank as yourself.” The General followed the advice, and returned to his friend delighted with his interview. We must here quote the General’s words. They show the honesty and prudence of the good old Tory, who at that time had the fate of Europe in his hands. They will convince the detractors of the Duke of Wellington, if detractors he still has, that for the peace of the world he would do violence to his own feelings, although he was too noble to conceal what those feelings were. “I found the Duke,” said General Baudrand, “totally unprepared for my visit, but by no means displeased that I should have waited upon him before I proceeded to communicate officially with the secretary of state for foreign affairs. Having stated my object, the Duke said, ‘I will not deny, General, that I saw with pain the destruction of a dynasty for which Europe had made so many sacrifices, and saw also with infinite regret the first manifestation of a new revolutionary feeling in France. If consistently with my duty to my own country I could have prevented such a result, be assured that I would have done so. The calamity however came, and I have now only to express my satisfaction that the consequences of revolution have been checked. With the same sincerity that I assure you of the regret which I felt at the event, I now say that the English government will offer no obstacle to the consolidation of your new institutions. You have entered upon a difficult career; proceed in it with prudence, and believe that so long as the peace of Europe shall not be menaced, your sovereign will find nothing but friendship here.’”

We are now at the commencement of what the French call the alliance of England with the revolution of July, but which in reality was nothing more than a prudent determination of the Duke of Wellington not to risk the peace of Europe for the restoration of a dynasty which had lost itself by its want of skill in the attempt to dissipate the storm which a profligate press—a press, to the conductors of which political integrity and public morality were unlike unknown—had roused. Great Britain was

at this period at peace with the whole of Europe; the Duke of Wellington had commenced a reform in the public expenditure, himself setting the noble example of a sacrifice of patronage, in order that public offices of every kind might be filled in rotation by men thoroughly acquainted with their duties, and who would not object to a diminution of the salaries of the offices to which they should succeed, because but for the abolition of the patronage system they never could have succeeded; he was steadily, although slowly, arriving at the equalization of receipt and expenditure which had been so long desired, and economizing the resources of the state without neglecting the means of defence. This was certainly not the moment for an intervention in the domestic affairs of France, which must have led to a war. But it is a singular perversion of terms to give to the forbearance of the Duke of Wellington in favour of France, (when he had merely to hold up his finger to let loose the rest of continental Europe upon that country,) the character of an exclusive alliance with the French nation against the principles and interests of the other Powers with which he was at peace. Whether the forbearance of the Duke was not an act of over prudence, as it certainly was an act of generosity for which nothing like gratitude has been shown, is a question which may be raised in some minds, but which has no immediate bearing upon the point now discussed. There may be those who think that the wings of France should not have been permitted to grow until she could arrange her plumage into a fit condition for flight. There may be others who, like the Duke, would not have roused the energies of despairing men and created occasions for success in the very magnitude of the evil with which the French had to contend. By refusing to recognize the revolution of 1830, France would have been shut out from the rest of Europe, and would have made a desperate effort to regain her place. She might not, probably would not, have succeeded, but her efforts, like the last throes of a giant, would have shaken the earth, and her defeat would have affected the balance of power, and might have led to ambitious struggles among her conquerors over her prostrate corpse. All this the Duke foresaw. A refusal to recognize the dynasty of Louis Philip might have been attended with serious evils; a recognition of it might be the means of checking the revolutionary movement in which that dynasty had its birth. Whether the views of the Duke of Wellington were quite correct or not, as shown by the result, may be a question, they appear to us to have been prudent, at least at the time.

The alliance with France being continued after the revolution of July, and no new alliance entered into, the Whig cabinet, on

its accession to office, found all immediate danger of the rupture of the peace of Europe at an end. It has been generally supposed that the resignation of the Tories gave great satisfaction to the King of the French. This was not the case. Louis Philip had begun to discover that what is called a popular theme must be an ephemeral one, and that without the friendship of the powers of Europe there could be no stability in his dynasty. The Whigs had come into office upon reform principles, and apparently there was more harmony between these principles and the institutions of July, than between those institutions and Conservative principles in England; but at that period there was more security for Louis Philip in a Tory than a Whig cabinet in England. The respect with which the decisions of the Duke of Wellington were regarded by Russia, Austria and Prussia, was a safeguard for the King of the French. The throne which was protected by England was, as a matter of necessity, protected by them. Louis Philip had by this time ceased to be the citizen king, walking about the streets of Paris with his umbrella under his arm, giving his hand to every man who chose to ask for it, and joining occasionally in the chorus of the *Marseillaise*. He had begun to find that a sovereign à la Masaniello was not the kind of monarch to govern the French nation with effect, and had gradually withdrawn himself from the contact of a familiarity which wounded his princely pride, and prevented the adoption of the necessary measures to secure his throne. The consequences of this retirement were naturally rancour and dislike; the mob hooted where they had cheered, and hated where they had loved. The Whigs had come into power under the influence of radical, or as they were then called, reform principles; and as from reform, as it is understood by the Radicals, there is but one step to revolution, the resignation of the Tories was hailed with delight by the Republicans of France. They saw, or fancied that they saw, in the Whig government a prospect of fraternity with the English Radicals against the principles of Conservatism all over the world. To say that they expected this from the Whigs themselves would be to exceed the truth; but they expected, and the king feared, that Radicalism would soon trip up the heels of Whiggism, and that the mob in both countries would obtain the lead. Louis Philip could not manifest his regret at the accession of the Whigs, for to have done so would have rendered him still more unpopular in France. With the accession of the Whigs therefore the alliance between the two governments was apparently drawn closer than when the Tories were in office. And by degrees both governments saw the necessity of an alliance, for each had the same principles to contend against; the Whigs had to protect



themselves against the encroachments of the Radicals, and the *juste milieu* in France had to keep down the Republicans. If the Radicals should trip up the Whigs, the French Republicans would gain strength; and if the *juste milieu* was to fall, the Radicals in England would gain ground. This kind of action and reaction has always been witnessed. Here then was something like an intimate alliance between the two governments; but it was not an alliance between the two nations; it was not that alliance about the rupture of which there is so much caut. Nor was it even as regarded the governments of any practical use, considered abstractedly from the general alliance of European governments, for the preservation of peace. The first attempt at any thing like an alliance of particular and exclusive interests, was the quadruple treaty for the pacification of Spain, but that treaty never received a cordial execution on the part of France, and was the source of endless bickerings between the two governments, and between the two nations as to the degree of influence which each should have. The alliance however in itself was one of great importance, for two distinct and opposite principles were involved. On the one side stood England and France lending aid to the constitutional party in Spain; on the other were Russia, Austria, and Prussia, compelled either to declare war against France and England in support of Don Carlos, or to witness the success of principles which indirectly at least might affect their security. If these powers had been less firmly resolved to preserve the peace of Europe, or felt themselves too weak to contend successfully against England and France, they would have opposed the quadruple treaty, for they had as great a right, in a question which regarded the balance of power in Europe, to demand that it should be settled in a conference of all the powers, as any one power had a right to demand a European conference on the question of the East. The quadruple alliance, however, was suffered, and France and England appeared for an instant to have realized the old cry of France and England against the world. But we have seen how the alliance worked. France abandoned England, and left her to make singly those efforts and those sacrifices which should have fallen equally on both. Whether this was a gratuitous treachery on the part of the French government, or was forced upon it by its conviction of the unwillingness of the nation to unite cordially with England, even when the two countries appeared to have the same object in view, is of little importance; we have merely to inquire into the nature of the alliance, and as to the way in which it was virtually broken off.

The next attempt at alliance was the negotiation for a com-

mercial treaty. There had previously been some concessions on each side respecting the tonnage dues upon vessels entering French or English ports; and it was generally allowed that the advantage was on the side of the French government. If that really was the case, it did not prevent the English cabinet from listening to a suggestion for a commercial treaty. Perhaps it was thought that although it was not probable that the French would agree to a treaty in which the apparent advantage should not be on their own side, yet that the real gain would be on the side of England, from the extent of the exports of her manufactured goods as compared with the imports of the produce of France. Mr. Macgregor and Dr. Bowring were appointed as commissioners of the English government to carry on negotiations in Paris with commissioners appointed by the French cabinet; the negotiations continued for several months at much expense to England, and were then broken off, Mr. Poulett Thompson, the President of the Board of Trade, having discovered that there was no serious intention on the part of the French government to make concessions, and that if there was to be reciprocity, it would be Irish reciprocity—all on one side. An angry feeling was the result of this rupture; and this was the more unfortunate, as it occurred at the time when Marshal Soult, who was then president of the cabinet, was complaining bitterly of the conduct of Lord Palmerston on the question of the East. More than one effort, however, was made by the French cabinet to get the negotiations resumed. Mr. Poulett Thompson, with more energy than could have been expected from him, refused to be again made the dupe of the French cabinet, and declared that he would never resume the negotiations, unless the bases of the treaty were agreed upon at once; and it would be shown that the French government had the power of commanding the sanction of the Chamber of Deputies to the treaty when signed.

Mr. Poulett Thompson went out of office and was succeeded by Mr. Labouchere. The French cabinet, either sincerely desirous of putting an end to the unfriendly feeling which had been created by the rupture of the first negotiations, or merely wishing to keep up an appearance of cordiality with England, proposed, indirectly it is true, but in a manner not to be misunderstood, that the proposed treaty should be again discussed, and Mr. Labouchere, having more belief in the sincerity of the French cabinet and in the disposition of the Chamber of Deputies to make concessions, than Mr. Poulett Thompson, immediately appointed Mr. Henry Bulwer and Mr. Porter, one of the clerks of the Board of Trade, to carry on the negotiations, which had in the first instance been conducted by Dr. Bowring

and Mr. Macgregor. This choice of commissioners was not altogether a happy one: the conciliating manners of Mr. Henry Bulwer and his experience as a diplomatist rendered him a very fit person for mere diplomatic intercourse, and so far the choice of Mr. Labouchere was not an improper one; but Mr. Bulwer was necessarily ignorant of commercial affairs, and was unequal to contend with Frenchmen, who had not only the requisite practical knowledge themselves, but who had also the advantage of consulting, from time to time, the committee of trade attached to the French government, and the members of which were directly or indirectly interested in trade themselves. It was supposed that Mr. Porter would be a match for the French commissioners, and that his commercial knowledge would supply all the deficiency of Mr. Bulwer on this head; but Mr. Porter, although a very amiable man, and a very good clerk of the Board of Trade, was totally unequal to the trust reposed in him—he knew nothing of the secret of French *bureaucratie*; he was utterly ignorant of the secret springs by which the French commissioners were moved. When in the discussion of the terms of an agreement, one of the parties has from the first made up his mind to make none but concessions of small importance, and not to sign unless the other party gives way in every point, firmness and skill in negotiation by the party seriously desirous of an arrangement on conditions of reciprocity, can do little good; no commissioners on the side of the English government could have done much, but certainly a yielding man, like Mr. Porter, and on whose mind the shrewdness of a French negotiator was likely to have great influence, was not the person who ought to have been sent. The negotiations for the treaty drew their slow length along until they had arrived at that point where there was little more to do than to sign. Concession after concession had been made by the English commissioners, and although Mr. Porter boasted that they were counterbalanced by concessions from the French commissioners, we have reason to believe that this was not the fact. M. Thiers, however, would not sign, for paltry as his concessions were, he had never seriously intended to affix to them his signature and official seal. The excuse for not signing was, that the public mind in France was much irritated against England, and that his signature would be regarded by the French as a humiliating effort to conciliate the English nation, and would bring upon him a burst of indignation which he would be unable to subdue. M. Thiers did but speak the truth, for if the treaty had contained only half of the few concessions which it made in favour of English commerce, the French would have been dissatisfied at any time, and certainly much more so in the state of irritation to

which he had brought them by a hired press. But M. Thiers never intended to sign the treaty. With his accustomed duplicity, however, he assured Mr. Porter that he was anxious to sign it, and entreated him to remain in Paris for a few days, during which he said something might occur respecting the eastern question to calm the public mind, and enable him to put the seal to a document which was calculated to draw closer the bonds of alliance between England and France. Mr. Porter remained in Paris six weeks, in the hope of obtaining the signature of M. Thiers, and was at length recalled, the British government having become convinced that M. Thiers was playing false, and that he intended to leave the treaty just where it was. The refusal of M. Thiers to ally himself closely with England was manifest in all his acts. Let us now see what the feeling was of the preceding cabinet of Marshal Soult; this brings us immediately to the eastern question, and we shall follow it up from the period at which we commence, until that moment when the King of the French, alarmed at the revolutionary feeling in France, played *au plus fin* with M. Thiers, and formed a cabinet which was ready to adopt his own views. Our readers know that after the battle of Nezib, in which the Pacha of Egypt was victorious against the Sultan, it was proposed by France that the eastern question should be settled by the five great powers of Europe in conference, and a collective note to the Sultan, stating this determination, and dated July 29, 1839, was sent in. This note was followed by a declaration from the French throne in the speech to the Chambers, that the powers of Europe in concert had undertaken to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman empire.

It has been stated in the Chamber of Deputies, that previously to this decision Lord Palmerston had proposed to the French cabinet that the settlement of the eastern question should rest exclusively with England and France, and that for this purpose the fleets of the two nations should join, and if necessary, force the passage of the Dardanelles. The authority upon which M. Thiers brought forward this assertion was a letter from the Baron de Bourgueney, the French Chargé d'Affaires, in London, in which he stated that Lord Palmerston had made such a proposition, and he cited several facts in support of the assertion. We should be sorry to be compelled to give credence to it, for it would sanction much of the subsequent conduct of the French cabinet. If Lord Palmerston, in a question which interested all the powers of Europe, could recommend the exclusive settlement of it by two, the French could also claim the right of settling it by one, and would therefore insist upon the adoption of their own view of the terms. The collective note of the 27th of July set this

point at rest, and the French government entered into the conference. Scarcely a month had passed over when, having ascertained that the views of the French cabinet as to the position which the Pacha of Egypt was to hold, were not those of either of the other powers, France withdrew from the conference, and informed the English government that she would be no party to the settlement of the eastern question in the way suggested by Lord Palmerston, but at the same time that she would oppose no obstacle if her recommendations to the Pacha should produce no effect. The Emperor of Russia, taking advantage of the voluntary absence of France from the conference, sent Count Brunow to England with proposals for an immediate solution of the affairs in concert with England, Austria, and Prussia. Marshal Soult, mistaking the nature of Count Brunow's mission, and imagining that it was for the purpose of negotiating an exclusive alliance between England and Russia, remonstrated strongly against this proceeding, and the communications between him and Lord Palmerston assumed a very unfriendly and almost hostile tone, which was much increased on the side of Marshal Soult by some articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, offensive not only to the Marshal, but also to the King of the French. Marshal Soult could not directly complain of these articles to Lord Palmerston, but he did not hesitate to ascribe them to the pen of the noble lord, and the consequence of his irritation was a degree of coldness which had never existed between the two cabinets since the revolution of July.

Two facts occurred to diminish the anger of the Marshal; one was the failure for the moment of the mission of Count Brunow, the other an assurance from a quarter in which confidence could be placed, that the offensive articles in the *Morning Chronicle* were not written by Lord Palmerston, but by the Paris correspondent of that journal;\* and that as his communications arrived in London at an hour in the morning when no editor was in attendance, they were so written in Paris as to appear like editorial remarks. The return of hope in the French cabinet was of short duration. The mission of Count Brunow had been merely suspended, and was to be revived. France continued to demand for Mehemet Ali the hereditary government of Syria, and to this all the other powers of Europe were opposed. In the month of February, 1840, Marshal Soult, who had retained the reins of office with a firm hand in spite of the

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\* This Review directed public attention long since to information received of the fact, that some leading articles of the *Morning Chronicle* were written by M. Thiers himself.

declamations of the daily press, which had declared eternal warfare against him because he had abolished the infamous system of paying for its support out of the public funds, was so unwise as to bring forward a proposition for a dotation to the Duke de Nemours on the occasion of his marriage; and being in a minority in the Chamber of Deputies, which is never very yielding in pecuniary matters when the crown is concerned, gave in his resignation, and the king, who was unable at the moment to form any ministry without M. Thiers, gave a reluctant consent to his return to office, although that gentleman, in order to remove the scruples of the king, did not hesitate to make the most positive professions of a desire to maintain peace, and generally to adopt the king's policy. The accession of M. Thiers was not favourably received by the radical press, for he had previously made a declaration in the Chamber of Deputies that the alliance with England was indispensable to France; but he contrived in a very short period to make this press subservient to him. He purchased the *Messenger*, formed a coalition with M. Odillon Barrot, and thus secured his organ the *Siècle*, which, from the low price at which it is sold, has a circulation of 40,000 copies per day; he gave government places to several of the persons attached to the *Courier Français*, and controlled the *Constitutionnel*, of which he is said to hold a share in another name. He had thus complete command at once of the leading organs on the mis-called liberal side; and at a later period, professing republican doctrines, he secured the cohesion of the *National*. The *Capitole*, the Bonapartist, supported him, because he was believed to be anxious for war; and the *Temps*, till then a very respectable journal, fell into the wake. Before he had been long in office he succeeded also in obtaining the indirect support of the legitimist papers, the *Quotidienne*, *Gazette de France*, and *France*; for the legitimists were anxious for war, as the means of deposing the reigning dynasty, and, therefore, although cordially hating the principles of M. Thiers, were willing to make him an instrument for their own end. M. Thiers had also the direct control over two political reviews, the *Revue de Paris* and *Revue des Deux Mondes*. With the whole of the press in his hands, except the conservative papers, the *Journal des Debats* and the *Presse*, M. Thiers felt that he had a formidable weapon. We shall see presently with what effect he availed himself of his influence over the journals. We now return to the Eastern question. When M. Thiers came into office as President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs, the arrangements of the conference on this question had made considerable progress. Lord Palmerston had laid down as the basis of the settlement

that Syria should be restored to the Sultan, and that Mehemet Ali should have the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt with the Pachalic of Acre. Russia had adopted this basis, and Prussia and Austria had also declared their intention of adopting it, if Lord Palmerston should consider further concession to Mehemet Ali incompatible with his policy. The French cabinet had demanded for Mehemet Ali the hereditary government of Syria as well as Egypt, but to this the four powers at once refused to accede. The Prussian and Austrian ambassadors however suggested, that in order to conciliate France it might be possible to grant to Mehemet Ali the life government of Syria; and M. Guizot, the French ambassador, was told that if this concession would satisfy France, and she would say so, it was probable that they might be able to induce Lord Palmerston to go thus far. M. Guizot made the communication to M. Thiers, and evidently expected that he would at once say whether the suggestion of the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors should be followed up; but M. Thiers replied, that a hint was not a proposition, and that he would not say whether it would be accepted or not by the French cabinet until he should have ascertained whether such a mode of settlement would be accepted by the Pacha. It has been said by the political admirers of M. Thiers that he ought to have seized with eagerness this opening to concession, or at any rate that he ought not to have made himself the mere advocate of the Pacha of Egypt; that he had put himself forward as a mediator, and that no mediator is governed in his judgment of right or wrong by the feelings of the party in whose favour he is supposed to act. We do not know what truth there may be in the assertion, that when the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors made the suggestion which has been referred to, they were certain of the readiness of Lord Palmerston to adopt it, as nothing of a positive character has transpired on this point; but it may be permitted to us to doubt whether it would have been easy to bring the English cabinet to this solution. Two attachés of the English embassy at Constantinople, Colonel Cameron and Colonel Woodfall, had been travelling in the countries under the dominion of Mehemet Ali, and had sent home reports of the inadequate means of defence against any serious demonstration of the European powers which were possessed by that ruler; they had described his army as in a disorganized state, and Colonel Hodges, another agent of the British government, had represented the Syrians as ripe for insurrection. The information received by Lord Palmerston was not of a nature to induce him to make concessions after he had brought Russia, Austria, and Prussia to the adoption of his plans; and there was besides a moral

obstacle against granting Syria to Mehemet Ali for his life, which must have had its effect in a case where moral grounds existed in support of opinions of mere interest. Governments, although frequently but too ready to sacrifice morality to what is called political necessity, are never slow in availing themselves of moral means when they are on their own side. The Syrians were bending already under the yoke of Mehemet Ali, and that yoke was not, to speak truly, very light. The most active tribes amongst them were those of the mountains, and we know that in all mountainous countries the inhabitants are ever ready to throw off a yoke, and ever anxious for a political change in which they are promised freedom, although it may be freedom only in name. In the ordinary course of nature Mehemet Ali would not live more than five or six years, and it was not probable, in the event of his being permitted to retain Syria for the remainder of his life, that he would study the happiness of a people and the prosperity of a country which was to be lost to his family from the moment of his death. Five or six years more of rule under such circumstances would have been so many years of despotic government and cruel exaction; and at the death of Mehemet Ali the few resources of Syria would have been exhausted, and the inhabitants would have been drained of all they possessed; this jewel of the Turkish crown would have been restored shorn of its lustre and full of flaws. It may be very well now to say to France that the life government of Syria would have been granted to Mehemet Ali if France had asked for it; the answer might have been different if the application had been made.

Various motives have been assigned to Lord Palmerston for his conduct on the eastern question, By some it has been said that he was actuated by a desire to weaken the influence of France in the East, and urged on by an old feeling of irritation against the government of that country, arising out of more than one breach of faith. By others it was said that his sole object was to snatch Turkey from the protectorate of Russia, and prevent a war in the dominions of the Sultan, which should give to Russia such an increased influence as might one day threaten the security of the English possessions in the East. There were some who saw in the conduct of Lord Palmerston a prudent foresight against the ambition of France. The French had retained possession of Algiers, in violation of their promise to evacuate it as soon as the avowed object of the expedition,—the chastisement of the Dey—should have been obtained; and it was supposed that they were only waiting for the consolidation of their new colony to invade the dominions of the Beys of Tunis and



Tripoli. If Mehemet Ali, by the weakness of the Sultan, had become the independent sovereign (for the vassalage to the Sultan would have been only nominal) of Egypt and Syria, he would indeed have been a formidable ally of France, and that country would have had little difficulty in extending her conquests on the African coast. With a firm footing in Africa, and an intimate alliance with the new king of Syria and Egypt, French ambition might have taken a new flight, and not only have endangered the English possessions in the East, but have made France so powerful in Europe as to contend successfully against her ancient foes and more recent ally—these considerations may have operated upon the English cabinet: if they did not, they ought to have done; and they were of themselves quite sufficient to make the diminution of the power of Mehemet Ali an object of importance. M. Thiers took, or pretended to take, a different view of the motives of Lord Palmerston. He first said, that he had been made the dupe of Russia; and even the *Journal des Debats*, although in opposition to M. Thiers, contained a long article, intended to show how Lord Palmerston had been duped, and the utter impracticability of his opposing any barrier to the designs of Russia, having once consented to the principle of lowering the power and influence of the Pacha. At a later period M. Thiers made his journals assert that England, anxious to obtain Egypt for herself, and willing to purchase even the temporary safety of India by a sacrifice to Russia, had agreed to a partition of the Turkish dominions, and to allow Russia to take possession of Constantinople, on a pledge that she would not attempt to interfere with the British possessions in India. This was said before the treaty of July 15 was signed. When the news of the signature of the treaty reached M. Thiers, the basest motives were attributed by him to all the powers who were parties to it, and eventually he threatened to prevent its execution by force.

It has been made a charge against the English cabinet by the French, that the intention to conclude the treaty of London was concealed from their ambassador in Paris, and that an opportunity was not afforded, even at the eleventh hour, for France to become a party to the treaty, and so prevent that isolation from the councils of Europe which was dangerous and humiliating to her in every point of view. To this it has been replied, that although the French government was not informed of the day on which the treaty was to be signed, it was frequently and unequivocally told, that if France would not consent to become a party to a treaty upon the conditions agreed upon by the four powers, it would be signed by the four without her. Of this there is no

doubt ; all the documents connected with the negotiations show it ; and M. Guizot has admitted this to have been the fact. There was, however, to say the least, a want of courtesy towards France, in not giving her the opportunity of repenting at the eleventh hour ; and it is certainly to be regretted that a course, which would have been at once dignified and proper, was not observed. The facts which have transpired since the publication of the treaty show that there had been much, and, even for diplomacy, very unwarrantable deception on the part of the cabinet of M. Thiers. It is known now to the public, as it was at the time to the English government, that whilst his ambassador in London was instructed to inform the representatives of the four powers that M. Thiers was anxious to become a party to the treaty, provided reasonable conditions could be obtained for Mehemet Ali, and that the French cabinet, in withdrawing from the conference which it had been the first to propose, had acted under the influence of popular feeling, but would do nothing to embarrass the proceedings of the other powers, M. Thiers was endeavouring to bring about a private arrangement between the Sultan and his vassal, without the concurrence of the powers of Europe, and on conditions essentially different from those upon which they had agreed. It is known that the French ambassador at Constantinople, and the French consul-general at Alexandria, were both actively at work in an attempt to bring about such an arrangement, and that M. Perrier had been sent on a special mission to the same effect. The treachery and duplicity of the conduct of M. Thiers deserved the trick that was played upon him by the secret conclusion of the treaty of July 15, as far as he was concerned ; but the powers ought, perhaps, to have considered that M. Thiers was not France, and that some courtesy was due to the French nation, although none whatever was due to him. In other countries the conduct of a minister may be fairly regarded as that of the nation in whose name he acts ; but in a country where the average duration of a cabinet is only seven months, the feelings of the nation can hardly be said to be represented by any one man, or any one set of men. If M. Thiers had been told that such or such a treaty would be signed on a certain day, and had been formally called upon to accede to it or protest against it, the knowledge of the fact must have reached the king, and he would have displaced M. Thiers if he had refused to sign ; for Louis Philip was able to foresee all the mischief of isolation. No sooner had he heard of the treaty than he exclaimed, " This is a great calamity. The pride of the French is touched. Mad as they were in their enthusiasm for the cause of the Pacha, I should have had much less difficulty in bringing them to co-operate with

the four powers against him, than I shall now have in keeping them quiet under the effect of this slight."

The news of the signature of the treaty was a thunderbolt for the French nation. The friends of the alliance with England deplored it, the enemies of the alliance made it the subject of comment, in which they mingled ignorance with rage. M. Thiers would have found it difficult to stem the torrent, if he had been disposed to do so, for his journals had made the populace drunk with excitement; but he had no desire of the kind. His journals teemed with abuse of Lord Palmerston, whom they represented as having bullied his colleagues into a compliance with his views; and this opinion was fostered by M. Thiers. It is, perhaps, but just to say that he entertained it himself. Mr. Waghorn came to Paris and had an interview with M. Thiers, in which he represented Lord Palmerston as being alone in his ideas of the mode of solution of the eastern question: and said, that if M. Thiers would stand firm, the inevitable result must be the dismissal of Lord Palmerston from the councils of the queen. The English reader will smile, perhaps, at the assertion that the statement of Mr. Waghorn produced an effect upon the mind of M. Thiers. He must learn that Mr. Waghorn had a certain reputation in France, that he was regarded as the intimate friend of Mehemet Ali, and as being in the confidence of some leading politicians in England: and it must not be forgotten that M. Thiers is neither a prudent nor a discerning statesman. He is a shewy orator, a clever writer, but almost as unfit for a minister as Mr. Waghorn himself. M. Thiers was strengthened in his opinion by a radical deputation from England, headed by Mr. Attwood, and he was also in communication with Mr. Urquhart. He fancied that he had only to abuse Lord Palmerston, and to desire his journals to write up to radical feeling in England, to overthrow a cabinet which he knew to be weak. His denunciations of the treaty were not confined to the journals of the left or radical party in France; they appeared also in the evening papers, the *Messenger* and the *Moniteur Parisien*, which were official. In all the journals secret articles to the treaty were spoken of, and the French were led to believe that the partition of the Turkish empire had been decreed. The French cared little about that as far as the balance of power was concerned, for their commercial relations with Egypt are of trifling extent; but the idea of spoil and plunder in which they were to have no share, was not to be borne. Did M. Thiers himself believe that there were articles of this nature in the treaty? It is probable that he did: for it was declared in Paris by an English employé of some rank, that there were secret articles of a scandalous nature connected with the

treaty ; and the declaration was made in such a way that it must have reached the ears of M. Thiers.

The policy of the French cabinet immediately after receiving the news of the treaty was to excite a national feeling in England against the cabinet, and to prevent the ratification of it by Austria and Prussia : the idea of going to war to prevent its execution was not then entertained. M. Thiers imagined that Austria and Prussia were to be bullied into a refusal to ratify the treaty. " Menaces to England and Russia," said he to one of his colleagues, " will have no effect ; but I know the Austrians and the Prussians. We have only to menace them and they will give way." Menaces were tried, and they failed. It was now certain that the treaty would receive its execution, but no person in the French cabinet supposed that any serious step would be taken before the spring, and M. Thiers lived on for a short time in hope. He had declared that menaces would not avail with either England or Russia ; yet no sooner did the news of the taking of Beyrout arrive, than he thundered forth menaces of invasion and propagandism all over the world. He had not waited however for the fall of Beyrout for the adoption of a warlike attitude. He had already compelled the king, by the influence of popular feeling, to sign ordonnances for raising the army from little more than 300,000 to 500,000 men, and for fitting out several new ships of war. With a certain degree of tact he took advantage of the public excitement to revive the old project of fortifying Paris, a project which he knew would be acceptable to the king, as a means of security against the populace, and which hitherto had met with almost general resistance. The French were now told that they must, whilst invading other countries have a secure retreat at home in the event of a first reverse, and they swallowed the bait.

The fall of Beyrout announced in a lying telegraphic despatch, which stated that the bombardment had lasted nine days, and that the town had been reduced to ashes after a brilliant defence, and followed up by details in which it was said that the allies had wantonly fired upon the hospital, murdered the sick, and directed their shot against the French consul's flag, produced a deep sensation in France. At that moment, if M. Thiers had made a *levy en masse* to march to the frontiers and invade the German provinces of the Rhine, he could have raised a million of men ; but his plans were not yet ripe. He had foolishly supposed that the allies would remain quiet in Europe during the winter, and that he could make preparations for falling upon them in the spring with effect. He now addressed to Lord Palmerston his famous note of the 8th of October, in which for the first time he laid in

his *casus belli*. The Sultan had decreed the deposition of Mehemet Ali as viceroy of Egypt; this he said, France would not permit, but he abandoned Syria to the chances of war. Whether Lord Palmerston was really deceived by this note, or thought proper to appear ignorant of its hidden meaning, is not known; but it did not deceive those who were acquainted with the duplicity of M. Thiers; and he has since confessed that he never intended to confine himself to a demand for the revocation of the decree of Mehemet Ali, which had indeed almost been promised by the allies before he wrote his note, and intended in the spring to demand further concessions in favour of the Pacha, and if they should be refused to declare war.

A short time previously to the fall of Beyrout an ordonnance had appeared convoking the Chambers for the end of October. It was generally understood that the object of the convocation was to obtain the legislative sanction for the royal ordonnances, authorizing an expenditure of about 150 millions of francs for the increase of the army to 500,000 men, the fitting out of new ships of war, and the commencement of the fortifications of Paris. The ordonnances for the army and navy were acts which fell fairly within the limits of ministerial power, and very little was said against their legality even by the opponents of M. Thiers; but the ordonnance for the fortifications of Paris excited great dissatisfaction from the constitutional party, who contended, that as this measure was not one of urgency, M. Thiers ought to have waited for the meeting of the Chambers before he incurred any expenditure on this point. The Republicans also were dissatisfied, for they believed that M. Thiers intended to revive the system of detached forts, against which they had protested as being meant to give the military a constant command of the capital, and prevent the success of any explosion against the government; and they imagined that M. Thiers had adopted this project in order to gratify the king, and induce him to consent to the preparations for war which the cabinet had advised. It was rumoured however by the conservative or king's party, that the king had become alarmed at the rapid spread of the revolutionary party, which was clamorous for war as the sure means of exciting the passions of the multitude against foreign powers and against Louis Philip, who was regarded as their protégé, and that he had refused to continue his sanction to the policy of M. Thiers, until he should be convinced that the majority of the Chambers thought as M. Thiers did on the question of peace or war. The note of the 8th October, and the pacific reply of Lord Palmerston, had induced many persons to believe, that if the four powers would revoke the decree of the Sultan for the deposition

of Mehemet Ali, M. Thiers himself would not push his armaments farther; and that having carried the credits for the fortifications of Paris, he would there stop. It appears, however, that in obeying the mandate of the king for the convocation of the Chambers, M. Thiers was resolved that the question of peace or war should not be submitted for discussion free from royal influence, but that the king should in the speech from the throne demand new armaments, and thus show that he was resolved for war. In the beginning of October M. Thiers informed the king of his intention to ask for a further increase of 400,000 men for the army. The king objected, and as M. Thiers threatened to resign if his view was not adopted, Louis Philip consulted the Duke de Broglie as to the possibility of forming a new administration. The Duke, who had recommended, after the resignation of the Soult cabinet in February, that a junction should be formed of Soult and Thiers—a combination rendered impossible by the refusal of Marshal Soult to put his legs under the same table (we use his own words), either in or out of the council, with a man by whom he had been ridiculed and insulted, was anxious to prevent the dissolution of the Thiers cabinet, dwelt much in his interviews with the king upon the difficulty in forming a cabinet which should be able to stand against the popular current, the flood-gates of which had been opened by Thiers. Whilst he declared his disapprobation of the policy of the Thiers cabinet, he advised a compromise, but his advice was not agreeable to the king, who, detesting his minister, had not been idle in his endeavours to ascertain the feeling of the deputies with regard to the formation of a new cabinet. The king had sent for M. Guizot to Eu, and had learnt from his own mouth the real state of feeling in England on the Eastern question and in France. He had also received private communication from M. Guizot by letter, which convinced him that the four powers would concede nothing to menaces, and that they were firmly resolved on preventing the propagandism which was threatened by the organs of the French cabinet. It is said that many of the communications made by M. Guizot to the king were intercepted; but he received sufficient to show him the necessity of immediate and vigorous action. When the Duke de Broglie, who remained firm in the promise which he had made to his wife on her death-bed, to return no more to the ministry until he should have completed the education of their child, found that the king was resolute, he readily lent his aid in the formation of a new cabinet, and communications were opened with Guizot and Soult. Thiers knew this, and at once laid before the king the draft of a speech from the throne calling for new armaments, and declaring the inten-

tion of France to vindicate what he called insulted honour, *coute qui coute*. The king refused to sanction this speech, and Thiers and his colleagues resigned. Nearly three weeks elapsed before they went out of office, and Thiers evidently calculated during the whole of that time on being able to coerce the king into compliance. Indirect but atrocious attacks upon Louis Philip were made by the ministerial journals; it was hinted that if he did not adopt to the fullest extent the policy of his cabinet, a revolution would break out, of which he would be the first victim; and he was held out as the timid tool of the allies and an enemy to the dignity of France. Louis Philip knew that if his refusal to go to war might produce revolution, going to war would certainly produce it; for a war in the state of public feeling in France would only have been a war of propaganda, the leaders of which must necessarily be the Republicans, and he was not willing to lay down the sceptre for a revolution which must have ended in a consular government, and to see power transferred from his dynasty to the person of M. Thiers. He formed a new ministry in despite of public clamour, and in November the Chambers met.

In the meantime events were proceeding with rapid strides in Syria. The fall of Beyrout was followed by that of all the forts on the coast, with the exception of Acre; the prince of the mountains, Emir Bechir, who had remained faithful to Mehemet Ali until his own tribes abandoned him, surrendered to the British and Austrian forces; and the army of Ibrahim, after opposing a powerless resistance, fled towards the Egyptian frontiers. Never was campaign so fortunate, or fortune so propitious, as in this affair. The operations in Syria were commenced at a period of the year when in the ordinary course of things the weather would have proved a formidable obstacle to the success of the British arms. M. Thiers had calculated on bad weather in October, which would have rendered it necessary for the ships to seek shelter in some port, and the pompous despatches of Soliman Pacha, a renegade Frenchman named Selves, who had quitted Paris, where he was unable to remain, and entered into the service of the Pacha of Egypt, led him to hope for a resistance which would have checked the progress of the allies, and left the question open to the spring. But Providence and British courage and energy baffled the calculations of the French minister. With unheard-of activity the British squadron moved from point to point, and a few ships and a mere handful of Englishmen, with a few thousand Turks, were able to take possession of a long line of coast, and to give such confidence to the Syrians, that the Egyptian army, although it must have amounted to at least

80,000 men, was driven before the allies. The commander in chief of the Egyptian army in Syria, Ibrahim Pacha, the son of the Viceroy, had hitherto contended only against Turks, and when contending with them only he had always been victorious; but animated by the presence of Englishmen, the Turks fought well, and they had on this occasion one advantage over the Egyptians which must not be overlooked. The men, generally speaking, received their pay, whereas a great portion of the Egyptian army was two years in arrear. Soldiers who are not regularly paid never fight well, unless they have the prospect of plunder before their eyes, and there was little prospect of plunder in Syria. When Bonaparte headed the penniless and shoeless Republicans of France, he pointed to flourishing cities and said, "Before you is plunder, behind you starvation and death." In this way he stimulated the ardour of hungry men. Ibrahim Pacha was in his own territory; he could plunder only his own subjects, and had he been so inclined, there was little plunder to be had. Two-thirds of the Egyptian army had besides been torn from their homes and their families, to which they were anxious to return. They would fight if they were compelled to do so, but it would be with unwilling hearts.

A short account of the way in which most of the Egyptian troops in Syria were raised, will enable the reader to judge of the nature of the army of Ibrahim Pacha. Some were agriculturists, who were tributary to the Pacha in personal service for a limited period; others, and these by far the most numerous portion, were kidnapped and marched off by force. The process of raising men for the army was, with Mehemet Ali, a very summary one. When he wanted men, he sent a body of troops to a fair, a market, or a fête, and suddenly drawing a cordon round the whole population, all the males fit to bear arms were selected, and immediately chained together and sent off to the army, as forçats are sent to the Bagnes in France. We have heard an anecdote from a gentleman attached to the British embassy at Constantinople, which is strikingly illustrative of this mode of raising troops. A short time previous to the battle of Nezib, Mehemet Ali being much in want of men to recruit the army of Ibrahim Pacha, and having so frequently drawn upon his ordinary resources, that none but the women and old men of the Egyptian peasantry frequented the markets, and the usual fêtes were no longer kept, lest the young men should be taken by force for the army, he is said to have induced a Christian slave, in one of the large villages of Egypt, to commit some offence against the Mahometan religion, the penalty of which was death. The man was promised not only that he should not lose his life, but also that if



he played his part well to the last, he should receive a handsome reward. The Christian was tried with great formality and sentenced to die. The governor, who was in the secret, ordered that the execution should take place with unusual pomp, as the offence was one which excited great indignation among the faithful, and to do honour to the ceremony, and under pretence that a rescue might be attempted, several hundred soldiers were marched into the village without exciting suspicion. On the day appointed for the execution, the peasantry of the country for miles round flocked into the village. The man was tied up, and the signal for execution had only to be given, when suddenly the soldiers closed upon the populace, and driving out all the women and children and the old men, bound the rest and marched them off. It is but just to say, that the supposed culprit was released, thus showing that Mehemet Ali could keep faith. If he had chosen to break it, the poor fellow might have been executed, without having an opportunity of imploring the despot to spare the life, which he had solemnly promised to preserve. If this anecdote be true, and there is little if any reason to doubt its truth, we may easily conceive that troops thus raised could have very little zeal for the service into which they were pressed.

The Chamber of Peers adopted the address in reply to the speech from the throne, which had been prepared by M. Guizot, and was conclusive as to the determination of the king to remain at peace with Europe, by an immense majority. In the Chamber of Deputies also, the majority, although not overwhelming like that of the Peers, exceeded the expectations of the ministry, for it was eighty-six. This majority astonished all parties, for the cry for war out of doors was loud and menacing, and it was feared that many of the advocates of peace would be coerced by it into a vote against the address. This probably would have been the case if the votes in the French Chambers were open as in England; but vote by ballot is attended with the facility of speaking one way and voting another way. A deputy is thus enabled to vote freely, without reference to his constituents. The really conscientious partisans of the peace policy could on this occasion prevent war, and yet secure themselves against the anger of those of their constituents who, under the excitement of the journals, were opposed to the preservation of peace. It is by no means an extravagant assertion to say, that in this instance the tranquillity of Europe was maintained, for a time at least, by the vote for ballot, but let not this conclusion be converted into a general approval of the system. If secret voting may sometimes be turned to good, it may also at times be turned to harm.

The decision of the Chamber of Deputies was, perhaps, in a

great measure, the result of the rapid success of the British arms in Syria. Governments and legislative bodies have a very great respect for what are called *faits accomplis*. M. Thiers had stated in the Chamber that he intended to go to war to preserve Syria; before the vote was come to on the address Syria was lost. He had said that he intended to land a French army in Egypt in aid of the Sultan: before the vote it was known that Mehemet Ali had announced his intention of giving way. There was nothing therefore to fight for, and a vote hostile to the ministry could only have the effect of bringing back to power a set of men, who, during the discussion, had so completely identified themselves with the revolutionary party, that whatever their original intentions might have been, they could only return to office as the head of the factions opposed to all monarchy, and consequently to the monarchy of July. The revolutionary party in the French Chamber of Deputies is not strong. Two-thirds of the deputies are merchants, manufacturers, or *propriétaires*, (owners of houses and lands). These classes are essentially anti-revolutionists, for revolution is fatal to commerce, manufactures, and property in general. All that was necessary therefore for the Guizot ministry, in order to obtain a majority for the peace policy, was to identify revolution with war. The debate on the address was exceedingly violent, for all parties were desirous of making a show of patriotism, and there were few deputies (M. Guizot was amongst the few) who had courage to strip the question of all its fallacies, and contend manfully against the popular stream. M. Thiers called himself the child of the revolution, and said he gloried in his origin; M. Jaubert, an ex-minister, declared that he was for war to the knife with England, and made it a boast that one of the first steps intended by the Thiers cabinet, was to set defiance to England, and take possession of the Balearic isles. M. Berryer, the *royalist*, M. Berryer pronounced a fulsome eulogium upon the memory of Bonaparte, and entreated the Chamber to declare war, in order that the ashes of the eternal enemy of England might rest in peace. M. De Remusat, an ex-minister, described M. Thiers as a patriot worthy of the adoration of the French, and M. Thiers shed tears on the degradation of his country. With all this, however, the Gallic cock could not fight, for the majority of the Chamber resolved to clip its wings. The news of the division produced a powerful sensation out of doors, and the war journals called upon the deputies who had voted for the address, to publish their names, so that the traitors to the dignity and honour of France might be known. To this appeal they did not respond. The publication of the names might have led to calculations as to the number of

white or black balls, which would have shown that many of the popular orators who had been most clamorous for war in their speeches, had been very pacific in their votes.

Soon after the vote upon the address, authentic accounts were received from Alexandria, that the Pacha of Egypt, who had been betrayed into a hopeless resistance, by the promises of support which had been given to him by the Thiers cabinet, had wisely consented to withdraw his troops from Syria, restore the Turkish fleet, and give a receipt for the hereditary government of Egypt in full of all demands. The unexpected fall of Acre, which the Pacha and his friends in France had regarded as impregnable, and the certainty that Alexandria would be bombarded if he refused to submit, must have tended materially to hasten his submission. He had seen that the English are as active as they are valiant, and that whilst the French were promising wonders as friends, the English could show what they were capable of as foes. The solution of the Eastern question, in a sense opposed to the wishes and anticipations of the French nation, has produced a strong feeling of hatred to England in the minds of the great bulk of the French nation. They still talk of insulted honour, and threaten that they will wipe out the stain. In vain are they told that there was no intention to insult, and that having once said that they had received insult, they should do as men of courage do in private life, at once challenge the insulter. We are not ready, they say, but we have now the ashes of our Emperor, and over his tomb we will take an oath of vengeance daily, and wait for the hour when we shall have got rid of our traitors, and have a government willing and able to go to war.

We shall now take a rapid view of the interest which England had in the arrangement of the affairs in the East, and the position in which she is likely to stand from the solution at which we have arrived.

In the early history of Egypt, even in the Scriptures, we find that many nations situated to the east of the Nile were in the habit of travelling through Syria for the purpose of traffic; and as if nature had more especially taken care of our race in that particular part of the world, she placed there those indomitable animals, the camels, whose unwearied and patient temperaments rendered them peculiarly fitted for the transportation of merchandise and men, between the populous east and the no less populous countries situated on the sides and above the Delta. The remains of Thebes and Memphis, with the innumerable ruins scattered every where, attest the grandeur and great civilization of the subjects of the Pharaohs. History goes as far as to show us that there were from thirty-nine to forty millions of people under

the sway of Sesostris; and that the countries towards our oriental possessions were not less covered with people than that of the Ptolemies, is proved by the immense armies which Ninus and Semiramis led into Bactria. Between these nations there must have been a great interchange of luxuries, and also from their numbers, of food; and we have a very early instance of interchange in the history of Jacob and his sons, who, impelled by famine, sought the abundant grains of Egypt, in the same way which modern nations traffic, by exchanging the precious metals for the means of sustenance. But this commerce was not simply confined to land conveyance. In the Bible, and in profane histories, we have abundant proofs of the early use of ships, and these ships not less in size than our own. The immense extent of some ancient vessels we have already shown in the preceding article. Nay it is to the oriental navigators that we are indebted for our first knowledge of Africa as a continent, some 3000 years perhaps before Vasco de Gama ever saw the Cape of Good Hope. From the innumerable colonies which the Greeks had in Asia Minor they must also have traded largely with the east, and by their conquests the trade must have fallen into the hands of the Romans. This is not matter of speculation, for in the time of the Romans there was an oriental town in which there was not less than from 300 to 400 interpreters between the numerous nations which existed in the time of the Emperors; and in the time of Trajan there were no less than 73,000 foreign merchants at Rome, the greater number of whom carried on their trade partly through the Red Sea and partly through the Euphrates into the Persian Gulf. On the destruction of the Roman empire the commerce of the East greatly declined; and Alexandria, the depôt of Eastern produce, which contained nearly as many inhabitants as Rome, ceased to be the great emporium between Europe and Asia; while in their turn Venice and Genoa raised their proud heads struggling and beating the power of the fierce Osmanlis; not many centuries ago the terror of every nation in Europe, not excepting our own.

From the immense power of the Mahomedans by land, and their jealousy of the Christian nations, travelling to the East by Europeans became exceedingly precarious. Independent of the dangers by land, the Euphrates was supposed to have become less navigable than it was 2000 years ago, from the falling in of its banks, shifting of sand, with perhaps stronger monsoons of late years than existed in ancient times, were the cause of the decline of trade by the Red Sea; while the perfect safety of the Cape voyage without any molestation induced English, Spaniards, Portuguese, and other nations, to adopt the longer voyage; which

besides required no debarkation of goods or land carriage of any description.

A new era arose in the communication between Europe and the East, by the introduction of steam vessels. New maps of the shoals and coasts of the Red Sea were constructed, and those perils, which were considered to be a complete bar to transit to the east of Sicily, were by the use of this new power rendered a complete midsummer's dream. The journey to Bombay, which frequently by the Cape of Good Hope took eight, ten, and twelve mouths to achieve, has been effected in less than as many weeks.

It was not to be supposed that our merchants, whose industry has pushed trade into the most remote parts of the world, would remain idle spectators of the immense advantages in point of time which would be gained by the revival of this ancient line of traffic between Europe and the East; nor that our government in its parental anxiety for the extension and advantages of commerce could have remained silent spectators as to the affairs of the Turkish Empire, containing as that country now does the great high road as it is justly called between the five divisions of the world; more especially with the immense trade we already possess, and hope to possess, in the East; and having besides the tutelary guardianship either directly or indirectly of 150 millions of souls in our oriental colonies, and immense interests in other countries, such as China, deeply valuable to every state in Europe and even America.

We repeat, that while our government looked carefully at the importance of the passage of Suez, it could not of course be a passive spectator of the political events in the Turkish empire, and those European nations who had an interest, perhaps, in its dismemberment. It became, therefore, an imperious duty on the part of our cabinet to assume an attitude of decision in reference to Egypt and Syria; independent of her desire to aid the Sultan in checking a rebellious vassal. We indeed owe much as a matter of gratitude to the reigning family at Constantinople for the attachment they have so frequently shown to English interests in a variety of ways, within the last three hundred years.

No plan of policy was certainly more wise than that of the status quo. By keeping this great political principle in view we were certain to gain the friendship of Prussia, Austria, and even of Russia. It is perfectly clear that if England had only in view her own especial interests, she was more particularly called upon to stop the views of aggrandizement of Mehemet Ali; with all his barbarity the viceroy had so far introduced European customs and European officers and others into his service, as to make him a very different kind of personage from Abd-el Kader, or any

of the other Mahommedan chiefs or pachas. With a population of 2,500,000 souls, and an army of all sorts from 200,000 to 300,000 men, as Clot Bey pretended, and which would have been powerful if well organized, he had got a certain kind of importance; and had he obtained even a limited sovereignty over Syria with her three millions more, his army might have become dangerous not only to the existence of Turkey as a power, but in obstructing our passage to and from the Red Sea, and consequently, into our Eastern possessions; attempts against which had been already made within the last few years to please, as some supposed, those renegade Frenchmen who surround him, and who were unceasingly dinning into his ears, that his grand line of foreign policy was to unite with France as the power who could and would protect him whenever he should hoist the standard of absolute independence. Nor was it simply breaking up the Turkish empire we had to look at. Mehemet Ali was adding ship after ship to his fleet, and in the event of Russia ever coming to Constantinople, or a general war breaking out, his navy might have been of some service if joined to the French and Russian fleets, either in the Mediterranean or Black Seas. We were also not blind to the martial character of his probable successors—weak he was with Egypt and weak he is still—our policy has been, and is, to keep him so; for although in point of physical force it would be easy with 30,000 sepoys, and as many English troops, to march to Cairo whenever we pleased, prevention was better than cure; and to use the old adage, “a stitch in time may save nine.” It is an easy matter for us to command the Sultan by our fleet and our power over Constantinople, and thus to obtain a passage, should it be practicable, by the Euphrates. At present, however, we do not demand any thing exclusive. We ask for no territory, nor exclusive privilege. All that we have gained or seek is in common with France, and every other nation.

The republican party in France, in the mortification which they experience at seeing their calculations of preponderance against both Russia and England baffled in the East, now threaten to cultivate an alliance with the Czar, and the legitimists, with more consistency as to principle than the republicans, adopt the same view. We do not believe that either of these parties is very likely for some time to come to obtain the upper hand in French politics, neither do we believe that it would be an easy matter to induce the Emperor of Russia to cultivate an exclusive alliance with France; but these events are possible. The French republicans and the legitimists are each a numerous and influential body, and the tide of affairs may either bring about a temporary junction of these parties against British interest, or one or

the other may for a time have supreme command. The hatred of England is as strong in one party as the other, if we are to believe its mere professions; and neither would hesitate to avail itself of any means to lower the greatness of the British name. The Emperor of Russia has evidently been disappointed at the turn which things have taken in the East; and a day may come, when, setting aside all feelings of repugnance to the French, he may join with them against this country. Let us see, then, how we should stand with reference to the East in the event of a war against both Russia and France; in which the other powers should be neutralized by some addition to their respective territories; not that we consider that such a combination is probable. Our duty in the event of a scramble, if we had no alliance, would be to place our power in Egypt and Syria on such a footing as would bid defiance to the whole powers of Europe together. This might be very easily done. We could bring up by the Red Sea, and with greater ease as our steam power advances, from 100,000 to 200,000 sepoys, officered by Englishmen; we might draw as many more men from our nine millions in Ireland, with contributions from England and Scotland also, as would raise an army of 400,000 to 500,000 men. These, with the Taurus properly fortified, and the aid of the Syro-Egyptians, would baffle any power which could ever come from Constantinople into Asia Minor. Accustomed as the Sepoys and Irishmen are to live on vegetable food, and with the immense tracts of fertile and unoccupied land, it would not require six months to make these countries an irresistible and useful colony, and with comparatively little expense to the parent state; and at the same time relieve our over-burdened population at home. On the whole, then, we consider, that as the Eastern question now stands, England has nothing to fear, provided she have men of intelligence and energy to direct her councils, and profit by a solution which we may, without depreciating any of the statesmen engaged in producing it, attribute in a great measure to the interposition of events, for which we are indebted, perhaps, in a smaller degree to diplomatic skill than to an over-ruling Providence.

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## MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

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### ITALY.

THE musical drama in this country has flourished from a remote period. Sulpitius, an Italian, speaks of it as an entertainment known there as early as the year 1490. He was supposed to have *invented* it, but acknowledges he only *revived* it. From this date, therefore, we may go on to trace a few of the leading particulars that may be new to the general reader. For a long interval, however, the early operatic spirit in whatever form it existed seems to have slumbered, the principal Italian writers confining themselves to the production of Oratorios, Masses, Madrigals, and Motetts. The Ballettos of Gastoldi and other lighter composers, the *Canti Carnuscialeschi* and the *Laudi Spirituali* were all proofs of the profound knowledge and powers of invention of these highly gifted people. The popes and nobles of Italy were all patrons of music, excellent artists were numerous, and yet the opera did not permanently establish itself until the year 1632 at Rome. Burney mentions that the first secular or musical drama performed, was entitled *Il ritorno di Angelica nell' Indie*.

The most recent musical publications which have appeared in Italy have been *Memorie di Compositori di Musica del Regno di Napoli, raccolte dal Marchese di Villarosa*, published at Naples; and *Teoriche elementari di Musica di Alessandro Mampieri*, this latter work is in fact a grammar of music.

NAPLES.—Miss Adelaide Kemble continues an object of vast attraction. She appears at the Theatre San Carlo occasionally, and is always received with unbounded applause; her personification of *Desdemona* in Rossini's opera of *Otello*, and her *Beatrice di Tenda* in Bellini's opera of that name, have been her most successful attempts. Mdlle. Pixis continued to draw crowded houses in Bellini's *Norma*, aided by Gruiz, Reina, and Giani; but her terms have been considered most unreasonable, being nearly 100*l.* per month for appearing three nights each week. Madame Maray, the other prima donna, has been equally attractive in Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy*.

Mercadante has entered on his situation as director of the Conservatory of Music, with a salary of 20*l.* and a residence free. He has been elected censor of the Lyceo Musicale at Bologna, and maitre de chapelle to the church of St. Petronia at Bologna.

Not one new opera has been produced during the last three months.

ROME.—The celebrated Academy of St. Cecilia, which was established in 1584 and has conferred honours on upwards of 3000 persons, has just elected Ronfichi and Dr. Lichtenthal of Milan honorary members: it is somewhat singular that such celebrated composers as Bach, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Cimarosa were overlooked by this very excellent institution.

A new opera by Selli, entitled *Elisa Franval nel castello delle paure*, has been produced at the Teatro Argentina, but it met with an indifferent reception.

The celebrated Theatre *Tordinona*, which was suppressed by Pope Innocent XII. for some irregularities that had been committed in it, consisted of seven orders, or galleries, one over another; each order was divided into thirty-five



boxes containing twelve persons each. The stage was 184 geometrical feet long. The other theatres were the Theatre *Allapace*, the Theatre *Capranica*, and *Torri di Nona*.

PALERMO.—Ricci's *Scaramuccia* and Bellini's *Straniera* have been the recent favourites, the principal parts being effectively filled by Lusignani, Donati, Cavalli, and Colini.

FLORENCE.—The long expected opera by Prince Poniatowsky was brought out on the 11th November at the Theatre Pergola. The amateurs of that city pronounce it to be a work of considerable promise. Madame Ungher, Signor Roncain, and Musich sustained the principal parts, and the opera was in all points got up with great brilliancy. The prince is engaged in the composition of a new work.

A new opera by Basevi, entitled *Romilda ed Ezzelino*, was very recently produced at the Teatro Alfieri, and received on its production the most enthusiastic reception; the composer and singers were called forth at the conclusion of each act, but in a few nights afterwards the opera was neglected and thrown aside as worthless; this conduct need not excite surprise, for Romer's opera of *Fridolin* at the Prince's Theatre, St. James's, was received on the two first nights of its production with tumultuous applause, but on the fourth representation the house was nearly empty.

VENICE.—Riccoboni mentions that the theatres of Venice are open from the month of October to the first day of Lent. The Theatre of Saint Samuel had seven rows of boxes. In this place it was the custom for the spectators to go to all public diversions masqued, even the Doge himself went in the same manner unattended. There were eight theatres open, four for comedies and four for operas. As the distinctions of rank were observed, the ladies of quality placed themselves always in the front boxes, and those of another class, whose reputation has always been deemed equivocal, sit in the row immediately below. Those who sit on chairs in the pit, both men and women, take care not to put on any fine clothes, because of the disgusting custom of these enlightened foreigners to throw into the pit the remains of what they had been eating.

The Opera Buffa, or Comic Opera, made its appearance in 1597; it was entitled *L'Anfiparnaso*, composed by Prazio Vecchi. The music of this piece is printed in a score of five separate parts, which are all employed throughout, even in the prologue. Each scene is therefore nothing more than a five-part madrigal in action. There is no solo or recitative throughout the whole performance, neither is there any overture or part for an instrument of any kind. The monotony must have been insufferable, every movement beginning in common time. The language is in general *Modenese*, and not intelligible even to many Italians.

Rossini, who has been for two or three years in Italy, has expressed in a letter his earnest desire to visit Paris, in order, says the great composer, "that I may once again hear an Italian Opera, which I despair of doing until I return to your city. In Italy we have neither composers, voices, nor artistes."

#### FRANCE.

THE FRENCH OPERA AND DRAMATIC PROFITS ON THE CONTINENT.—The name "opera" given to dramatic pieces set to music was very common in Italy when Cardinal Mazarin introduced it into France in the year 1645. By his commands a piece entitled *La Festa Theatrale de la Finta Puzza* was performed at the Petit Bourbon, in presence of Louis XIV. and the Queen-Mother; and an Italian dramatic company, also engaged by him, represented, in 1647, a three act opera, under the title of *Orfeo e Euridice*. Louis XIV. retained the

musical taste which had been given him in his youth, and the Abbé Perrin was the first who ventured in France a complete opera, which was performed in 1659. Until that period the attempt had been confined to introducing pieces of music into tragedies, such as Pierre Corneille's *Andromède*. In 1660 Mazarin had an Italian piece entitled *Ecole Amante* executed on the occasion of the King's marriage with the Infanta Maria Theresa; but the taste of the French was already turned to operas written in their own language.

At the same period the Marquis de Sourdeac distinguished himself by his ingenuity in the management of theatrical machinery. At the time of the King's marriage he had a piece called *La Toison d'Or* performed at his chateau of Neubourg, in Normandy, the words of which were by Pierre Corneille. The Marquis de Sourdeac displayed a Royal hospitality on the occasion. The company of the Marais was brought from Paris, and performed *La Toison d'Or*, in presence of five hundred Norman noblemen, who were entertained above two months together at Neubourg, at the Marquis's expense. The Marais company executed the piece afterwards at Paris, and the magnificence of the spectacle pleased the King and Court so much that it served as a pattern for succeeding pieces.

In 1669 Perrin, Councillor to the King, and introducer of ambassadors at the Duke of Orleans's, brother of Louis XIII. and uncle of Louis XIV., obtained the opera privilege in France. The letters patent by which it was confirmed on him are dated St. Germain, the 28th June, 1669, and contain the following remarkable passage:—

"Desirous of contributing to the advancement of the arts in our kingdom, and of treating favourably the said memorialist, in consideration both of the services he has rendered our very dear uncle, and of those he has rendered us for several years past, by composing musical words which are sung in our chapel and chamber, we have granted and do hereby grant to the said Perrin permission to establish in our good city of Paris, and in others of our kingdom, an Academy, consisting of such number and quality of persons as may suit him, to represent and sing in public operas and musical pieces in French verse, similar to those in Italy . . . and considering that the said operas and representations are musical works quite different from recited comedies, and that we hereby establish them, on the same footing as those of the Academies of Italy, where *gentilhommes* sing without degradation, we will and it is our pleasure that all *gentilhommes*, *damoselles*, and other persons, shall be enabled to sing at the said opera, without derogating from their titles of nobility, nor from their privileges, offices, rights, and immunities."

Perrin, unable to provide for the whole expenditure of such an establishment, associated with Cambert, an organist, for the music, with the Marquis de Sourdeac for the machinery, and with a certain Champeron for the money he required. He erected a theatre in the Tennis Court of Rue Mazarine, and brought out an opera in the month of March, the words of which were written by him, and the music by Cambert. The machinery, which was by the Marquis de Sourdeac, contributed not a little to the success of the work. The piece was performed for eight months, with so much vogue that Perrin's share of the profits amounted to 30,000 livres. But harmony was of short duration between the partners; the Marquis de Sourdeac, on pretence that he had advanced money to Perrin to pay his debts, took possession of the theatre, and got an opera composed by Gibert in 1672, called *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, of which Cambert composed the music. It was a pastoral piece, and it met with the utmost approbation. Lulli, superintendent of the king's music, availing himself of the discord between the opera partners, obtained from Perrin, through the influence of Madame de Montespan, a surrender of his privilege, and new letters patent, dated March, 1672, authorising him to

establish an "Académie Royale de Musique" at Paris. The new privilege revoked that of Perrin, and therefore annulled the claims of his partners. Cambert retired to England, where he died in 1677, superintendent of the music of Charles II. Lulli, to avoid discussion, erected a new theatre near the Luxembourg, in Rue de Vaugirard, and opened it on the 15th November, 1672, with the *Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*, a pastoral piece, of which Lulli composed the music and Quinault the words. At the death of Molière, in 1673, the opera was transferred to the Palais Royal Theatre, where it so long continued. Lulli managed the Opera for fifteen years, and during that period produced nineteen operas and twenty-five ballets. But the honour of creating the Opera is erroneously ascribed to him. It belongs to Perrin and Cambert. Lulli improved it, and brought it into the path which it has since pursued with so much magnificence. He is the second, and not the first, ring in the long chain which commences with Perrin and Cambert, and now ends with Rossini, Meyerbeer, Halevy, and Auber.

The first singers heard at the Opera in 1671 were Baumaville and Rossignol, with Cadierre and Cholet. The first female singer was Mdlle. de Castilly. The first ballet-master was Beauchamps, who was, moreover, a dancer with Saint Andre, Favier, and Lapiere. In 1679 Mdles. Brigagne, Marie Aubry, Lagarde, and Bony were added to the singing department.

At the origin of the Opera there were no *danseuses*; but in January, 1681, Lulli and Quinault represented before the King at St. Germain a ballet called *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, in which, say the chronicles of the times, the Dauphin and Dauphine, the Princess de Conti, Duke de Vermandois, and Mademoiselle de Nantes danced, as well as the most distinguished young men and women of the Court. The success of this *mélange* was so great that when the ballet was given at Paris, on the 6th of May following, female dancers were for the first time introduced on the stage of the Opera. The first *danseuse* who obtained reputation at that period was Mdlle. Lafontaine. Shortly after came Mdlle. Subligny, and next Mdlle. Guyot, who retired in 1725, Mdlle. Francoise Prevot, who died in 1741, Mdlle. Sale and Mdlle. Camargo, who shone at the middle of the eighteenth century.

The sovereigns of France always patronised the Grand Opera or Académie Royale. Under Napoleon and the Restoration, when its expenses were scarcely half what they now amount to, the Opera derived above 800,000 francs a year from the Imperial treasury, and upwards of 1,100,000 from the public treasury and civil list of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. At present, with a *personnel* costing near 1,000,000 francs, its *subvention* is reduced to €20,000.\*

The salary of one singer only now exceeds what the *whole* Opera cost a hundred years ago, when the total expense of the *personnel*, including singers, dancers, the orchestra, machinists, tailors, and dressmakers, amounted only to 67,050 livres. This sum, as a French dramatic critic observes, is scarcely equal in amount to the *feus*† of the great tenor, Duprez. At that period a *premier chanteur* was paid fifteen hundred livres per annum, a *premier danseur* one thousand, and a *premier danseuse* nine hundred—sums for which Taglioni would scorn to perform a mazurka, or Elssler a cachucha. Times are indeed wonderfully altered as regards dramatic emoluments and foreign *artistes*, although at no period, perhaps, has there been a greater competition in their

\* The annual *subvention* voted for 1841 to the three Royal Theatres (the Italian Opera shares in it no more) is 1,087,000 francs. The *matériel* of the Grand Opera is valued at 4,000,000 francs, and it is obliged to give one hundred and fifty representations a year.

† A sort of *douceur* stipulated by eminent performers for every night they sing, act, or dance, in addition to their regular salaries.

profession. In England Italian singers were paid highly enough in comparison with what was allowed to their comrades of the French Opera at about the same period; yet no where has the increase been more remarkable than at the Italian Opera of London, when, under the management of Handel, Senesino, an Italian singer, obtained 1,500 guineas for a season, and another, Farinelli, after a short stay in England, amassed a fortune, purchased an estate in his native country, and, proving, at least, grateful to the source of his opulence, erected and dedicated a temple in his realms to "English folly." Yet Senesino and Farinelli would have marvelled if they had lived to witness the engagements of Catalani, who, as an intelligent lessee of the Opera tells us, "exact terms unparalleled in the annals of foreign extortion." What those terms were we know not precisely, but have every reason to believe that they have been much exceeded by those of her fair successors. Malibran, in 1829, was engaged at the London Opera at seventy-five guineas a night, with a benefit; and at the Italian Opera of Paris, in 1830, at 1,175 francs per night. After three seasons in Paris and two in London, as her biographer tells us, she had accumulated 24,000*l.* In 1833 she was engaged at Drury-lane at 150*l.* a night, and her next engagement at the same house was at the rate of 377*5l.* for thirty nights. At Milan, subsequently, her engagement with Duke Visconti was 420,000 francs, with a palace for her residence, a carriage, and a free table, for one hundred and eighty performances. Julia Grisi, as was lately proved before a French Court of Law, realises above 10,000*l.* a year by her performances and concerts in London and Paris. Rubini is stated by a French print, which, however, we cannot safely trust, to have made an income of 4,000*l.* per annum, and it will be no fault of the British public if his comrades do not thrive equally well after the memorable battle fought and won for one of them in last season of her Majesty's Theatre. Madame Demoreau Cinti receives, we believe, some 60,000 francs from the Paris Opera Comique, a sum, however, not extravagant, when we compare that great singer with the more prosperous *prima donna* of the Italian Opera. Taglioni's receipts at St. Petersburg, Vienna, and in London would, perhaps, be deemed more extraordinary still than some of the above engagements if they could be accurately stated, though they may prove reasonable enough when compared with what the New World is yielding to Fanny Elssler, who is stated to have been engaged at the Havannah at the rate of 4000*l.* for one month of saltation. After these details, the emoluments of the singers now in vogue in Italy need not surprise. According to a statement just published on the Continent they are as follows:—Mariani, who lately demanded 6000*l.* for a season at Paris, 2400*l.*; Salvi, 2000*l.*; Donzelli, 2800*l.*; Reina, Poggi, and Pendazzi, from 1200*l.* to 1600*l.*; Ronconi and Marini, about 1600*l.* Mesdames Straponi, Scobelechner, and Ronzi, 2000*l.*; Madame Marini, 1400*l.*; Mdlle. Francilla Pixis, 1600*l.*; and Madame Ungher, 2800*l.*

Composers have their due share in the golden patronage which the nineteenth century has extended to the lyric drama. Rossini leads a melancholy life at Bologna, with an income rated at 4000*l.* Meyerbeer must have, by his compositions, added a large revenue to the one he has derived from a wealthy father. If Donizetti, with his prolific pen and present vogue, be not on the high road to fortune, it must be his own fault.—*From a talented Correspondent of the Morning Post.*

The musical critics of Paris are at issue regarding Donizetti's new opera *La Favorite*, which has just been produced at the Academie Royale de Musique; the one and by far the most numerous party contending that Donizetti has surpassed any of his former productions, by the beautiful themes he has spread in rich profusion, and particularly by the finales to the second and third acts; the other party, ever disposed to depreciate, from a habit of finding fault, declare "it has no novelty, no *new* thought in the whole, and that even when the com-

poser vouchsafes to be pretty and agreeable, which is but seldom, it is terribly at the expense of all his other works." All however agree that the production of this opera has been the means of introducing a singer of exceeding brilliancy to the public. M. Baroilhet possesses a barytone of considerable compass and beauty, and in the slow movements he surpasses even Tamburini for intensity of feeling and purity of style. The libretto is by A. Royer and G. Vaez, and the scene of action is in 1340, in the kingdom of Castile, where *Alphonso XI.*, *King of Castile*, wishes to be divorced from his wife that he might marry *Léonor de Gusman*, a young lady celebrated for her wit and beauty, but whom he subsequently makes his mistress by a pretended marriage, so that she afterwards becomes an object of interest and pity. A young novice, *Fernand*, has seen her, and become deeply attached, for which reason he abandons monkish honors to return to the world, and accepts a brevet of captain, which *Léonor* by the *King's* influence bestows. *Fernand* soon distinguished himself by his bravery, and demands the hand of *Léonor*, unaware of her position in respect to royalty; the *King*, as the only possible reparation, accedes to *Fernand's* request, and the nuptials are celebrated, when *Fernand* learns he has married the *King's* mistress. He defies the *King*, breaks his sword, and rushes off to resume a monastic life. He is followed by *Léonor*, who appears at the rites as he is about to take the vows, obtains his forgiveness and then dies. *Léonor* was effectively sustained by Madame Stolz, *Alphonse* by M. Baroilhet, and *Fernand* by M. Duprez. The opera has met with the most extraordinary enthusiasm on every representation.

PARIS.—A new musical work, entitled *Histoire de la Musique depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours*, par M. Blondeau, is just published.

A new opera, called *La Reine Jeanne*, was produced at the Theatre Favart, lately. Its story is made up of the adventures of *La Jeune Reine Jeanne*, of Naples, who is compelled to abdicate the throne by *Prince Durazzo*, and who is assisted by the *Prince de Tarente*, who loves the young queen and is beloved in turn. The queen is given by *Durazzo* into the charge of the *Prince de Tarente*, with a very significant hint to put her out of the way, instead of which he rambles about with his charge disguised as gipsies. While thus disguised, the queen makes a conquest of *Lillo*, a creature of *Durazzo*, who effects a counter-revolution, and proclaims the supposed gipsy-girl queen. Being once more seated on her throne, her difficulties increase, for *Lillo*, having effected a gipsy-marriage, takes the desperate step of gaining access to his wife's chamber. Here the queen saves herself by a confession of her true character, and further mischief is avoided by the arrival of the *Prince de Tarente*, who marries the queen and procures a general pardon for the offenders. The music, the composition of MM. Mousson and Bordeze, is pleasing, but does not possess any striking passages or beauties. The singing of Eugénie Garcia, in the part of *Jeanne*, it appears, rather disappointed the Parisian critics.

A new opera has been produced at Bordeaux, entitled *Tasso's Vision*, by a native composer, Gilloux, hitherto unknown.

Halevy has composed a new comic opera, entitled, *Der Guitarrspieler*, the libretto is by the never-failing scribe, and will be very shortly produced.

## GERMANY.

THE German Opera, as it now exists, seems to have been derived from the operetta chiefly cultivated in the latter half of the 18th century, by Weisse and Hiller. The romantic opera is altogether a German production, compounded of the Italian opera, seria and buffa, with an infusion of their own peculiar dreamy and mysterious tone of thought. Weber brought this style of opera to the utmost perfection of which it is capable, and Meyerbeer, his friend and

fellow pupil, has, in the *Crociato* and *Robert le Diable* followed a similar path. This class of operatic composition requires singers rather above the common grade to do justice to such works, which indeed seems to be the principal reason why in England the public are so seldom allowed to hear them, as we literally have no school for the education of dramatic singers.

Sphor's operas contain some beautiful music, *Faust* and *Jessonda* especially; they are just beginning to be known in this country. We have only space left to refer the musical reader, who requires information on this subject, to the table of contents of:

*G. W. Fink's Geschichte der Oper.*—"History of the early growth of the Opera."—"Its flourishing state even before it had a name."—"Spread of the Opera in Italy."—"Its first emigration from thence into Germany, France and England."—"The text in the Operas of that time in Italy and France, principally of Quinault's."—"Its progress in Germany."—"Christopher Glück's change of the Opera."—"Its progress in England, Russia and Poland."—"The excellence and superiority of the Opera in Germany, in comparison with Sweden and Denmark."—"Sketches and opinions of Opera texts."—"Ideal of an Opera composer;" and a short review of the present state of the Opera, from which last we have transcribed the following passages: "It would seem that the opera has gained, of late, a great victory over the declamatory tragedy and comedy, for if a manager of a theatre has no operas performed he will not find his coffers very heavy. This does not arise from any particular merit in the opera itself, but from the great and universal attraction of the union of so much vocal art which is indispensably necessary in the opera. We are come now to a fearful point in this art, for noise and roudading are to serve for superior amusement. The more stupid and romantic it is the better, for simplicity is nothing, it will not go down, there must be a noise, or there will be no effect." Such is the state of the opera all over Germany.

The best works on Music which have appeared in Germany during the last few months are—

*Dehn*, Theoretisch Praktische Harmonielehre; with Examples on Thorough Bass.

*Fransius*, De Musicis Græcis commentatio. Inest fragmentum ineditum ad Ptolemæi Harmonicum pertinens.

*Schiffner*, Seb Bach's geistige Nachkommenschaft.

*Fétis*, F. J., Biographie Universelle de Musiciens. Vol. 6.

*Schütze*, Praktische Theoretisches Lehrbuch der Musikalischen Komposition. Part I.

*Van der Hagen*, Minnesänger Deutsche Lieder, of 12, 13 & 14 Centuries. Four parts in five sections.

The number of musical publications which appeared in Germany during the last two months was 497: of these, 9 were orchestral pieces; 31 for the violin; 7 for the violoncello; 15 flute; 3 of other wind instruments; 9 guitar; 220 piano-forte; 7 organ; 26 hymns; 106 songs; and 32 works on music—of these, 6 were works of instruction.

**BERLIN.**—The musical horizon of this city has been clouded for a long period. The latest production worthy of notice was the new opera *Der Bruvo*, by Mercadante; the principal characters were sustained by Mdlle. S. Lowe, Schultze, M. Bader, Mantius and Zschiesche, but it was considered too tedious and too noisy.—Mad. Stöckl Heinefetter appeared in *Ifigenia in Tauris*, but with little effect.

**VIENNA.**—A new opera in three acts, entitled *Alfred der Grosse* (Alfred the Great), composed by W. Reuling, the libretto by Otto von Müller, has been produced with great splendour, and obtained considerable applause on its first

representation, but as neither Fanny Lutzer, nor Mad. Schodel were in the cast it soon ceased to attract. The Theatre an der Wien, and the Leopoldstädter Theatre have been principally occupied in the production of pantomimic novelties and light farces.

One of the most useful and best works for learners of the Pianoforte has just appeared at Munich; it consists of 200 progressive lessons for youthful beginners, who are unable to span the octave. It is by K. M. Kunz, and bears the very flattering testimonial of J. B. Cramer's entire approbation and recommendation; it is entitled *Praktische Pianoforteschule für den aller ersten Anfang*, etc. etc.

LEIPZIG.—The musical season may now be said to have commenced in this city. The first subscription concert took place under the direction of F. David; Marschner's overture to the *Vampyr*, and Beethoven's *Sinfonie eroica*, were the most attractive features. Mendelssohn has resumed his post as director, and was warmly greeted on his first appearance after his return. A new piece by H. Marschner, called *Klänge aus Osten*, has since been produced; it consists of an overture, songs, solos and choruses, and from the reception it met with, the composer (Marschner) will, no doubt, produce from these materials a grand opera; it is unquestionably a safe method to ascertain the public opinion at an early stage of the work. Moscheles, who had been staying here for some time, has now left.

On 3d inst. (December) the annual concert for the benefit of decayed musicians took place in this city. Mendelssohn directed his *Lobgesang*, or Hymn of Praise, which he had composed for the Gutenberg Jubilee. He has enriched this beautiful composition with several additions. The orchestra played with that precision which might be expected where Mendelssohn is the weekly director, and David first violin. On this occasion the director's desk was wreathed with flowers, and after the concert some sixty or seventy dilettanti sang a *Ständchen* in honour of the great composer.

MAGDEBURG.—The new grand oratorio, by A. Mühlhling, of *Bonifacius, the German Apostle*, was performed for the first time on the 25th inst. by upwards of 260 singers and musicians, and was most brilliantly received. The solos are exceedingly full of melody, and were most effectively given by Winfried, Theodor and others; the composer, Mühlhling, has thus added another link to the fame he had already acquired by his oratorio of *Abbadona*.

MUNICH.—A new opera, entitled *Die Nacht auf Paluzzi*, has been produced with unqualified success; it is from the pen of a young native composer, Pentenrieder, who was called forward at the conclusion of each act.

THE DRAMA IN GERMANY.—There have been no new dramatic productions of very stirring merit represented in Germany recently, but the winter season will no doubt bring several novelties forward. C. Raupach, one of the few favourite dramatic authors, has just published his new five-act drama, entitled *Corona von Saluzzo*, and his new tragedy, *Themisto*; these pieces will no doubt be brought out in Vienna shortly.

Gubitz's Annals of the German Stage for 1841, contains the following selection of favourite new pieces: *Verirrungen* (the Misguided), by F. Devrient; the *Brautführer* (Bridesmaid), a farce by C. Raupach; *Verwünschte Schneidergesell*, (the Enchanted Tailor's Apprentice); *Elfride*, a tragedy, by Marggraf; and *Dramatic Jokes*, a comedy, by F. Maria.

Cosmar's *Dramatischer Salon* for 1841, also contains three new comedies and a farce.

#### AMERICA.

Many of the best English singers are here receiving that patronage which a British public have refused to bestow; thus *La Gazza Ladra* is an attractive

opera at the National, with the following cast : *La Roche*, Giubilie ; *Valcour*, Latham ; *Fernando*, Seguin ; *Ninette*, Mrs. Seguin, and *Pippo*, Miss Poole. Power fills the Park Theatre nightly, and Miss Fanny Elssler is pursuing a most triumphant tour through the United States. She has already realized 20,000 dollars, and will shortly take her departure for New Orleans and Havanna ; she cannot be expected in Europe until the spring.

The next novelty at the Park Theatre will be Mozart's *Don Juan*, the characters being filled by De Begnis, Seguin and his wife, Giubilei, Miss Poole, W. H. Williams, and Horncastle.

Braham has been enthusiastically received at Philadelphia.

A French company are playing in New Orleans.

Mr. Braham, in conjunction with Mrs. E. Loder and Mr. and Mrs. Horn, gave a concert of sacred music at New York, with selections from Handel's "*Messiah*." Mrs. Gibbs, late Miss Graddon, also assisted ; this lady who was so popular at Vauxhall Gardens some years since, is an especial favourite at New York. Mr. and Mrs. Wood continue to attract at the Park Theatre : no sooner is one engagement concluded with these talented singers than another is immediately offered them ; but they are now going to New Orleans.

### SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The inhabitants of the distant colony of Adelaide have a Victoria Theatre, at which operatic and other performances are given, Auber's "*Masaniello*" has been produced with considerable success. The principal parts were thus cast : *Fenella*, Mrs. Cameron ; *Guiseppa*, Mr. Buckingham, and *Masaniello*, Mr. Cameron. Mr. Levy and Mrs. Mansfield are also favourite singers.

### LONDON.

COVENT GARDEN.—The most attractive feature at this theatre has been Shakspeare's "*Midsummer Night's Dream*," arranged with music by Mr. T. Cooke from Beethoven, Purcell, Mendelssohn, Stevens, Horn, and some original songs and chorusses from his own pen. This piece acts better almost than any of Shakspeare's plays. The *classical*, the *fair*, and the *homely* characters require no highly wrought acting to carry them through, and with the aid of pleasing music, fine scenery, and the best talent the theatre affords, every thing conspired to render this one of the most perfect performances we have witnessed. Madame Vestris's excellent singing, although some parts of her voice are slightly impaired, is still very attractive, because her superior knowledge enables her to produce the best effects.

Mr. Planche's adaption of Beaumont and Fletcher's comedy of the *Spanish Curate* has been increasing in popularity, owing to judicious curtailment, and the leaving out all obnoxious phrases. The beauty of this comedy consists in the arrangement of the plots, by which the audience are unable to foretell what will transpire in each succeeding act, and yet at the conclusion of each act the principal plot is so constructed that the whole terminates in a most admirable manner. In the petite comedy of *Fashionable Arrivals*, Madame Vestris delighted her audiences by one of the most pleasing ballads we have heard for some time ; it was composed by Mr. I. H. Tully, and is entitled "*Lovely Night*." The new Christmas pantomime, *The Castle of Otranto*, or the *Giant Helmet*, has been most effectively got up, and is likely to prove as attractive as *Harlequin and the Merrie Devil of Edmonton*, which was represented so many nights last season.

HAYMARKET.—The lessee of this delightful theatre afforded another treat to the patrons of old English comedy, by the revival of the *Road to Ruin*, Mrs. Centlivre's *Wonder*, and O'Keefe's *Wild Oats*. Mr. James Wallack, by his



personification of the principal character in each of these delightful comedies, displayed considerable ability. His talents are so versatile and useful that we trust Mr. Webster will take care to secure his services for the next season, and thereby prevent his return to America.

Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer's new comedy, with the simple title, *Money*, has been most successfully produced, but Sir Edward's production is not a *genuine* comedy, reflecting the manners and the spirit of his day, although it contains some broad caricature outlines which were made the most of by Rees, Strickland, Wrench, and F. Vining. Mr. Macready did all that fine acting could accomplish, but the character of *Evelyn* is evidently unnatural, and the same may be said of *Graves* (Mr. Webster). The *mise en scene* is superb, and the play, on the whole, deserved and will run through the season.

DRURY LANE.—Concerts d'Hiver.—Mr. Eliason may be congratulated on the success which has attended these delightful concerts. The truly elegant manner in which the theatre is fitted up, particularly the whole of the stage department, with its ceiling of fluted silk, its looking-glasses, and musical clocks, is a strong incentive to visitors. The programmes have been rich and varied, and the music has been magnificently executed, owing, in no trifling degree, to the unequalled conductor, Mons. P. Musard. The solos have also been most effectively given by Lazarus, Collinet, Koenig, Dantonet, Frisch, and Müller. Mathew Locke's music to *Macbeth*, and Purcell's *King Arthur*, have been very loudly and deservedly applauded, and the lessee deserves our thanks for bringing forward these splendid specimens of our early English composers. Musard's arrangement of the *Grand scene Satanique*, from Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, is most excellent, and was extremely well received. Rossini's overture to *William Tell*, and Auber's *Fra Diavolo*, continue to be the most especial favourites.

As this noble theatre is probably doomed to remain for a considerable time without a lessee, who would be actuated by a wish to uphold and produce the real and genuine drama, it is far better that it should be devoted to the present refined species of entertainments, than those with which it has of late years been degraded. Experience has proved that Mr. Balfe is almost the only man capable of effectively producing operatic performances worthy of this theatre, and he is too cautious to venture on the undertaking; Mr. Webster, on the other hand, has been too shrewd to allow Mr. Macready to remain disengaged; thereby securing the chief dramatic talent in the companies of Covent Garden and the Haymarket. Mr. Eliason will do well to continue to supply the public with the same species of "sublime sounds" they have of late been delighted with.

PRINCESS'S THEATRE.—Mr. Willy, the celebrated violinist, deserves the highest praise for opening this superb little theatre, which for the taste and elegance of its decoration is altogether unrivalled. In construction it is very like the Italian Opera-house. There are four tiers of boxes, all of which, except the middle portion of the second row, are private. The front of the first tier is divided into compartments, each of which is richly ornamented with scrolls, surrounding a figured medallion in relief, and is bordered by a gilt moulding. The front of the second tier is equally divided, each compartment having for its centre a large oval blue stone in imitation of turquoise, the bright colouring of which has a fine effect in the general composition; and the upper tier has its divisions filled with various little devices. The ceiling is circular, and is supported upon a series of arches, each forming an opening to the upper row of boxes; and the drapery of the latter, from the lower circle to the roof, is composed of the richest crimson silk damask. The chandelier is altogether unique in its character, and exceedingly beautiful. Generally speaking, where much gilding and decoration are resorted to, they produce a heavy sombre

effect; but here, with the most elaborate profusion of gold and ornaments, everything is in correct taste. As a specimen of fancy architecture, the Princess's Theatre is a perfect gem. The promenade concerts, under the direction of the able lessee, have been most effectively performed; Mr. Willy has drawn around him first-rate talent: Messrs. Tutton, Baumann, Richardson, Dando, and Macfarlane, are established favourites, and the public cannot spend an hour more advantageously than by visiting this delightful theatre, where the eye as well as the ear may be fully gratified. A piece called Beethoven's *Battle Sinfonia* and *Bouquet des Dames*, have been very successfully performed. The latter consists of several melodies from the works of eminent composers, concluding with music, descriptive of an earthquake, post-horn, cracking of whips, coronation procession, firing of cannon, flourishes of trumpets, ringing of bells, and concludes with a grand triumphal march by Strauss.

These amusements have unquestionably given the metropolitan public an opportunity, never before offered, of hearing good music finely executed. Mr. Willy has engaged Harper, and has successfully produced a selection from Handel's *Acis* and *Galatea*. The solo performers, at this theatre, are fully equal to any other performers in England.

PRINCE'S THEATRE, ST. JAMES'S.—The scheme entered into by the Messrs. Barnett at the *Prince's Theatre* has been a complete failure. No manager in that locality will ever make a theatre pay, and the unfortunate selection of a weak composition, called *Fridolin*, by Mr. Romer, threw a complete damp on the commencement of this attempt to resuscitate the National English Opera. The public are beginning to know too much of good music to be drawn any where to hear inferior works by persons unaccustomed to operatic writing. We regret Mr. John Barnett's loss, for he is a man of first-rate talent as a composer, and his relative, Mr. Morris Barnett, is a clever manager.

ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE.—Mons. Laurent, sen., under whose superintendence the first Promenade concert in this country was given, will open this theatre with *Soirées Musicales*, having a corps of no less than 80 vocal and instrumental performers of first-rate talent; the whole under the direction of Signor Negri, will be well worthy of public patronage. It will be a reproach if the gettters up of so delightful a species of entertainment do not receive a share of that patronage which is conferred upon others. The singers engaged are Fraser, Signor Paltoni, from the San Carlos at Naples, Signors Galli and Giubilei, Miss Nunn, of the royal theatre Milan, for prima donna, Mds. Pauline Sonta, and Madame Pilati, from the Theatre Français.

OLYMPIC THEATRE.—Mr. Butler closed this theatre after a short campaign, during which he was enabled to fill the theatre nightly; it has recently been advertised as to let.

QUEEN'S THEATRE.—This theatre progresses most favourably, and we are decidedly of opinion that the lessee, Mr. C. J. James, is worthy of a better theatre. The pantomime, *Georgy Porgy*, is one of the best at the minor houses, and has a very well executed Diorama, painted by the lessee. The *Silver Crescent* succeeded *Jack Sheppard*, and has become an established favourite.

*The National Drama*.—So long back as the year 1827, a writer well acquainted with the subject seems to have entertained prophetic misgivings respecting the decline of the drama. In alluding to the music meetings at *Bagnigge Wells*, *The Rotunda*, &c. &c., where singing, smoking and drinking prevailed, he says, "The drama is a national good; it should be guarded by government, and these innovations quelled as nuisances. If, as I deeply fear, a few years will increase these Apollonian and Bacchanalian resorts, and

decrease our theatres, I shall have some satisfaction in remembering that, humble as my power was, I was the first to raise my voice against a system injurious to the best interests of the stage, and destructive to the respectability of its professors." These prophecies have been more than fulfilled; what do we now see. Concert-rooms, with public performances, opened in most of the great taverns of this metropolis, to the manifest injury of all the minor theatres, nay the principal theatres themselves are turned into Promenade Concert Rooms, at a shilling admission. The instrumental music is well performed; the greater the degradation we cannot but think it upon all artists who have hitherto upheld the National Drama and Opera. Will any one say there is not as much talent now in England as there ever was, if we include those artistes who have been driven to America? Clever composers, good singers (excepting a first-rate tenor, which we have not), and all means and appliances to boot for carrying on such entertainments, and yet the public are deprived of one of their most rational amusements, because no experienced man of sense and capital can be found who will undertake the management, and by forming a School for Dramatic Actors and Singers, pave the way for the restoration of the National Theatres to their former dignity and efficiency. "*Your Theatres are too large for seeing and hearing.*" say one party. There is some truth in this; but the facts lie another way. The system of Star-ing, introduced by Elliston, has more than any other circumstance contributed to undermine the drama. Here we will suppose a singer demanding 60 guineas a week, while the manager knows he never can draw one-tenth part of that sum to the house. An actress likewise demands 20 guineas per night, four nights in the week. This may answer the manager's purpose better if she is very beautiful and very talented, but still this system of starring must be injurious, as the enormous expense prevents the manager from engaging respectable talent to fill up the subordinate parts. Every lover of the drama must regret with us the decline of their favourite amusement, nor do we see any immediate prospect of its renovation.

**PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.**—The directors chosen for the ensuing season are Cramer, Anderson, Bishop, Loder, T. Cooke, Lucas, and Neate, and the days of performance will be March 1, 15th, 29th; April 19th; May 3d, 27th, 31st; and June 14th.

**EXETER HALL.**—A new oratorio, by Dr. Elvey, entitled the *Resurrection and Ascension*, has been most successfully produced; it is unquestionably a composition of great merit.

Madame Dulcken and Benedict intend giving two historical concerts.

Liszt is now performing at Dublin, he is accompanied on his musical tour by J. Parry, Miss Steele, and Miss Bassano; the whole are under Lavenu's direction.

Blagrove, Lindley, Hobbs, Miss Birch, and Mrs. Fiddes, late Miss Cawse, have been giving concerts with great success in Scotland.

The *Memoirs of Beethoven*, translated from Schindel's work, with several additions by Moscheles, is nearly ready for publication.

A new musical society has just been formed at Islington, called the "*Islington Amateur Society.*" The first vocal and instrumental talent in London are engaged. The two first concerts went off extremely well.

Three concerts have been given at a new institution in Great Smith-street, Westminster.

REVIEW OF NEW MUSIC.

It is our intention to notice the superior musical works, published during the intervening time between the publication of this Review :

VOCAL.—*Italian* : No. 1. "*Eri cara! Eri si bella.*" Romanza. P. D. Guglielmo.

No. 2. "*Per la gloria d' adoravi.*" Buononcini.

No. 3. Recit. "*A te O Signore,*" ed Aria "*Re del Cielo,*" composed for Miss Masson by Frederick W. Horncastle.

The first of these pieces comes recommended by a name to be respected by musicians. It is a polacca for a mezzo soprano, of a pleasing and unpretending character.

No. 2.—Is a reprint of a very effective bass song, sung by Mr. Phillips at the Ancient Concerts.

No. 3.—Is a fine expressive composition in the Mozart school of writing, full of exquisite expression, finely conducted modulation, and passages adapted to the voice and style of the first contralto singer in England.

VOCAL.—*English* : No. 1. "*The Violet.*" Canon. Three voices. G. Hogarth.

No. 2. "*The Lights are fair.*" Ballad. Ditto.

No. 3. "*The Fishermen.*" Scandinavian Melody. Sophie Ostergaard.

No. 4. and 5. Original Jacobite Songs, "*The Hill of Lochiel,*" and "*The Piper o' Dundee,*" arranged by Miss Masson.

No. 6. "*The Dawn of the Spring.*" Song. Frederick W. Horncastle.

No. 7. "*The Gossamer.*" Cavatina. Ditto.

No. 8. "*The Merry Mill.*" Song. W. Glover.

No. 9. "*The Four Travellers.*" Third Comic Round. Frederick W. Horncastle.

"*The Violet,*" No. 1.—Is a pleasing vocal round, and will be an acceptable addition to private concerts.

No. 2.—Is a ballad of the old English style of simple expression, as superior to the usual run of shop music as the true race of English composers were to the multitudinous pretenders who now infest the musical art.

In No. 3. we discern an original northern melody, simple, and depending entirely upon the expression of the words.

Nos. 4 and 5—Are two more specimens of Jacobite Songs. "*Lochiel*" is a beautiful melody; "*The Piper o' Dundee,*" a quaint and spirited air, though in the minor key; is known to the frequenters of the Old English opera times, from having been introduced into the Poor Soldier, commencing "*Last Night a little drowsy.*"

No. 6.—Is an elegant song, with a pure style of poetical feeling pervading it; the usual characteristic of this composer's musical ideas.

No. 7.—A fairy cavatina, somewhat more ambitious, but certain of popularity when well known. It is for a soprano voice.

No. 8.—Is a pleasing little song. The melody is well adapted to the sentiment of the poetry.

No. 9.—Is a proof, if any were wanting, that the talent of catch and glee writing still remains in all its vigour, under every circumstance of depression that any branch of musical composition can suffer. Mr. Horncastle's last round, "*Music in London,*" we thought could not be matched for its ludicrous effect; but in the "*Four Travellers,*" he has introduced an *ad libitum* coughing and sneezing accompaniment that no four singers, we venture to say,

can steadily sing it through without *themselves* giving way to the most irrepressible cackinations.

No. 10. "*Love in Idleness*."—11. "*Fairy lead them up and down*." And 12. "*Over Hill, over Dale*." Songs in "*The Midsummer Night's Dream*." By T. Cooke.

The last of these is an extremely pretty song.

The two first are more suited to their place in the play.

In the press, a *New Treatise on English and Italian Singing, with Observations upon all the essential parts of the Vocal Art*. By Mr. Horncastle, of her Majesty's Chapel Royal. The well known taste, judgment, and experience of this professor will render such a work invaluable to both instructor and pupil.

*Musical Mathematics*.—There is in the Library of the Royal Institution a curious MS. in the hand-writing of Dr. Boyce, called "*Harmonics, or an attempt to explain the Principles on which the Science of Music is founded*;" it was purchased by Overend, Dr. Boyce's pupil, for fifty guineas. This is, perhaps, the most perfect mathematical work on music extant, and proceeding from the pen of so excellent a practical musician as Dr. Boyce, must be considered a valuable work for reference.

*Dibdin's Songs*.—The Lords of the Admiralty have given orders that the best of Dibdin's songs shall immediately be distributed throughout the navy. Time was when few of our tars could venture among his fellows to deny that he knew, at least, a dozen of these admirable national melodies by heart; and the days are, perhaps not far distant, when such easy and innoxious stimulants to their well known indomitable courage may be useful.

In *Twelfth Night*, in the scene where the Clown, Sir Andrew Ague Cheek, and Sir Toby Belch, act 2, scene the 3d, are singing catches, or rather fragments of catches, there is one "*To whom drinke thou, Sir Knave?*" The whole of this will be found in a curious old musical work, entitled, "*Pam-melia Musicks Miscellanie, or mixed varietie of pleasant Roundelays and delightful Catches*, of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 parts. London, 1609, page 7." Malone supposes Shakespeare wrote *Twelfth Night* in the year 1614; if so, this old work may be considered as containing the original catch, it begins, "*Now God be with Old Simeon*."

*Musical Conductors*.—In an old work, entitled, "*A Comparison between the French and Italian Musick and Operas*, 1709," we find that only a few years before this time the master of the music (*id est*, the conductor), had an elbow chair and desk placed on the stage! where, with the score in one hand, and a stick in the other, he beat time on a table put there for that purpose, so loud that he made a greater noise than the whole band, on purpose to be heard by the performer. The same practice, it appears, was observed in London about the same time.

*Ancient and Modern Italian Singers*.—In the same work is a curious account of the superiority of musical knowledge of those Italian singers who were educated in the good old school of their art over those of the present day. "The Italians are so perfect, and if I may use the expression so infallible, that with them an opera is performed with the greatest exactness, without so much as beating time, or knowing who has the direction of the music. To this exactness they join all the embellishments an air is capable of; they run an hundred sorts of divisions in it; they in a manner play with it, and teach their throats to echo in a ravishing manner." The total ignorance of their art now displayed by most of the Italian singers of the present day, is in ludicrous contrast with the foregoing account. They are literally *singers*, and no musicians, if you take them one step away from their parts. As to singing at sight, the first elements of this necessary branch of a musical education seems to be unknown to them, excepting in the instances of such cultivated talent as Malibran, Lablache, &c.

# MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

## GERMANY.

THE number of students in the several German Universities at the recent conclusion of the academical year, and the nature of their studies, we have been at some pains to collect:

	Theology.	Jurisprudence.	Medicine.	Philosophy.	TOTAL.
Berlin -	396	447	404	360	1,788
Bonn -	172*	214	122	92	627
Breslau -	384†	119	128	98	629
Erlangen -	-	-	-	-	328
Giessen -	-	-	-	-	404
Göttingen -	-	-	-	-	693
Halle -	402	87	115	72	676
Heidelberg -	22	364	148	29	622
Jena -	145	168	72	99	484
Königsberg -	114	85	84	109	392
Leipzig -	267	366	220	88	941
Marburg -	-	-	-	-	287
Munich -	172	413	195	584	1,545
Tübingen -	-	-	-	-	726
Würzburg -	-	-	-	-	422
And at					
Copenhagen -	657	177	142	60	1,057

The royal library of Berlin has been augmented by 69,418 vols. during the last ten years. Dr. Buschmann, the principal librarian and publisher of the posthumous works of W. von Humboldt, the linguist, intends publishing a new work, "*Ueber die Sprachen des grossen Ocean*;" the celebrated poem, *Brata Yuddha*, he intends giving in the original text, with a translation, explanations, and a glossary, to which is to be added a comparative grammar of the West Malayian dialect.

The King of Prussia has settled an annual pension of 150*l.* on Ludwig Tieck, and has invited the two brothers Grimm to reside permanently at Berlin.

The King of Bohemia has signified his intention of erecting a monument at Cassel, in memory of Johannes von Müller, the historian; and the good people of Kempen also intend erecting a similar testimony to the memory of Thomas von Kempen.

The King of Prussia has lately presented the public library at Berlin with the autograph MSS. of the *Egmont* of Goethe, and a Philosophical and Theological Treatise by Herder. The same institution has also received some interesting acquisitions from the captain of a Prussian vessel, recently arrived from China, and who made some advantageous purchases of rare Chinese books during his stay at Canton.

\* 84 were studying catholic, and 88 evangelical theology.

† 162        "        "        122        "        "

The third annual meeting of German scholars and philologists was held at Gotha on the 29th inst. Professor Rost presided, and was ably supported by Jacobs, Hermann, Thiersch, Lachmann, Götting, Bernhardy, Osann, Ritschl, Nitzsch, Gerlach, Fritzsche and Hand. After some preliminary business the company proceeded in 43 carriages provided for the occasion by the town of Gotha, to the ducal palace of Reinhardsbrunn, where they were graciously received by the Duke and Prince Ernest, who had prepared a sumptuous banquet. The Duke afterwards attended them through the pleasure grounds, conversing with the utmost affability and kindness to each of his guests.

A catalogue raisonné of the MSS. in the senatorial library of Leipzig has just been published; the execution of this laborious task reflects the greatest credit upon its careful, judicious and learned editors, Naumaun, de Bose, Delitzsch, and Fleischer.

The valuable collection of books and MSS. of the Chevalier von Schönfeld, has been publicly sold at Vienna, including his heraldico-genealogical archives of nobility, coloured collections of armorial bearings, old German poems, in MS. &c. &c.

The memoirs of Karl Immermann, the dramatic poet, who died at Düsseldorf, on 25th August last, will be shortly published at Hamburg in two volumes.

The total income of the University of Leipzig has been estimated at £41,150*l.*, the annual expenses amount to 13,350*l.*, of which amount 5,430*l.* is annually advanced by the state until 1843. The professors annually receive 6,375*l.*, and other officers 1,550*l.* The annual cost of the library is 530*l.*, and the botanical gardens 145*l.* The number of professors is 35; of these, 6 superintend the theological, 10 the medical, 13 the philosophical, and 6 the juridical classes.

Moritz Retzsch has at length published his outlines to Shakspear's *Tempest*; the work contains thirteen plates, with text and explanations in German, French, and English. The preface and explanations are by Dr. H. Ulrici, of Halle, who states that "in the former parts (viz. *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet* and *King Lear*) the remarks were all printed together, instead of being annexed to the several sketches they were intended to illustrate. By this arrangement they lost a great part of their interest. The introduction and explanatory remarks to the *Tempest* are accordingly written at greater length, and upon a broader basis than in the preceding part of the sketches.

Professor Albrecht has been appointed to the vacant chair in the University of Leipzig, and the King of Saxony has conferred on him the title of *Hofrath*. Professor Ewald is at Tübingen, and Dahlmann has accepted the invitation to Bern; so that of the seven Göttingen professors whose fate has excited such great interest in Europe, Gervinus and Weber alone remain without an appointment. The former is rich, and will most probably prefer continuing his literary career of historical investigation; the services of the latter, well known as one of the first natural philosophers of his time, will doubtless be eagerly secured as soon as a vacancy shall be found in one of the German universities.

The first number of a journal, called *Archiv Chesky*, has just appeared in Bohemia, and has excited great attention. It is published at the expense of the Bohemian Diet, and under the editorship of the learned historian F. Patacky. The work promises to throw great light on the history, manners, and philosophy of Bohemia, as it is intended to make a critical selection from the archives and public documents in the Bohemian language.

It would appear that some modifications of the Austrian censorship are in progress, as the *Conversations Lexicon*, published by Brockhaus of Leipzig, on liberal principles, which was formerly strictly prohibited, is now admitted into the Austrian dominions.

Several works on German literature have recently appeared ; most of them however are works of a very inferior description. Dr. Laube has published one of higher pretensions ; but the only one which displays the necessary research is that by Professor Gervinus, which has reached a fourth volume. It treats of the commencement of the modern period which preceded the great revival of German literature, and although somewhat lengthy, displays many interesting features of the dawn which afterwards brightened into such a glorious day ; and the student who has patience to follow the author through this uninteresting period, will have a clearer idea of the gradual progress of the revival than he can gather from the brief remarks in Goethe's Autobiography.

A new translation of the works of Sir Walter Scott into German, by Mr. Clifford, has been announced ; and Mr. Moriarty has translated *Master Humphrey's Clock*, *Sam Slick*, and *Turnbull's Austria*, into the same language.

The celebrated historian and politician, Karl von Rotheck, died on 26th November. His history, although it displays no great depth of research, was written in an easy, popular style, and has reached the fourteenth edition. Professor Hermann, of the University of Leipzig, celebrated his jubilee on the 19th inst. (December), having been fifty years a Doctor of Philosophy.

The translation of Sir H. Davy's *Memoirs* and *Salmonia* by Dr. Neubert deserves honourable mention. The translator has exhibited equal care and ability, and the poems are rendered with much grace and feeling. Professor Wagner, the successor of Blumenbach, in his introduction, after adding his meed of praise to the manner in which Dr. Neubert has performed his task, concludes with a request to the inhabitants of Geneva, which we think it our duty to lay before the English public. "When I visited Davy's grave this summer (1839), I found the inscription almost obliterated ; it stands in need of repair ; and if I am not mistaken, Lady Davy has left a bequest for its preservation, the surplus of which should be given as prizes on scientific subjects, by which Sir Humphrey's memory, it is true, is brought more livingly before us than in monuments of stone or metal. And yet it excites, or at least it did excite in me, a melancholy feeling to witness the traces of decay in this fresh monument of human greatness, so recently departed."

Burns is at present a great object of attraction to the German poets, no less than four translations having recently appeared. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the subject, many of the poems and songs are rendered in a manner worthy of the original. We have likewise seen the first part of a translation of Shelley's works. It is not without merit, although the translator, probably a young man, has not equalled the beautiful rhythm of the English poet. We fear that the long prose notes will find but too many admirers.

## HOLLAND.

Professor Siebold is making rapid progress with his great work on Japan, he also intends writing a History of every Species of Arms that have been in use by all nations. He has disposed of his invaluable collection of Japanese and Chinese antiquities at Leyden to the state ; although he had several noble offers from the Duke of Orleans.

## FRANCE.

The academy of moral and political philosophy at Paris have offered, among other prizes, one of 60l., for the best solution of *Déterminer les différences qui ont existé à cet égard entre les assemblées et les parlements d'Angleterre et faire connaître les causes qui les ont empêchées devenir, comme ces derniers, une institution régulière de l'ancienne monarchie.* It is to be decided early in 1842.

The second volume of the *Histoire Antédiluvienne de la Chine*, or *Histoire de la Chine jusqu'au déluge d'Yao l'an 2298 avant notre ère*, has just been pub-



lished by the Marquis de Fortia d'Urban. The first volume excited considerable attention on its appearance.

Felix Ravaisson, the general inspector of the public and royal libraries of France, has discovered in the course of a strict search of the libraries of Tours, Angers, Avranches, Alençon, Falaise, a general history by Julius Florus, a work by Scotus Erigena, hitherto unknown, a Fragment by *Guido de Arezzo*, the celebrated musician of the eleventh century, and twenty-four of Voltaire's letters to Turgot, which have never been printed.

Eugène Pelletan, the fashionable novel writer, has just published a new romance under the title of *La Lampe éteinte*, which is likely to prove as attractive as his *Elie Arvert*.

The fifth volume of Roux Ferrand's work, *Histoire des Progrès de la Civilisation en Europe depuis l'ère chrétienne jusqu'au 19me siècle* has been published. The sixth and last volume will appear in January.

## BELGIUM.

Altmeyer, the learned professor at the University of Brussels, has just published an historical work of great interest, on the commercial and diplomatic relations of the Netherlands with the north of Europe during the sixteenth century.

## ITALY.

Manzoni is engaged upon a new edition of his *Promessi Sposi*, to which he intends adding the piece Italy has so long expected from him, "*La Colonna Infama*;" and in lieu of the many Lombardisms with which he was once reproached, he intends substituting the most elegant Tuscan, an improvement highly gratifying to the lovers of pure Italian literature; for this new edition Hayez will supply the vignettes.

Andrea Maffei is engaged in completing his translation of Schiller's works. During his recent journey in Tuscany he occupied himself in common with Alberi, in translating the German classics, which are to form a part of the European collection about to be published by this learned and accomplished young author.

Two hand-books, one for Northern and the other for Southern Italy, will shortly be published by Mr. Murray.

The first part of an ecclesiastical dictionary, entitled *Dizionario di erudizione storico, ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, by Gaetano Moroni, has just appeared in Rome. It explains in alphabetical order the ceremonies and the history of the Roman Catholic Church, including the lives of the saints, martyrs, &c. The work is printed at Venice, and a part is to be published at Rome, under favour of the Pope, every month.

## SPAIN.

Romero, the dramatic author, has written a new drama entitled *Garcilaso de la Vega*, and which has proved highly attractive. The best Spanish novels of the present day are *Los Amigos Enemigos*, *El Caballero de Madrid*, and *Los Hospitalarios en la Isla de Rodas*.

MADRID.—The historical society have just published the acts of the cortes of Burgos in 1374, in the reign of Enrique II. of Castile, as a continuation to the *Ordenamiento de Chancelleria*, acts of the cortes of Castile.

Don Jose Yanguas y Miranda is engaged in the production of a geographical, statistical, and historical work on Navarre; it will be entitled *Diccionario de Antiquidades del Reyno de Navarra*.

A new journal of great promise, *La Guardalorxe*, has appeared at Malaga.

## SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

It is with great regret we announce that Bishop Tegner, the great living Swedish poet, author of the Frithiofs Saga, has retired from his diocese of Wexjö to Stockholm much afflicted in his health, both bodily and mental. Insanity, it appears, is hereditary in the poet's family: his brother, a very distinguished man died insane, and the poet, it is said, has continually trembled at the prospect of a similar fate. His last work was the poetical greeting with which, on the 5th of June last, as director of the Swedish academy, he congratulated the poets, Atterbom and Graffström, upon their admission as members of that body. In this performance there may be discerned the scintillations, though not the continued vigour, of his earlier writings. He is now living in retirement, and his disorder, though confirmed, has assumed a very mild and gentle character.

CHRISTIANIA.—A philological society has been established here, the members of which recently gave a feast in honour of Professor Sverdrup, whose exertions in behalf of the ancient language deserves the highest praise. The *Norwegian Constitution* is principally his work, and shows his knowledge is not confined to theory, but extends to practice.

## RUSSIA.

The literary world at St. Petersburg have been favoured by the arrival among them of the learned Arab Sheikh Muhammad ibn Saab ibn Suleyman Ayad al Tantawy, from Egypt. He was the chief lecturer in the pillared hall of the celebrated mosque Al-Aphar, at Kahira, where his fame gathered round him numerous disciples, eager in the pursuit of oriental learning. Of these, two have since distinguished themselves, Fresnel and Weil: the former is the spirited author of "*Lettres sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*," and is now French consul at Dschidda; the latter, is the careful translator of the "Thousand and One Nights," and is professor of the oriental languages at Heidelberg. Both have repeatedly acknowledged their obligations to their revered master. Russia owes their acquisition of this great scholar to the Vice-chancellor Nesselrode.

## TURKEY.

A weekly journal in the Turkish language has just appeared; its contents are political, commercial, and literary.

A *Conseil de Medicine* has been established, before which all medical practitioners are to be examined before a diploma is granted. M. Bernard, Kalléga and Dr. Spitzer have been commissioned to form a medical military board.

## GREECE.

ATHENS.—The university has had 232 students this year; of these 10 were studying theology, 137 jurisprudence, 80 medicine, and 55 philosophy. There were 19 ordinary professors, and 2 extraordinary, 9 honorary professors, and 4 tutors, making in all 34 persons, who were thus divided, 2 to theology, 10 jurisprudence, 8 medicine, and 14 philosophy.

## AMERICA.

There are no less than 1555 magazines and other periodicals published in the United States. Of these, 267 appear in New England, 274 in New York, 253 in Pensylvania, and 164 in Ohio.

## INDIA AND ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

In the library of the Hon. East India Company at Leadenhall Street, there are about 1800 volumes of manuscripts, chiefly written on palm-leaves, in the

Telugu, Canarese, or Tamil character. C. P. Brown, Esq., a very talented contributor to the *Madras Journal*, catalogued this collection during his sojourn in London, and found 468 volumes in the Tamil character, 997 in the Canarese, 336 in the Telugu, and about 250 in the Devanagari, Wandī-nagari Bengali, or Orissa writing. The Literary Society of the College at Madras are exceedingly anxious to have these MSS. transmitted to Madras, that the collection may be rendered available to the learned at large.

The March number (26) of the *Madras Journal*, just received, contains several very interesting articles; among others, the continuation of the sixth report on the "Examination of the Mackenzie MSS." by the Rev. W. Taylor, and an "Essay on the Creed, Customs and Literature of the Jangams," by C. P. Brown.

The Oriental Translation Committee in London have announced that Mr. Pascual de Gayangos's translation of the first volume of Al Makkari's *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* is now ready for publication. A portion of *Ibn Khalikan's Biographical Dictionary*, translated by Baron de Slane, and Dr. Stephenson's translation of the *Sama Veda*, were highly approved of; the latter was ordered for publication under the superintendence of Professor Wilson. The second volume of M. Quatremère's translation of *Makrisi's History of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt* was announced as being in the press.

Gay's Fables have been translated into Bengal verse, and published by the translator, the Raja Kali Krishna Bahadur.

The two first volumes of a *History of India*, by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, comprising the Hindoo and Mahomedan periods, are in the press.

R. H. Schomburgk, Esq., who spent several years in exploring Guiana, has been appointed by her majesty's government commissioner for laying down the boundaries of British Guiana. His recently published *Views in the Interior of Guiana*, are both valuable and interesting; and his lectures at the Royal Geographical Society were received with such approbation that the Society awarded him their gold medal. He has already left London to fulfil his appointed duties in South America.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Frank Hall Standish, so well known to the literary as well as to the antiquarian world by his "*Shores of the Mediterranean*," "*Northern Capitals*," and by his more recent work, "*Seville and its Vicinity*," is busily engaged in that city writing the Life of the Cardinal Ximenez.

Mr. Edmund Bach, of the British Museum, author of "A Key to Schiller's Poems," has a similar "Key to Schiller's William Tell" in a forward state.

As the copyright of some of Sir Walter Scott's early works is now expiring, preparations are making among the smaller booksellers to bring out cheap editions. Waverley is already in type, and will be published early in 1841.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.—Professor Wilson, the celebrated oriental scholar, has an "Introduction to the Grammar of the Sanscrit Language" nearly ready for publication.

The Meerza Ibraheem, professor of Persian in the East India College, is preparing a complete grammar of the Persian language, to be published under the auspices of the East India Company.

Two volumes of the *Kumoo*, a celebrated Arabic dictionary with the Persian translation, have already appeared, and the two last volumes are in the press.

Messrs. Madden & Co. have just published the *Mitrabha*, or first book of the *Hitopadesa*, with grammatical analysis and vocabulary: the work is by Professor Johnson of the East India College.

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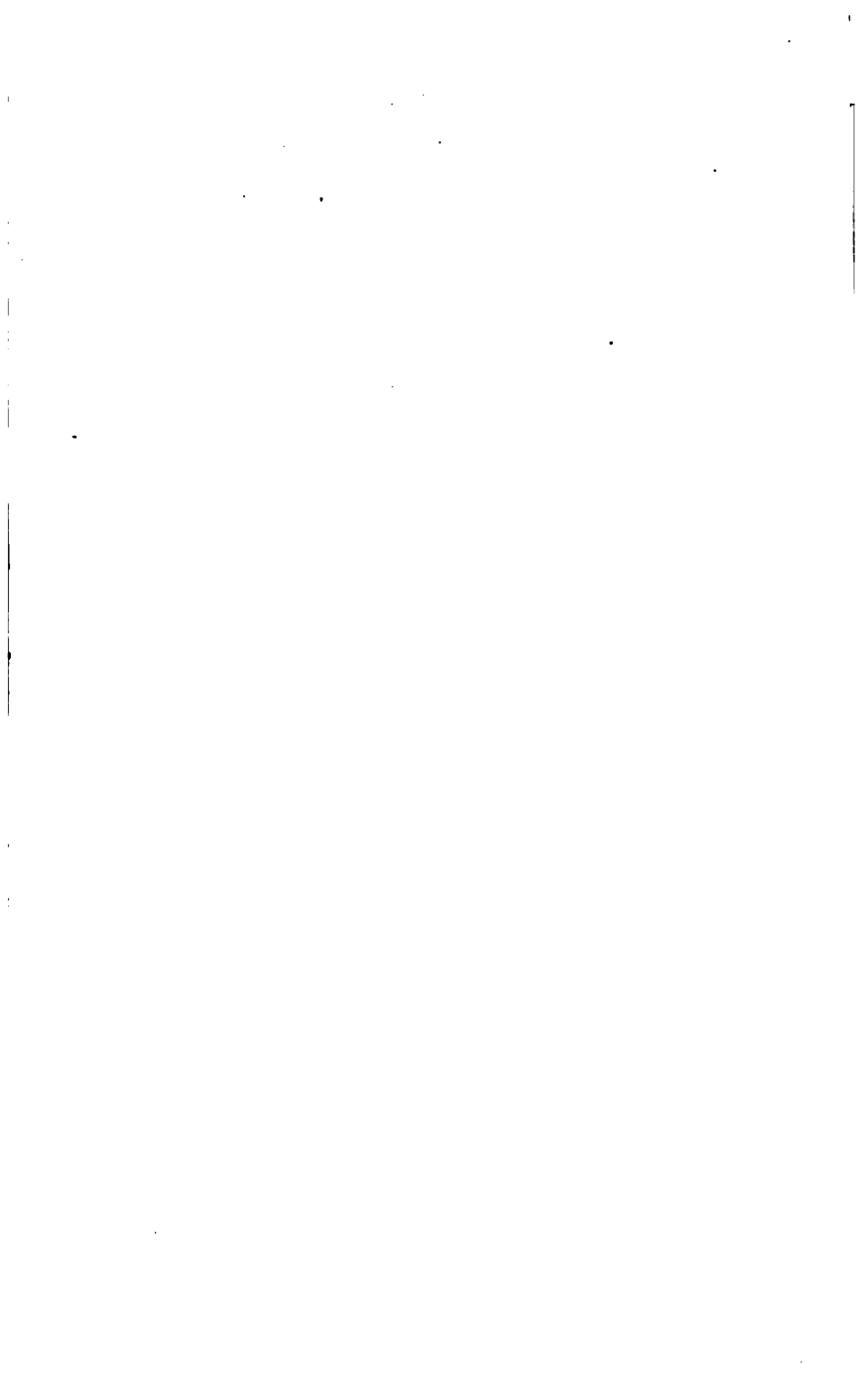
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